# THE
# First and second
*volumes of Chronicles,*
comprising

1 The description and historie of England,
2 The description and historie of Ireland,
3 The description and historie of Scotland:

First collected and published by Raphaell Holinshed, William Harrison, and others:

Now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of singular note and worthie memorie) to the yeare 1586. by John Hooker *alias* Vowell Gent. and others.

With conuenient tables at the end of these volumes.

*Historiæ placeant nostrates ac peregrinæ*

# ¶ The names of the Authors from whome this *Historie of England is collected.*

*A.*

*AElius Spartianus.*
*Aelius Lampridius.*
*Asserius Meneuensis.*
*Alfridus Beuerlacensis.*
*Aeneas Syluius Senensis.*
*Auentinus.*
*Adam Merimouth with additions.*
*Antoninus Archiepiscopus Florentinus.*
*Albertus Crantz.* *Alexander Neuill.*
*Arnoldus Ferronius.*
*Annius Viterbiensis.*
*Amianus Marcellinus.*
*Alliances genealogiques des Roys & Princes de France.*
*Annales D. Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet.*
*Annales de Bourgoigne per Guilamme Paradin.*
*Annales de France per Nicol Giles.*
*Annales rerum Flandricarum per Jacobum Meir.*
*Antonius Sabellicus.*
*Antonius Nebricensis.* *Aurea Historia.*

B.

*BIblia Sacra.* *Beda venerabilis.*
*Berosus.* *Brian Tuke knight.*
*Blondus Forliuiensis.*
*Berdmondsey, a Register booke belonging to that house.*

C.

*CÆsars Commentaries.*
*Cornelius Tacitus.*
*Chronica Chronicorum.*
*Chronica de Dunstable, a booke of Annales belonging to the Abbey there.*
*Chronicon Io. Tilij.*
*Chronica de Eyton, an historie belonging to that colledge, although compiled by some Northernman, as some suppose named Otherborne.*
*Chronicles of S. Albon.*
*Chronica de Abingdon, a booke of Annales belonging to that house.*
*Chronica de Teukesburie.*
*Claudianus.*
*Chronicon Genebrard.*
*Chroniques de Normandie.*
*Chroniques de Britaine.*
*Chroniques de Flanders published by Denis Sauage.*
*Continuation de Historie and Chroniques de Flanders by the same Sauage.*
*Couper.* *Cuspinianus.*
*Chronica Sancti Albani.*
*Caxtons Chronicles.*
*Carion with additions.*
*Crockesden, a Register booke belonging to an house of that name in Staffordshire.*

D.

*DIodorus Siculus.*
*Dion Cassius.*
*Dominicus Marius Niger.*

E.

*EDmerus.*
*Eusebius.* *Eutropius.*
*Encomium Emmæ, an old Pamphlet written to hir, conteining much good matter for the vnderstanding of the state of this realme in hir time, wherein hir praise is not pretermitted, and so hath obteined by reason thereof that title.*
*Enguerant de Monstrellet.*
*Eulogium.*
*Edmund Campian.*

F.

*FAbian.* *Froissart.*
*Franciscus Tarapha.*
*Franciscus Petrarcha.*
*Flauius Vopiscus Siracusanus.*
*Floriacensis Vigorinensis.*

G.

*GViciardini Francisco.*
*Guiciardini Ludouico.*
*Gildas Sapiens.*
*Galfridus Monemutensis, aliàs Geffrey of Monmouth.*
*Giraldus Cambrensis.*
*Guilielmus Malmesburiensis.*
*Galfridus Vinsauf.*
*Guilielmus Nouoburgensis.*
*Guilielmus Thorne.*
*Gualterus Hemmingford, aliàs Gisburnensis.*
*Geruasius Dorobernensis.*
*Geruasius Tilberiensis.*
*Guilielmus Gemeticensis de ducibus Normaniæ.*
*Guilielmus Rishanger.*
*Guilielmus Lambert.* *Georgius Lillie.*
*Guilamme Paradin.*

# The Authors names.

H.

*Higinus.*
*Henricus Huntingtonenſis.*
*Henricus Leiceſtrenſis.*
*Hector Boece.* *Hiſtorie Daniou.*
*Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Magdeburgenſis.*
*Henricus Mutius.*
*Hiſtoria quadripartita ſeu quadrilogium.*
*Hardings Chronicle.*
*Halles Chronicle.* *Henricus Bradſhaw.*
*Henricus Marleburgenſis.*
*Herodianus.* *Humfrey Luyd.*

I.

*Iohannes Bale.*
*Iohannes Leland.*
*Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.*
*Iulius Capitolinus.* *Iulius Solinus.*
*Iohannes Pike with additions.*
*Iohannes Functius.*
*Iohn Price knight.* *Iohannes Textor.*
*Iohannes Bodinus.* *Iohannes Sleidan.*
*Iohannes Euerſden a Monke of Berry.*
*Iohannes or rather Giouan villani a Florentine.*
*Iohannes Baptiſta Egnatius.*
*Iohannes Capgraue.*
*Iohannes Fourden.* *Iohannes Caius.*
*Iacob de Voragine Biſhop of Nebio.*
*Iean de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a pamphlet of the warres in Scotland, during the time that Monſieur de Deſſe remained there.*
*Iohn Fox.* *Iohannes Maior.*
*Iohn Stow, by whoſe diligent collected ſummarie, I haue beene not onelie aided, but alſo by diuers rare monuments, ancient writers, and neceſſarie regiſter bookes of his, which he hath lent me out of his own Librarie.* *Ioſephus.*

L.

*Liber conſtitutionum London.*
*Lucan.* *Lælius Giraldus.*

M.

*Marianus Scotus.* *Matthæus Paris.*
*Matthæus Weſtmonaſter. aliàs Flores hiſtoriarum.*
*Martin du Bellay, aliàs Monſ. de Langey.*
*Mamertinus in Panegyricis.*
*Memoires de la Marche.*

N.

*Nicephorus.* *Nennius.*
*Nicholaus Treuet with additions.*

O.

*Roſius Dorobernenſis.*
*Oſbernus Dorobernenſis.*
*Otho Phriſingenſis.*

P.

*Pauſanias.* *Paulus Diaconus.*
*Paulus Aemilius.*
*Ponticus Virunius.* *Pomponius Lætus.*
*Philip de Cumeins, aliàs M. de Argenton.*
*Polydor Virgil.* *Paulus Iouius.*
*Platina.* *Philippus Melanæthon.*
*Peucerus.* *Pomponius Mela.*

R.

*Rogerus Houeden.*
*Ranulfus Higeden, aliàs Ceſtrenſis the author of Polychronicon.*
*Radulfus Coggeſhall.* *Radulfus Niger.*
*Regiſter of the Garter.*
*Records of Battell Abbey.*
*Richardus Southwell.* *Robert Greene.*
*Radulfus de Diceto.* *Robert Gaguin.*
*Rodericus Archiepiſcopus Toletanus.*
*Records and rolles diuerſe.*

S.

*Strabo.* *Suetonius.*
*Sigebertus Gemblacenſis.*
*Sidon Appollinaris.* *Simon Dunelmenſis.*
*Sextus Aurelius Victor.*

T.

*Rebellius Pollio.*
*Thomas More knight.*
*Thomas Spot.* *Thomas Walſingham.*
*Titus Liuius de Foroliuiſys de vita Henrici. 5.* *Titus Liuius Patauienſis.*
*Thomas Lanquet.* *Thomas Couper.*
*Taxtor a Monke of Berry.* *Theuet.*
*Thomas de la More.* *Tripartita Hiſtoria.*

V.

*Vlcatius Gallicanus.*
*Volfgangus Lazius.*

W.

*Whethamſted, a learned man, ſometime Abbat of Saint Albons a Chronicler.*
*William Harriſon.*
*William Patten of the expedition into Scotland. 1574.*
*William Proctor of Wiats rebellion.*

Beſides theſe, diuers other bookes and treatiſes of hiſtoricall matter I haue ſeene and peruſed, the names of the authors being vtterlie vnknowne.

*FINIS.*

# To the Right Honorable, and his ſingular good *Lord and Maiſter, S. William Brooke Knight, Lord Warden of* the cinque Ports, and Baron of Cobham, all increaſe of the feare *and knowledge of God, firme obedience toward his Prince,* infallible loue to the common wealth, and commendable *renowme here in this world, and in the world to come* life euerlaſting.

Auing had iuſt occaſion, Right Honorable, to remaine in London, during the time of Trinitie terme laſt paſſed, and being earneſtlie required of diuers my freends, to ſet downe ſome breefe diſcourſe of parcell of thoſe things, which I had obſerued in the reading of ſuch manifold antiquities as I had peruſed toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which I haue yet in hand; I was at the firſt verie loth to yeeld to their deſires: firſt, for that I thought my ſelf vnable for want of skill and iudgement, ſo ſuddenlie & with ſo haſtie ſpeed to take ſuch a charge vpon me: ſecondlie, bicauſe the dealing therein might prooue an hinderance and impechment vnto mine owne Treatiſe: and finallie, for that I had giuen ouer all earneſt ſtudie of hiſtories, as iudging the time ſpent about the ſame, to be an hinderance vnto my more neceſſarie dealings in that vocation & function wherevnto I am called in the miniſterie. But when they were ſo importunate with me, that no reaſonable excuſe could ſerue to put by this trauell, I condeſcended at the length vnto their yrkeſome ſute, promiſing that I would ſpend ſuch void time as I had to ſpare, whileſt I ſhould be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon ſome thing or other that ſhould ſatisfie their requeſt; and ſtand in lieu of a deſcription of my Countrie. For their parts alſo they aſſured me of ſuch helps as they could purchaſe: and thus with hope of good, although no gaie ſucceſſe, I went in hand withall, then almoſt as one leaning altogither vnto memorie, ſith my books and I were parted by fourtie miles in ſunder. In this order alſo I ſpent a part of Michaelmas and Hilarie termes inſuing, being inforced thereto I ſay by other buſineſſes which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and abſent my ſelfe from my charge, though in the meane ſeaſon I had ſome repaire vnto my poore librarie, but not ſo great as the dignitie of the matter required, and yet far greater than the Printers haſt would ſuffer. One helpe, and none of the ſmalleſt that I obtained herein, was by ſuch commentaries as *Leland* had ſomtime collected of the ſtate of Britaine, books vtterlie mangled, defaced with wet and weather, and finallie vnperfect through want of ſundrie volumes: ſecondlie, I gat ſome knowledge of things by letters and pamphlets, from ſundrie places & ſhires of England, but ſo diſcordant now and then amongſt themſelues, eſpeciallie in the names and courſes of riuers and ſituation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them one with an other, than orderlie to pen the whole diſcourſe of ſuch points as they contained: the third aid did grow by conference with diuers, either at the table or ſecretlie alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherin they impugned ech other, chooſing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one deſirous to ſet foorth the truth abſolutelie, or ſuch things in deed as were moſt likelie to be true. The laſt comfort aroſe by mine owne reading of ſuch writers as haue herctofore made mention of the condition of our countrie, in ſpeaking wherof, if I ſhould make account of the ſucceſſe, & extraordinarie cõming by ſundrie treatiſes not ſuppoſed to be extant, I ſhould but ſeeme to pronounce more than may well be ſaid with modeſtie, & ſay farder of my ſelfe than this Treatiſe can beare witnes of. Howbeit,

I re-

I refer not this succesſe wholie vnto my purpoſe about this Deſcription, but rather giue notice thereof to come to paſſe in the penning of my Chronologie, whoſe crums as it were fell out verie well in the framing of this Pamphlet. In the proceſſe therefore of this Booke, if your Honor regard the ſubſtance of that which is here declared, I muſt needs confeſſe that it is none of mine owne: but if your Lordſhip haue conſideration of the barbarous compoſition ſhewed herein, that I may boldlie claime and challenge for mine owne, ſith there is no man of any ſo ſlender skill, that will defraud me of that reproch, which is due vnto me for the meere negligence, diſorder, and euill diſpoſition of matter comprehended in the ſame. Certes I proteſt before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choiſe of ſtile, or words, neither regarded to handle this Treatiſe in ſuch preciſe order and method as manie other would haue done, thinking it ſufficient, truelie and plainelie to ſet foorth ſuch things as I minded to intreat of, rather than with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten ſepulchre; a thing neither commendable in a writer, nor profitable to the reader. How other affaires troubled me in the writing hereof manie know, and peraduenture the ſlackneſſe ſhewed herein can better teſtifie: but howſoeuer it be done, & whatſoeuer I haue done, I haue had an eſpeciall eye vnto the truth of things, and for the reſt, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatiſe of mine will prooue a ſpur to others better learned, more skilfull in Chorographie, and of greater iudgement in choiſe of matter to handle the ſelfe ſame argument, if in my life time I doo not peruſe it againe. It is poſſible alſo that your Honour will miſlike hereof, for that I haue not by mine owne trauell and eyſight viewed ſuch things as I doo here intreat of. In deed I muſt needs confeſſe, that vntill now of late, except it were from the pariſh where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent; or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer trauelled 40. miles foorthright and at one iourney in all my life; neuertheleſſe in my report of theſe things, I vſe their authorities, who either haue performed in their perſons, or left in writing vpon ſufficient ground (as I ſaid before) whatſoeuer is wanting in mine. It may be in like ſort that your Honour will take offenſe at my raſh and retchleſſe behauiour vſed in the compoſition of this volume, and much more that being ſcambled vp after this maner, I dare preſume to make tendour of the protection therof vnto your Lordſhips hands. But when I conſider the ſingular affection that your Honour dooth beare to thoſe that in any wiſe will trauell to ſet foorth ſuch profitable things as lie hidden, and therevnto doo weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden dutie and gratefull mind to ſuch a one as hath ſo manie and ſundrie waies benefited me that otherwiſe can make no recompenſe, I can not but cut off all ſuch occaſion of doubt, and therevpon exhibit it, ſuch as it is, and ſo penned as it is, vnto your Lordſhips tuition, vnto whome if it may ſeeme in anie wiſe acceptable, I haue my whole deſire. And as I am the firſt that (notwithſtanding the great repugnancie to be ſeene among our writers) hath taken vpon him ſo particularlie to deſcribe this Ile of Britaine; ſo I hope the learned and godlie will beare withall, & reforme with charitie where I doo tread amiſſe. As for the curious, and ſuch as can rather euill fauouredlie eſpie than skilfullie correct an error, and ſooner carpe at another mans dooings than publiſh any thing of their owne, (keeping themſelues cloſe with an obſcure admiration of learning & knowledge among the common ſort) I force not what they ſaie hereof: for whether it doo pleaſe or diſpleaſe them, all is one to me, ſith I referre my whole trauell in the gratification of your Honour, and ſuch as are of experience to conſider of my trauell, and the large ſcope of things purpoſed in this Treatiſe, of whome my ſeruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompenſe, and large guerdon of my labours. The Almightie God preſerue your Lordſhip in continuall health, wealth, and proſperitie, with my good Ladie your wife, your Honours children, (whom God hath indued with a ſingular towardneſſe vnto all vertue and learning) and the reſt of your reformed familie, vnto whom I wiſh farder increaſe of his holie ſpirit, vnderſtanding of his word, augmentation of honor, and continuance of zeale to follow his commandements.

*Your Lordships humble ſeruant*
*and houſhold Chaplein.* W. H.

# A Table of ſuch Chapiters as are conteined *in the firſt booke of this Deſcription.*


1 Of the diuiſion of the whole earth.
2 Of the poſition, circuit, forme, and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine.
3 Of the ancient denominations of this Iland.
4 What ſundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion.
5 Whether it be likelie that anie giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not.
6 Of the languages ſpoken in this Iland.
7 Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided.
8 The names of ſuch kings and princes as haue reigned in this Iland.
9 Of the ancient religion vſed in Albion.
10 Of ſuch Ilands as are to be ſeene vpon the coaſts of Britaine.
11 Of riuers, and firſt of the Thames, and ſuch riuers as fall into it.
12 Of ſuch ſtreames as fall into the ſea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of Sauerne.
13 The deſcription of the Sauerne, and ſuch waters as diſcharge themſelues into the ſame.
14 Of ſuch waters as fall into the ſea in compaſſe of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.
15 The deſcription of the Humber or Iſis, and ſuch water-courſes as doo increaſe hir chanell.
16 Of ſuch fals of waters as ioine with the ſea, betweene Humber and the Thames.
17 Of ſuch ports and creeks as our ſea-faring-men doo note for their benefit vpon the coaſts of England.
18 Of the aire, ſoile, and commodities of this Iland.
19 Of the foure high waies ſometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland.
20 Of the generall conſtitution of the bodies of the Britons.
21 How Britaine at the firſt grew to be diuided into three portions.
22 After what maner the ſouereigntie of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England.
23 Of the wall ſometime builded for a partition betweene England and the Picts and Scots.
24 Of the maruels of England.

# REGVM ANGLIÆ SERIES
## & catalogus.

Wil. Conqu. — *COnqueſtor, Rufus, prior Henricus, Stephanúſque,*
Wil. Rufus. — *Alter & Henricus, Leonino corde Richardus,*
Henricus 1. — *Rex & Ioannes, Henricus tertius inde:*
Stephanus. — *Eduardus primus, Gnatúſque, Nepóſque ſequuntur:*
Henricus 2. — *His infœlicem Richardum iunge ſecundum:*
Richardus 1. — *Henricus quartus ſoboles Gandaui Ioannis,*
Ioannes. — *Præcedit Gnato quinto, ſextóque Nepoti:*
Henricus 3. — *Eduardus quartus, quintus, homicida Richardus,*
Eduardus 1. — *Septimi & Henricus octauus clara propago:*
Eduardus 2. — *Eduardus ſextus, regina Maria, Philippus:*
Eduardus 3. — *Eliſabeth longos regnet victura per annos,*
Richardus 2. — *Seráque promiſſo fœlix potiatur olympo.*
Henricus 4.
Henricus 5.
Henricus 6.
Eduardus 4.
Eduardus 5.
Richardus 3.
Henricus 7.
Henricus 8.
Eduardus 6.
Phil. & Mar.
Eliſabeth.

## CARMEN CHRONOLOGICON
### Thomæ Newtoni Ceſtreſhyrij.

*GRamine, fluminibus, grege, principe, fruge, metallis,*
*Lacte, feris, armis, vrbibus, arte, foris,*
*Quæ viget ac floret generoſa Britannia, quæque,*
*Obruta puluereo ſqualluit ante ſitu:*
*Exerit ecce caput, genuinum nacta nitorem,*
*Et rutilum emittit cum grauitate iubar.*
*Et quod blæſa hominum mutilarat tempore lingua,*
*Illud habet rectum pumice terſa nouo.*

Loydus.
Lelandus.
Priſius.
Stous.
Holinſhedius.
Lambardus.
Morus.
Camdenus.
Thinnius.
Hallus.
Vocalis aliâs Hookerus.
Graftonus.
Foxius.
Harriſonus.
Hardingus.
Gildas.
Staniherſtus.
Beda.
Neuillus.
Flemingus.
Parkerus.

*Loydus in hac pridem gnauus proluſit arena,*
*Lelandus, Priſius, Stous, Holinſhedius,*
*Lambardus, Morus, Camdenus, Thinnius, Hallus,*
*Vocalis, Grafton, Foxius, Harriſonus,*
*Hardingus, Gildas, Staniherſtus, Beda, Neuillus,*
*Doctáque Flemingi lima poliuit opus:*
*Nec te cane ſenex, magne ô Parkere, ſilebo,*
*Cui decus attulerat pontificalis apex.*
*Omnibus his meritò eſt laus debita & optima merces,*
*Quòd patriæ accendant lumina clara ſuæ.*
*Longa dies opus hoc peperit, longæua ſenectus,*
*Et libri authores perbeet, atque librum.*

# An Historicall description of the Iland of Britaine, with a briefe rehersall of the nature and qualities of the people of England, and such commodities as are to be found in the same. Comprehended in three bookes,

and written by W. H.

## Of the diuision of the whole earth.

Chapter. 1.

WE read that the earth hath beene diuided into three parts, euen sithens the generall floud. And the common opinion is, that Noah limited and bestowed it vpon his three sons, Iaphet, Cham, and Sem, preserued with him in the Arke, giuing vnto each of them such portions thereof as to him seemed good, and neuertheless reteining the souereigntie of the whole still vnto himselfe: albeit as yet it be left vncertaine how those seuerall parts were bounded, and from whome they toke such names as in our times are attributed to each of them. Certes the words, Asia, Europa, and Africa, are denominations giuen but of late (to speake of) vnto them, and it is to be doubted, whether sithens the time of Noah, the sea hath in sundrie places wonne or lost, added or diminished to and from each of them; or whether Europa, and Lybia were but one portion; and the same westerlie regions of late discouered (and now called America,) was the third part (counting Asia for the second) or the selfe region of the Atlantides, which Plato and others, for want of traffike thither in their times, supposed to be dissolued and sunke into the sea: as by their writings appeareth.

Not long before my time, we reckoned Asia, Europa, and Africa, for a full and perfect diuision of the whole earth, which are parcels onelie of that huge Iland that lieth east of the Atlantike sea, and whereof the first is diuided from the second by Tanais (which riseth in the rocks of Caucasus, and hideth it selfe in the Meotine mores) and the Ocean sea; and the last from them both by the Mediterrane and red sea, otherwise called Mare Erythræum. But now all men, especially the learned, begin to doubt of the soundnes of that partition; bicause a no lesse part than the greatest of the three ioined with those Ilands and maine which lie vnder the north and southpoles, if not double in quantitie vnto the same, are found out and discouered by the diligence of our trauellers. Hereby it appeareth, that either the earth was not exactlie diuided in time past by antiquitie; or els, that the true diuision thereof came not to the hands and notice of their posteritie, so that our ancestors haue hitherto as it were laboured in the Cimmerian darkenesse, and were vtterlie ignorant of the truth of that whereabout they indeuoured to shew their trauels and knowledge in their writings. Some peece of this confusion also is to be found amongst the ancient and Romane writers, who (notwithstanding their large conquests) did sticke in the same mire with their successors; not being able (as appeareth by their treatises) to deliuer and set downe the veritie. For Salust in his booke *De bello Iugurthino* cannot tell whether Africa be parcell of Asia or not. And with the same scruple Varro in his *De lingua Latina* is not a litle encumbred, who in the end concludeth, that the whole earth is diuided into Asia and Europa: so that Africa is excluded and driuen out of his place. Silius also writeth of Africa, (as one not yet resolued whereunto to leane,) that it is;

*Aut ingens Asia latus, aut pars tertia rerum.*

Wherein Lucane *lib. 9.* sheweth himselfe to be far of another iudgement, in that he ascribeth it to Europa, saieng after this maner:

*Tertia pars rerum Lybia: si credere famæ*
*Cuncta velis, si ventos cælumque sequaris,*
*Pars erit Europæ, nec enim plus littora Nili*
*Quàm Scythicus Tanais primis à gradibus absunt.*

Whereby (I saie) we may well vnderstand, that in the time of Augustus Tiberius, Claudius & Nero, the Romanes were not yet resolued of the diuision of the earth. For my part, as I indeuour not to remoue the credit of that which antiquitie hath deliuered (and yet loth to continue and maintaine any corruption that may be redressed) so I thinke good to giue forth a new diuision more probable, & better agreeing with a truth. And therefore I diuide the whole into fiue seuerall parcels, reteining the common diuision in the first three, as before; and vnto the fourth allowing not onelie all that portion that lieth by north of the Magellan streicts, and those Hyperborean Ilands which lie west of the line of longitude, of late discouered by Frobisher, and called by hir Maiestie *Meta incognita*: but likewise so manie Ilands as are within 180. degrées Westwards from our beginning or common line of longitude, whereby they are parted from those, which by this diuision are allotted vnto Asia, and the portion it selfe made equipollent with the same for greatnes, & far excéeding either Europa or Africa, if it be not fullie so much in quantitie as they both vnited and laid togither. The fift & last part is the Antartike portion with hir Ilands annexed, that region (I meane) which lieth vnder the South pole, cut off from America, or the fourth part by the Magellan streicts; & from Africa by the sea which passeth by the Cape of good hope; a countrie no lesse large for limits and bounds than Africa or America, and therefore right worthie to be called the fift: howsoeuer it shall please the curious to mislike of this diuision. This also I will adde, that albeit the continent hereof do not extend it selfe vnto the verie Antartike point, but lieth as it were a long table betwéene two seas, of which the later is vnder the South poole, and as I may call it a maine sea vnder the aforesaid pricke, yet is it not without

Variance among the writers about the diuision of the earth.

The earth diuided into fiue parts, whereas Belforrest hath but foure, in Prefat. lib. 4.

*Cape di bona Speranza.*

The forme of the fift part.

out sundrie Ilands also adioining vnto it, and the inner most sea not destitute of manie, as by experience hath béene of late confirmed. Furthermore, whereas our describers of the earth haue made it such in their descriptions, as hath reached litle or nothing into the peaceable sea without the Antartike circle: it is now found by Theuet and others, that it extendeth it selfe northwards into that trace, by no small number of leagues, euen in manet to the Equator, in so much that the westerlie part thereof from America, is supposed to reach northward so far from the Antartike article, as Africa doth southwards from the tropike of Cancer, which is no small portion of ground; & I maruell why not obserued by such as heretofore haue written of the same. But they excuse themselues by the ingratitude of the Portingals and Spaniards, who haue of purpose concealed manie things found out in their trauell, least they should séeme to open a gap by doing otherwise, for strangers to enter into their conquests. As for those Ilands also which lie in the peaceable sea, scattered here and there, as Iaua the greater, the lesser Sumatra, Iapan, Burneo: &c. with a number of other, I refer them still vnto Asia, as before, so as they be without the compasse of 90. degrées eastward from the line of longitude, & not aboue 180. as I do the Ile of S. Laurence, and a number of other vnto Africa within the said proportion, wishing so little alteration as I may: and yet not yéelding vnto any confusion, whereby the truth of the diuision should hereafter be impeached.

And whereas by Virgil (speaking of our Iland) saith;

*Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos,*

And some other authors not vnworthie to be read and perused, it is not certeine vnto which portion of the earth our Ilands, and Thule, with sundrie the like scattered in the north seas should be ascribed, because they excluded them (as you sée) from the rest of the whole earth: I haue thought good, for facilitie sake of diuision, to refer them all which lie within the first minute of longitude, set downe by Ptolome, to Europa, and that as reason requireth: so that the aforesaid line shall henceforth be their Meta & partition from such as are to be ascribed to America; albeit they come verie neere vnto the aforesaid portion, & may otherwise (without preiudice) be numbred with the same. It may be that some will thinke this my dealing either to be superfluous, or to proceed from (I wot not what) foolish curiositie: for the world is now growne to be very apt and readie to iudge the hardest of euerie attempt. But forsomuch as my purpose is to leaue a plaine report of such matter as I do write of, and deliuer such things as I intreat of in distinct and vpright order; though method now and then do faile, I will go forward with my indeuour, referring the examination of my doings to the indifferent and learned eare, without regard what the other do conceiue and imagine of me. In the meane season therefore it shall suffice to say at this time, that Albion as the mother, and the rest of the Ilands as hir daughters, lieng east of the line of longitude, be still ascribed vnto Europa: whereunto some good authours heretofore in their writings, & their owne proper or naturall situations also haue not amisse referred them.

Cause what portion Britaine is referred.

## Of the position, circuit, forme and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine.

Cap. 2.

How Britaine lieth from the maine.

BRitannia or Britain, as we now terme it in our English tong, or Brutania as some pronounce it (by reason of the letter y in the first syllable of the word, as antiquitie did sometime deliuer it) is an Ile lieng in the Ocean sea, directlie ouer against that part of France which conteineth Picardie, Normandie, and thereto the greatest part of little Britaine, which later region was called in time past Armorica, of the situation thereof vpon the sea coast, vntill such time as a companie of Britons (either led ouer by some of the Romane Emperours, or flieng thither from the tyrannie of such as oppressed them here in this Iland) did setle themselues there, and called it Britaine, after the name of their owne countrie, from whence they aduentured thither. It hath Ireland vpon the west side, on the north the maine sea, euen to Thule and the Hyperboreans; and on the east side also the Germane Ocean, by which we passe dailie through the trade of merchandize, not onlie into the low countries of Belgie, now miserablie afflicted betwéene the Spanish power and popish inquisition (as spice betwéene the morter and the pestell) but also into Germanie, Friezeland, Denmarke, and Norwaie, carrieng from hence thither, and bringing from thence hither, all such necessarie commodities as the seuerall countries do yéeld: through which meanes, and besides common amitie conserued, traffike is maintained, and the necessitie of each partie abundantlie relæued.

The longitude and latitude of this Ile.

It containeth in longitude taken by the middest of the region 19. degrees eractlie: and in latitude 53. degrées, and thirtie min. after the opinions of those that haue diligentlie obserued the same in our daies, and the faithfull report of such writers as haue left notice thereof vnto vs, in their learned treatises to be perpetuallie remembred. Howbeit, whereas some in setting downe of these two lines, haue séemed to varie about the placing of the same, each of them diuerslie remembring the names of sundrie cities and townes, whereby they affirme them to haue their seuerall courses: for my part I haue thought good to proceed somewhat after another sort; that is, by diuiding the latest and best chards each way into two equall parts (so neere as I can possiblie bring the same to passe) whereby for the middle of latitude, I product Caerlile and Newcastell vpon Tine, (whose longest day consisteth of sixtéene houres, 48. minuts) and for the longitude, Newberie, Warwike, Shelfield, Skipton, &c: which dealing, in mine opinion, is most easie and indifferent, and likeliest meane to come by the certeine standing and situation of our Iland.

Longest day.

The compasse of Britaine.

Touching the length and bredth of the same, I find some variance amongst writers: for after some, there are from the Piere or point of Douer, vnto the farthest part of Cornewall westwards 320. miles: from thence againe to the point of Cathnesse by the Irish sea 800. Wherby Polydore and other do gather, that the circuit of the whole Iland of Britaine is 1720. miles, which is full 280. lesse than Cæsar doth set downe, except there be some difference betwéene the Romane and British miles, as there is indéed; wherof hereafter I may make some farther conference.

Martianus writing of the bredth of Britaine, hath onlie 300. miles, but Orosius hath 1200. in the whole compasse. Ethicus also agréeing with Plinie, Martianus, and Solinus, hath 800. miles of length, but in the bredth he commeth short of their account by 120. miles. In like maner Dion *in* Seuero maketh the one of 891. miles: but the other; to wit, where it is broadest, of 289. and where it is narowest, of 37. Finally, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth the south coast to conteine 7000 furlongs, the second; to wit, *à Carione ad Promontorium* 15000. the third 20000. and the whole circuit to consist of 42000. But in our time we reckon the bredth from Douer to Cornewall, not to be aboue 300. miles, and the length from Douer to Cathnesse, no more than 500. which nevertheless must be measured by a right line, for otherwise I see not how the said diuision can hold.

The forme.

The forme and fashion of this Ile is three cornered, as some haue deuised, like vnto a triangle, bastard sword, wedge, or partesant, being broadest in the south part,

part, and gathering still narrower and narrower, till it come to the farthest point of Cathnesse northward, where it is narrowest of all, & there endeth in maner of a promontorie called Caledonium & Orcbas in Britis Morwerydh, which is not aboue 30. miles ouer, as daily experience by actuall trauell doth confirme.

Promontories of Britaine.

The old writers giue vnto the three principall corners, crags, points, and promontories of this Iland, three seuerall names. As vnto that of Kent, Cantium, that of Cornewall, Hellenes, and of Scotland, Caledonium, and Orcbas; and these are called principall, in respect of the other, which are Taruisium, Nouantum, Epidium, Gangacum, Octapites, Herculeum, Antiuestæum, Ocrinum, Berubium, Taizalum, Acantium, &c: of which I thought good also to leaue this notice, to the end that such as shall come after, may thereby take occasion to seeke out their true places, whereof as yet I am in maner ignorant, I meane for the most part; bicause I haue no sound author that doth leade mée to their knowledge.

The distãce from the maine.

Furthermore, the shortest and most vsuall cut that we haue out of our Iland to the maine, is from Douer (the farthest part of Kent eastward) vnto Calice a towne in Picardie 1300 miles from Rome, in old time called Petressa and Scalas, though some like better of blacknesse where the breadth of the sea is not aboue thirtie miles. Which course, as it is now frequented and vsed for the most common and safe passage of such as come into our countrie out of France and diuers other realms, so it hath not beene vnknowne of old time vnto the Romans, who for the most part vsed these two hauens for their passage and repassage to and fro; although we finde, that now and then diuerse of them came also from Bullen, and landed at Sandwich, or some other places of the coast more toward the west, or betweene Hide and Lid; to wit, Romneie marsh, which in old time was called Romania or Romanorum insula) as to auoid the force of the wind & weather, that often molesteth seafaringmen in these narrowe seas, best liked them for their safegards. Betweene the part of Holland also, which lieth neere the mouth of the Rhene and this our Iland, are 900. furlongs, as Sosimus saith; and besides him, diuers other writers, which being conuerted into English miles, do yeeld 112. and foure od furlongs, whereby the iust distance of the neerest part of Britaine, from that part of the maine also, doth certeinlie appeere to be much lesse than the common maps of our countrie haue hitherto set downe.

## Of the ancient names or denominations of this Iland. Cap. 3.

Dis, Samothes.

IN the diligent perusall of their treatises, who haue written of the state of this our Iland, I find that at the first it seemed to be a parcell of the Celtike kingdome, whereof Dis otherwise called Samothes, one of the sonnes of Japhet was the Saturne or originall beginner, and of him thenceforth for a long while called Samothea. Afterward in processe of time, when desire of rule began to take hold in the minds of men, and ech prince endeuoured to enlarge his owne dominions: Albion the sonne of Neptune,

Neptunus Marioticus.

Amphitrite surnamed Marioticus (bicause his dominions laie among the Ilands of the Mediterran sea, as those of Plutus did on the lower grounds neere vnto shore, as contrariwise his father Iupiter dwelled on the high hils neerer to heauen) hearing of the commodities of the countrie, and plentifulnesse of soile here, made a voiage ouer, and finding the thing not onelie correspondent vnto, but also farre surmounting the report that went of this Iland, it was not long after yer he inuaded the same by force of armes, brought it to his subiection, in the 29. yeare after his grandfathers decease, and finallie changed the name thereof into Albion, whereby the former denomination after Samothes did grow out of mind, and fall into vtter forgetfulnesse. And thus was this Iland bereft at on time both of hir ancient name, and also of hir lawfull succession of princes descended of the line of Japhet, vnder whom it had continued by the space of 341. yeres and nine princes, as by the Chronologie following shall easilie appeere.

Britaine vnder the Celts 341. yeares.

Goropius our neighbor being verie nice in the denomination of our Iland, as in most other points of his huge volume of the originall of Antwarpe lib. 6. (whom Buchanan also followeth in part) is brought into great doubt, whether Britaine was called Albion of the word Alb, white; or Alp an hill; as Bodinus is no lesse troubled with fetching the same *ab olbijs*, or as he writeth it, *ab Albijs gallis*. But here his inconstancie appeareth, in that in his Gothadamca liber. 7. he taketh no lesse paines to bring the Britaines out of Denmarke, whereby the name of the Iland should be called Vridania, Freedania, Brithania, or Bridania, *tanquam libera Dania*, as another also doth to fetch the originall out of Spaine, where Breta signifieth soile or earth. But as such as walke in darkenesse do often straie, bicause they wot not whither they go: euen so do these men, whilest they seeke to extenuate the certeintie of our histories, and bring vs altogither to vncerteinties & their coniectures. They in like maner, which will haue the Welshmen come from the French with this one question, *vnde Walli nisi a Gallis*, or from some Spanish colonie, do greatlie bewraie their ouersights; but most of all they erre that endeuour to fetch it from Albine the imagined daughter of a forged Diocletian, wherewith our ignorant writers haue of late not a little stained our historie, and brought the sound part thereof into some discredit and mistrust: but more of this hereafter.

Now to speake somewhat also of Neptune as by the waie (sith I haue made mention of him in this place) it shall not be altogither impertinent. Therfore you shall vnderstand, that for his excellent knowledge in the art of nauigation (as nauigation then went) he was reputed the most skilfull prince that liued in his time. And therfore, and likewise for his courage & boldnesse in aduenturing to and fro, he was after his decease honoured as a god, and the protection of such as trauelled by sea committed to his charge. So rude also was the making of ships wherewith to saile in his time (which were for the most part flat bottomed and broad) that for lacke of better experience to calke and trim the same after they were builded, they vsed to naile them ouer with rawe hides of bulles, buffles, and such like, and with such a kind of naule (as they say) first Samothes, & then Albion arriued in this Iland, which vnto me doth not seeme a thing impossible. The northerlie or artike regions, do not naile their ships with iron, which they vtterly want, but with wooden pins, or els they bind the planks together verie artificiallie with bast ropes, oziers, rinds of trees, or twigs of popler, the substance of those vessels being either of fir or pine, sith oke is verie deintie & hard to be had amongst them. Of their wooden anchors I speake not (which neuertheless are common to them, and to the Gothlanders) more than of ships wrought of wickers, sometime vsed in our Britaine, and couered with leather euen in the time of Plinie, *lib. 7. cap. 56.* as also botes made of rushes and reeds, &c. Neither haue I iust occasion to speake of ships made of canes, of which sort Staurobates, king of India fighting against Semiramis, brought 4000. with him and fought with hir the first battell on the water that euer I read of, and vpon the riuer Indus, but to his losse, for he was ouercome by hir power, & his naule either drowned or burned by the furie of hir souldiers.

Neptune God of the sea.

The maner of dressing of ships in old time.

The first conquest of Britaine.

But to proceed, when the said Albion had gouerned here in this countrie by the space of seauen yeares, it came to passe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the said Hercules passed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italie, and vpon this occasion (as I gather among the writers) not vnworthie to be remembred. It happened in time of Lucus king of the Celts, that Lestrigo and his issue (whom Osyris his grandfather had placed ouer the Janigenes) did exercise great tyrannie, not onelie ouer his owne kingdome, but also in molestation of such princes as inhabited round about him in most intollerable maner. Moreouer he was not a little incouraged in these his doings by Neptune his father, who thirsted greatly to leaue his xxiij. sonnes settled in the mightiest kingdoms of the world, as men of whom he had alreadie conceiued this opinion, that if they had once gotten foot into any region whatsoeuer, it would not be long yer they did by some meanes or other, not onelie establish their seats, but also increase their limits to the better maintenance of themselues and their posteritie for euermore. To be short therefore, after the giants, and great princes, or mightie men of the world had conspired and slaine the aforsaid Osyris, onelie for that he was an obstacle vnto them in their tyrannous dealing; Hercules his sonne, surnamed Labin, Lubim, or Libius, in the reuenge of his fathers death, proclaimed open warres against them all, and going from place to place, he ceased not to spoile their kingdomes, and therewithall to kill them with great courage that fell into his hands. Finallie, hauing among sundrie other ouercome the Lommini or Geriones in Spaine, and vnderstanding that Lestrigo and his sonnes did yet remaine in Italie, he directed his viage into those parts, and taking the kingdome of the Celts in his waie, he remained for a season with Lucus the king of that countrie, where he also maried his daughter Galathea, and begat a sonne by hir, calling him after his mothers name Galates, of whom in my said Chronologie I haue spoken more at large.

Lestrigo.

Janigenes were the posteritie of Noah in Italie.

Neptune had xxviij. sonnes.

Lommini. Geriones.

Galathea.

Galates or Kelts.

In the meane time Albion vnderstanding how Hercules intended to make warres against his brother Lestrigo, he thought good if it were possible to stop him that tide, and therefore sending for his brother Bergion out of the Orchades (where he also reigned as supreame lord and gouernour) they ioined their powers, and sailed ouer into France. Being arriued there, it was not long yer they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the riuer called Roen (or the Rhodanus) where happened a cruell conflict betweene them, in which Hercules and his men were like to haue lost the day, for that they were in maner wearied with long warres, and their munition sore wasted in the last viage that he had made for Spaine. Herevpon Hercules perceiuing the courages of his souldiours somewhat to abate, and seeing the want of artillerie like to be the cause of his fatall daie and present ouerthrowe at hand, it came suddenlie into his mind to will each of them to defend himselfe by throwing stones at his enimie, whereof there laie great store then scattered in the place. The policie was no sooner published than hearkened vnto and put in execution, whereby they so preuailed in the end, that Hercules wan the field, their enimies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both slaine, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine rid of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celts deliuered from an vsurper (that dailie incroched vpon him, building sundrie cities and holds, of which some were placed among the Alps & called after his owne name, and other also euen in his owne kingdome on that side) and Lestrigo greatlie weakened by the slaughter of his brethren. Of this inuention of Hercules in like sort it commeth, that Iupiter father vnto Hercules (who indeed was none other but Osyris) is feigned to throw downe stones from heauen vpon Albion and Bergion, in the defense of his sonne: which came so thicke vpon them, as if great drops of raine or haile should haue descended from aboue, no man well knowing which waie to turne him from their force, they came so fast and with so great a violence.

Bergion.

Pomponius Mela cap. de Gallia.

Strabo lib. 4.

But to go forward, albeit that Albion and his power were thus discomfited and slaine, yet the name that he gaue vnto this Iland died not, but still remained vnto the time of Brute, who arriuing heere in the 1116. before Christ, and 2850. after the creation of the world, not onelie changed it into Britaine (after it had beene called Albion, by the space of about 600. yeares) but to declare his souereigntie ouer the rest of the Ilands also that lie scattered round about it, he called them all after the same maner, so that Albion was said in time to be *Britanniarum insula maxima*, that is, The greatest of those Iles that beare the name of Britaine, which Plinie also confirmeth, and Strabo in his first and second bookes denieth not. There are some, which vtterlie denieng that this Iland toke hir name of Brute, do affirme it rather to be so called of the rich mettals sometime carried from the mines there into all the world as growing in the same. Vibius Sequester also saith that Calabria was sometime called Britannia, *Ob immensam affluentiam totius delitiæ atque vbertatis*, that was to be found heerein. Other contend that it should be written with P (Pritannia.) All which opinions as I absolutelie denie not, so I willinglie leane vnto none of them in peremptorie maner, sith the antiquitie of our historie carrieth me withall vnto the former iudgements. And for the same cause I reiect them also, which deriue the aforesaid denomination from Britona the nymph, in following Lector (or Prutus or Prytus the sonne of Araxa) which Britona was borne in Creta daughter to Mars, and fled by sea from thence onelie to escape the villanie of Minos, who attempted to rauish and make hir one of his paramours: but if I should forsake the authoritie of Galfride, I would rather leane to the report of Parthenius, whereof elsewhere I haue made a more large rehersall.

It is altogither impertinent, to discusse whether Hercules came into this Iland after the death of Albion, or not, although that by an ancient monument seene of late, as I heare, and the cape of Hartland or Harcland in the West countrie (called *Promontorium Herculis* in old time) diuers of our British antiquaries do gather great likelihod that he should also be here. But sith his presence or absence maketh nothing with the alteration of the name of this our region and countrie, and to search out whether the said monument was but some token erected in his honour of later times (as some haue beene elsewhere, among the Celts framed, & those like an old cripple with a bow bent in one hand & a club in the other, a rough skin on his backe, the haire of his head all to be matted like that of the Irishmens, and drawing manie men captiue after him in chaines) is but smallie auailable, and therefore I passe it ouer as not incident to my purpose. Neither will I spend any time in the determination, whether Britaine had beene sometime a parcell of the maine, although it should well seeme so to haue beene, bicause that before the generall floud of Noah, we do not read of Ilands, more than of hils and vallies. Wherfore as Wilden Arguis also noteth in his philosophie and tractation of meteors, it is verie likelie that they were onelie caused by the violent motion and working of the sea, in the time of the floud, which if S. Augustine had well considered, he would neuer haue asked how such creatures as liued in Ilands far distant from the maine could come into the arke, *De ciuit. lib. 16. cap. 7.* howbeit in the end he concludeth with another matter more profitable than his demand.

As for the spædie and timelie inhabitation thereof, this is mine opinion, to wit, that it was inhabited

bited shortlie after the diuision of the earth. For I read that when each capteine and his companie had their portions assigned vnto them by Noah in the partition that he made of the whole among his posteritie, they neuer ceased to trauell and search out the vttermost parts of the same, vntill they found out their bounds allotted, and had seene and vewed their limits, euen vnto the verie poles. It shall suffice therefore onelie to haue touched these things in this manner a farre off, and in returning to our purpose, to proceed with the rest concerning the denomination of our Iland, which was knowne vnto most of the Grecians for a long time, by none other name than Albion, and to saie the truth, euen vnto Alexanders daies, as appeareth by the words of Aristotle in his *De mundo*, and to the time of Ptolomie: notwithstanding that Brute, as I haue said, had changed the same into Britaine, manie hundred yeares before.

Yet Timeus, Ephorus, and some of the Grecians, know the name Britannia, as appeareth also by Diodorus, &c, before the comming of Cesar.

After Brutus I do not find that anie men attempted to change it againe, vntill the time that Theodosius, in the daies of Valentinianus and Valens endeuoured, in the remembrance of the two aforesaid Emperours, to call it Valentia, as Marcellinus saith. But as this deuise toke no hold among the common sort, so it retained still the name of Britaine, vntill the reigne of Ecbert, who about the 800. yeare of Grace, and first of his reigne, gaue forth an especiall edict, dated at Winchester, that it should be called Angles land, or Angelландt, for which in our time we do pronounce it England. And this is all (right honorable) that I haue to say, touching the seuerall names of this Iland, vtterlie misliking in the meane season their deuises, which make Hengist the onlie parent of the later denomination, whereas Ecbert, bicause his ancestours descended from the Angles one of the fiue nations that came with the Saxons into Britaine (for they were not all of one, but of diuers countries, as Angles, Saxons, Germans, Switzers, Norwegiens, Jutes otherwise called Jutons, Uites, Gothes or Getes, and Uandals, and all comprehended vnder the name of Saxons, bicause of Hengist the Saxon and his companie that first arriued here before anie of the other) and therto hauing now the monarchie and preheminence in maner of this whole Iland, called the same after the name of the countrie from whence he deriued his originall, neither Hengist, neither anie Queene named Angla, neither whatsoeuer deriuation *ab Angulo*, as from a corner of the world bearing swaie, or hauing ought to do at all in that behalfe.

Of this opinion is Belforest, lib. 3. cap. 44.

## What sundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion.
### Cap. 4.

AS few or no nations can iustlie boast themselues to haue continued sithence their countrie was first replenished, without any mixture, more or lesse, of forreine inhabitants; no more can this our Iland, whose manifold commodities haue oft allured sundrie princes and famous capteines of the world to conquer and subdue the same vnto their owne subiection. Manie sorts of people therfore haue come in hither and settled themselues here in this Ile, and first of all other, a parcell of the linage and posteritie of Japhet, brought in by Samothes in the 1910. after the creation of Adam. Howbeit in processe of time, and after they had indifferentlie replenished and furnished this Iland with people (which was done in the space of 335. yeares) Albion the giant afore mentioned, repatred hither with a companie of his owne race proceeding from Cham, and not onelie annered the same to his owne dominion, but brought all such in like sort as he found here of the line of Japhet, into miserable seruitude and most extreame thraldome. After him also, and within lesse than fiue hundred and two yeares, came Brute the sonne of Syluius with a great traine of the posteritie of the dispersed Troians in 324. ships: who rendering the like courtesie vnto the Chemminits as they had done before vnto the seed of Japhet, brought them also wholie vnder his rule and gouernance, and dispossessing the peeres & inferior owners of their lands and possessions, he diuided the countrie among such princes and capteines as he in his arriuall here had led out of Grecia with him.

Samothe-ans.

Britains. Chemminits.

From henceforth I do not find any sound report of other nation whatsoeuer, that should aduenture hither to dwell, and alter the state of the land, vntill the Romane emperours subdued it to their dominion, sauing of a few Galles, (and those peraduenture of Belgie) who first comming ouer to rob and pilfer vpon the coasts, did afterward plant themselues for altogither neere vnto the shore, and there builded sundrie cities and townes which they named after those of the maine, from whence they came vnto vs. And this is not onelie to be gathered out of Cesar where he writeth of Britaine of set purpose, but also else-where, as in his second booke a litle after the beginning: for speaking of Deuiaticus king of the Swessions liuing in his time, he affirmeth him not onelie to be the mightiest prince of all the Galles, but also to hold vnder his subiection the Ile of Britaine, of which his sonne Galba was afterward dispossessed. But after the comming of the Romans, it is hard to say with how manie sorts of people we were dailie pestered, almost in euerie steed. For as they planted their forworne legions in the most fertile places of the realme, and where they might best lie for the safegard of their conquests: so their armies did commonlie consist of manie sorts of people, and were (as I may call them) a confused mixture of all other countries and nations then liuing in the world. Howbeit, I thinke it best, bicause they did all beare the title of Romans, to reteine onelie that name for them all, albeit they were wofull ghests to this our Iland: sith that with them came all maner of vice and vicious liuing, all riot and excesse of behauiour into our countrie, which their legions brought hither from each corner of their dominions: for there was no prouince vnder them from whence they had not seruitours.

Romans.

How and when the Scots, a people mixed of the Scithian and Spanish blood, should arriue here out of Ireland, & when the Picts should come vnto vs out of Sarmatia, or from further toward the north & the Scithian Hyperboreans, as yet it is vncerteine. For though the Scotish histories do carrie great countenance of their antiquitie in this Iland: yet (to saie freelie what I thinke) I iudge them rather to haue stolne in hither within the space of 100. yeares before Christ, than to haue continued here so long as they themselues pretend, if my coniecture be any thing. Yet I denie not, but that as the Picts were long planted in this Iland before the Scots aduentured to settle themselues also in Britaine; so the Scots did often aduenture hither to rob and steale out of Ireland, and were finallie called in by the Peats or Picts (as the Romans named them, because they painted their bodies) to helpe them against the Britains, after the which they so planted themselues in these parts, that vnto our time that portion of the land cannot be cleansed of them. I find also that as these Scots were reputed for the most Scithian-like and barbarous nation, and longest without letters; so they vsed commonlie to steale ouer into Britaine in leather skewes, and began to helpe the Picts about or not long before the beginning of Cesars time. For both

Scots. Picts.

Diodorus *lib.6.* and Strabo *lib.4.* doo seeme to speake of a parcell of the Irish nation that should inhabit Britaine in their time, which were giuen to the eating of mans flesh, and therefore called Anthropophagi. Mamertinus in like sort doth note the Redshanks and the Irish (which are properlie the Scots) to be the onelie enimies of our nation, before the comming of Cæsar, as appeareth in his panegyricall oration, so that hereby it is found that they are no new ghestes in Britaine. Wherefore all the controuersie doth rest in the time of their first attempt to inhabit in this Iland. Certeinlie I marueil much whie they trauell not to come in with Cantaber and Partholonus: but I see perfectlie that this shift should be too grosse for the maintenance of their desired antiquitie. Now, as concerning their name, the Saxons translated the word Scotus for Irish: whereby it appeareth that those Irish, of whom Strabo and Diodorus doo speake, are none other than those Scots, of whom Ierome speaketh *Aduersus Iouinianum, lib.2.* who vsed to feed on the buttocks of boies and womens paps, as delicate dishes. Aethicus writing of the Ile of Man, affirmeth it to be inhabited with Scots so well as Ireland euen in his time. Which is another proofe that the Scots and Irish are all one people. They were also called Scoti by the Romans, bicause their Iland & originall inhabitation thereof were vnknowne, and they themselues an obscure nation in the sight of all the world. Now as concerning the Picts, whatsoeuer Ranulphus Hygden imagineth to the contrarie of their latter enterance, it is easie to find by Herodian and Mamertinus (of which the one calleth them Meates, the other Redshankes and Pictones) that they were setled in this Ile long before the time of Seuerus, yea of Cæsar, and comming of the Scots. Which is proofe sufficient, if no further authoritie remained extant for the same. So that the controuersie lieth not in their comming also, but in the true time of their repaire and aduenture into this Iland out of the Orchades (out of which they gat ouer into the North parts of our countrie, as the writers doo report) and from whence they came at the first into the aforsaid Ilands. For my part I suppose with other, that they came hither out of Sarmatia or Scythia: for that nation hauing had alwaies an eie vnto the commodities of our countrie, hath sent out manie companies to inuade and spoile the same. It may be that some will gather, those to be the Picts, of whom Cæsar saith that they stained their faces with wad and madder, to the end they might appeare terrible and fearefull to their enimies; and so inferre that the Picts were naturall Britans. But it is one thing to staine the face onelie as the Britans did, of whom Propertius saith,

*Nunc etiam infectos demum mutare Britannos,*

And to paint the images and portraitures of beasts, fish and foules ouer the whole bodie, as the Picts did, of whom Martial saith,

*Barbara depictis veni Bascauda Britannis.*

Certes the times of Samothes and Albion, haue some likelie limitation: and so we may gather of the comming in of Brute, of Cæsar, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and finallie of the Flemmings, (who had the Rosse in Wales assigned vnto them 1066. after the drowning of their countrie.) But when first the Picts, & then the Scots should come ouer into our Iland, as they were obscure people, so the time of their arriuall is as far to me vnknowne. Wherefore the resolution of this point must still remaine In tenebris. This neuertheless is certeine, that Maximus first Legate of Britaine, and afterward emperour, draue the Scots out of Britaine, and compelled them to get habitation in Ireland, the out Iles, and the North part of the maine, and finallie diuided their region betweene the Britaines and the Picts. He denounced warre also against the Irishmen, for receiuing them into their land: but they crauing the peace, yeelded to subscribe, that from thence-forth they would not receiue any Scot into their dominions; and so much the more, for that they were pronounced enimies to the Romans, and disturbers of the common peace and quietnesse of their prouinces here in England.

Of the Picts.

The Saxons became first acquainted with this Ile, by meanes of the piracie which they dailie practised vpon our coasts (after they had once begun to aduenture themselues also vpon the seas, thereby to seeke out more wealth than was now to be gotten in the West parts of the maine, which they and their neighbours had alreadie spoiled in most lamentable and barbarous maner) howbeit they neuer durst presume to inhabit in this Iland, vntill they were sent for by Vortiger to serue him in his warres against the Picts and Scots, after that the Romans had giuen vs ouer, and left vs wholie to our owne defense and regiment. Being therefore come vnder Hengist in three bottoms or keeles, and in short time espieng the idle and negligent behauiour of the Britaines, and fertilitie of our soile, they were not a little inflamed to make a full conquest of such as at the first they came to aid and succour. Hereupon also they fell by little and little to the winding in of greater numbers of their countrimen and neighbours, with their wiues and children into this region, so that within a while these new comlings began to molest the homelings, and ceased not from time to time to continue their purpose, vntill they had gotten possession of the whole, or at the least wise the greatest part of our countrie; the Britons in the meane season being driuen either into Wales and Cornewall, or altogither out of the Iland to seeke new habitations.

The hurt by forren aid.

Danes.

In like maner the Danes (the next nation that succeeded) came at the first onelie to pilfer and robbe vpon the frontiers of our Iland, till that in the end, being let in by the Welshmen or Britons through an earnest desire to be reuenged vpon the Saxons, they no lesse plagued the one than the other, their frends than their aduersaries, seeking by all meanes possible to establish themselues also in the sure possession of Britaine. But such was their successe, that they prospered not long in their deuise: for so great was their lordlinesse, crueltie, and insatiable desire of riches, beside their detestable abusing of chast matrons, and yong virgins (whose husbands and parents were dailie inforced to become their drudges and slaues, whilest they sat at home and fed like drone bees of the swet of their trauell and labours) that God I say would not suffer them to continue any while ouer vs, but when he saw his time he remoued their yoke, and gaue vs libertie as it were to breath vs, thereby to see whether this his sharpe scourge could haue moued vs to repentance and amendment of our lewd and sinfull liues, or not. But when no signe thereof appeared in our hearts, he called in an other nation to ver vs, I meane the Normans, a people mixed with Danes, and of whom it is worthilie doubted, whether they were more hard and cruell to our countrimen than the Danes, or more heauie and intollerable to our Iland than the Saxons or the Romans. This nation came out of Newstria, the people thereof were called Normans by the French, bicause the Danes which subdued that region, came out of the North parts of the world: neuertheless, I suppose that the ancient word Newstria, is corrupted from West-rike, bicause that if you marke the situation, it lieth opposite from Austria or Est-rike, which is called the East region, as Newstria is the Weast: for Rike in the old Scithian tong doth signifie a region or kingdome, as in Franc-rike, or Franc-reich, West-saxon-reich, Est-saxon-reich, Su-rike, Angel-rike, &c, is else to be seene. But howsoeuer this falleth out, these Normans

The Normans.

or

or Danish French, were deadlie aduersaries to the English Saxons, first by meane of a quarell that grew betweene them in the daies of Edward the Confessour, at such time as the Earle of Bullen, and William Duke of Normandie, arriued in this land to visit him, & their freends; such Normans (I meane) as came ouer with him and Emma his mother before him, in the time of Canutus and Ethelred. For the first footing that euer the French did set in this Iland, sithence the time of Ethelbert & Sigebert, was with Emma, which Ladie brought ouer a traine of French Gentlemen and Ladies with hir into England.

The cause of the conquest by the Normans.

After hir also no small numbers of attendants came in with Edward the Confessour, whome he preferred to the greatest offices in the realme, in so much that one Robert a Norman, became Archbishop of Canturburie, whose preferment so much enhanced the minds of the French, on the one side, as their lordlie and outragious demeanour kindled the stomachs of the English nobilitie against them on the other: insomuch that not long before the death of Emma the kings mother, and vpon occasion of the brall happning at Douer (whereof I haue made sufficient mention in my Chronologie, not regarding the report of the French authors in this behalfe, who write altogither in the fauour of their Archbishop Robert, but following the authoritie of an English priest then liuing in the court) the English Peeres began to shew their disliking in manifest maner. Neuertheles, the Normans so bewitched the king with their lieng and bosting, Robert the Archbishop being the chéefe instrument of their practise, that he beléeued them, and thereupon vered sundrie of the nobilitie, amongst whom Earle Goodwin of Kent was the chéefe, a noble Gentleman and father in law to king Edward by the mariage of his daughter. The matter also came to such issue against him, that he was exiled, and fiue of his sonnes with him, whereupon he goeth ouer the sea, and sone after returning with his said sonnes, they inuaded the land in sundrie places, the father himselfe comming to London, where when the kings power was readie to ioine with him in battell, it vtterlie refused so to doo: affirming plainelie, that it should be méere follie for one Englishman to fight against another, in the reuenge of Frenchmens quarels: which answer entred so déeplie into the kings mind, that he was contented to haue the matter heard, and appointing commissioners for that purpose; they concluded at the vpshot, that all the French should depart out of England by a day, few excepted, whom the king should appoint and nominate.

The hurt by forren aid.

Archbishop of Can. exiled, and the rest of the French.

By this means therfore Robert the Archbishop, & of secret counsell with the king, was first exiled as principall abuser & seducer of the king, who goeth to Rome, & there complaineth to the Pope of his iniurie receiued by the English. Howbeit as he returned home againe with no small hope of the readeption of his See, he died in Normandie, whereby he saued a killing. Certes he was the first that euer tendered complaint out of England vnto Rome, & with him went William Bishop of London (afterward reuoked) and Vlfo of Lincolne, who hardlie escaped the furie of the English nobilitie. Some also went into Scotland, and there held themselues, expecting a better time. And this is the true historie of the originall cause of the conquest of England by the French: for after they were well beaten at Douer, because of their insolent demeanour there shewed, their harts neuer ceased to boile with a desire of reuenge that brake out into a flame, so sone as their Robert possessed the primacie, which being once obteined, and to set his mischéefe intended abroch withall, a contention was quicklie procured about certeine Kentish lands, and controuersie kindled, whether he or the Earle should haue most right vnto them. The king held with the priest as with the church, the nobilitie with the Earle. In processe also of this businesse, the Archbishop accused the Earle of high treason, burdening him with the slaughter of Alfred the kings brother, which was altogither false: as appeareth by a treatise yet extant of that matter, written by a chaplaine to king Edward the Confessour, in the hands of Iohn Stow my verie freend, wherein he saith thus, *Alfredus incautè agens in aduentu suo in Angliam à Danis circumuentus occiditur.* He addeth moreouer, that giuing out as he came through the countrie accompanied with his few proud Normans, how his meaning was to recouer his right vnto the kingdome, and supposing that all men would haue yéelded vnto him, he fell into their hands, whome Harald then king did send to apprehend him, vpon the fame onelie of this report brought vnto his eares. So that (to be short) after the king had made his pacification with the Earle, the French (I say) were exiled, the Quéene restored to his fauour (whom he at the beginning of this broile had imprisoned at Wilton, allowing hir but one onlie maid to wait vpon hir) and the land reduced to hir former quietnesse, which continued vntill the death of the king. After which the Normans not forgetting their old grudge, remembred still their quarell, that in the end turned to their conquest of this Iland. After which obteined, they were so cruellie bent to our vtter subuersion and ouerthrow, that in the beginning it was lesse reproch to be accounted a slaue than an Englishman, or a drudge in anie filthie businesse than a Britaine: insomuch that euerie French page was superiour to the greatest Pære; and the losse of an Englishmans life but a pastime to such of them as contended in their brauerie, who should giue the greatest strokes or wounds vnto their bodies, when their toiling and drudgerie could not please them, or satisfie their grédie humors. Yet such was our lot in those daies by the diuine appointed order, that we must needs obey such as the Lord did set ouer vs, and so much the rather, for that all power to resist was vtterlie taken from vs, and our armes made so weake and feeble that they were not now able to remoue the importable load of the enimie from our surburdened shoulders. And this onelie I saie againe, because we refused grace offered in time, and would not heare when God by his Preachers did call vs so fauourablie vnto him. Oh how miserable was the estate of our countrie vnder the French and Normans, wherein the Brittish and English that remained, could not be called to any function in the commonwealth, no not so much as to be constables and headburowes in small villages, except they could bring 2. or 3. Normans for suerties to the Lords of the soile for their good behauiour in their offices! Oh what numbers of all degrées of English and Brittish were made slaues and bondmen, and bought and sold as oxen in open market! In so much that at the first comming, the French bond were set free; and those that afterward became bond, were of our owne countrie and nation, so that few or rather none of vs remained free without some note of bondage and seruitude to the French. Hereby then we perceiue, how from time to time this Iland hath not onelie béene a prey, but as it were a common receptacle for strangers, the naturall homelings or Britons being still cut shorter and shorter, as I said before, till in the end they came not onelie to be driuen into a corner of this region, but in time also verie like vtterlie to haue béene extinguished. For had not king Edward, surnamed the saint, in his time, after grieuous wars made vpon them 1063. (wherein Harald latelie made Earle of Drenford, sonne to Godwin Earle of Kent, and after king of England, was his generall) permitted the remnant of their women to ioine in mariage with the Englishmen (when the most part of their husbands and male children were slaine with the sword) it could not haue béene otherwise chosen, but their whole race must

Erle Goodwine slandered by the French writers.

The miserie of the English vnder the French.

The cause of our miserie.

In this voiage the said Harald builded Pontalchith, which Caradoch ap Griffin afterward ouerthrew, and killed the garrison that Harald left therein.

Danes.

The Normans.

needs haue sustetned the vttermost confusion, and thereby the memorie of the Britons vtterlie haue perished among vs.

Thus we see how England hath six times bene subiect to the reproch of conquest. And wheras the Scots seeme to challenge manie famous victories also ouer vs, beside greeuous impositions, tributs, & dishonorable compositions: it shall suffice for answer, that they deale in this as in the most part of their historie, which is to seeke great honor by lieng, & great renowme by prating and craking. Indeed they haue done great mischéefe in this Iland, & with extreme crueltie; but as for any conquest the first is yet to heare of. Diuers other conquests also haue béene pretended by sundrie princes sithence the conquest, onelie to the end that all pristinate lawes and tenures of possession might cease, and they make a new disposition of all things at their owne pleasure. As one by king Edw. the 3. but it toke none effect. Another by Henrie the 4. who neuertheless was at the last though hardlie drawne from the challenge by William Thorington, then cheefe Iustice of England. The third by Henrie the 7. who had some better shew of right, but yet without effect. And the last of all by Q. Marie, as some of the papists gaue out, and also would haue had hir to haue obteined, but God also staied their malices, and hir challenge. But beside the six afore mentioned, Huntingdon the old historiographer speaketh of a seuenth, likelie (as he saith) to come one daie out of the North, which is a wind that bloweth no man to good, sith nothing is to be had in those parts, but hunger & much cold. See more hereof in the historie of S. Albons, and aforsaid author which lieth on the left side of the librarie belonging now to Paules: for I regard no prophesies as one that doubteth from what spirit they do proceed, or who should be the author of them.

owne knowledge. Wherfore it appeareth by present experience, that all is not absolutelie vntrue which is remembred of men of such giants. For this cause therfore I haue now taken vpon me to make this breefe discourse insuing, as indeuouring thereby to proue, that the opinion of giants is not altogither grounded vpon vaine and fabulous narrations, inuented onelie to delight the eares of the hearers with the report of maruellous things: but that there haue bene such men indeed, as for their hugenesse of person haue resembled rather * high towers than mortall men, although their posterities are now consumed, and their monstruous races vtterlie worne out of knowledge. * Esay. 30. vers. 25.

I do not meane herein to dispute, whether this name Gigas or Nephilim was giuen vnto them, rather for their tyrannie and oppression of the people, than for their greatnesse of bodie, or large steps, as Goropius would haue it (for he denieth that euer men were greater than at this present) or bicause their parents were not knowne, for such in old time were called *Terræ filij*; or whether the word Gigas doth onlie signifie *Indigenas*, or homelings, borne in the land or not; neither whether all men were of like quantitie in stature, and farre more greater in old time, than now they be: and yet absolutelie I denie neither of these, sith verie probable reasons may be brought for ech of them, but especiallie the last rehearsed, whose confirmation dependeth vpon the authorities of sundrie ancient writers, who make diuers of noble race, equall to the giants in strength and manhood, and yet do not giue the same name vnto them, bicause their quarels were iust, and commonlie taken in hand for defense of the oppressed. Examples hereof we may take of Hercules and Antheus, whose wrestling declareth that they were equall in stature & stomach. Such also was the courage of Antheus, that being often ouercome, and as it were vtterlie vanquished by the said Hercules, yet if he did eftsones returne againe into his kingdome, he forthwith recouered his force, returned and held Hercules tacke, till he gat at the last betweene him and home, so cutting off the farther hope of the restitution of his armie, and killing finallie his aduersarie in the field, of which victorie Politian writeth thus: Antheus. Lucane lib. 4. in fine.

*Incaluere animis dura certare palæstra,*
*Neptuni quondam filium atque Iouis:*
*Non certamen erant operoso ex ære lebetes,*
*Sed qui vel vitam vel ferat interitum:*
*Occidit Antæum Ioue natum viuere fas est,*
*Estq; magistra Pales Græcia, non Lybia.*

The like do our histories report of Corineus and Gomagot, peraduenture king of this Ile, who fought a combat hand to hand, till one of them was slaine, and yet for all this no man reputeth Hercules or Corineus for giants, albeit that Hanuile in his Architrenion make the later to be 12. cubits in height, which is full 18. foot, if poeticall licence do not take place in his report and assertion. But sith (I say againe) it is not my purpose to stand vpon these points, I passe ouer to speake any more of them. And whereas also I might haue proceeded in such order, that I should first set downe by manie circumstances, whether any giants were, then whether they were of such huge and incredible stature as the authours do remember, and finallie whether any of them haue bene in this our Iland or not, I protest plainlie, that my mind is not here bent to deale in any such maner, but rather generallie to confirme and by sufficient authoritie, that there haue bene such mightie men of stature, and some of them also in Britaine, which I will set downe onelie by sundrie examples, whereby it shall fall out, that neither our Iland, nor any part of the maine, haue at one time or other béen altogither without them. First of all therfore, & to begin with the scriptures, the most sure & certeine ground of all knowledge: you shall haue out of them Corineus. Gomagot.

## Whether it be likelie that any giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not. Cap. 5.

BEsides these aforesaid nations, which haue crept (as you haue heard) into our Iland, we read of sundrie giants that should inhabit here. Which report as it is not altogither incredible, sith the posterities of diuers princes were called by the name: so vnto some mens eares it séemeth so strange a rehersall, that for the same onelie cause they suspect the credit of our whole historie, & reiect it as a fable, vnworthie to be read. They also condemne the like in all other histories, especiallie of the North, where men are naturallie of greatest stature, imagining all to be but fables that is written of Starcater, Hartben, Angrine, Aruerode, &c: of whom Saxo, Iohannes Magnus and Olaus do make mention, & whose bones do yet remaine to be seene as rare miracles in nature. Of these also some in their life time were able to lift vp (as they write) a vessell of liquor of 1000. weight, or an horsse, or an oxe, & cast it on their shoulders (wherein their verie wiues haue bene likewise knowne to come néere vnto them) and of the race of those men, some were séene of no lesse strength in the 1500. of Grace, wherein Olaus liued, and wrote the same of his owne experience and knowledge. Of the giant of Spaine that died of late yeares by a fall vpon the Alpes, as he either went or came fro Rome, about the purchase of a dispensation to marrie with his kinswoman (a woman also of much more than common stature) there be men yet liuing, and may liue long for age, that can saie verie much euen by their

Cap. 6. vers. 5.

Nu. cap. 13. verse. 33, & 34.

Deut. 3. vers. 11. Og of Basan.

Cap 17. ver. 4, 5, 6. Goliah.

Cap. 21. ver. 16, 17, &c.

such

such notable examples set downe, as I haue obserued in reading the same, which vnto the godlie may suffice for sufficient proofe of my position. Neuertheless, after the scriptures I will resort to the writtings of our learned Diuines, and finallie of the infidell and pagane authors, whereby nothing shall seeme to want that may confute Goropius, and all his cauillations.

Cap. 6. vers. 5. Moses the prophet of the Lord, writing of the estate of things before the floud, hath these words in his booke of generations. In these daies saith he, there were giants vpon the earth. Berosus also the Chalde writeth, Anti. li. 1. that neere vnto Libanus there was a citie called Oenon (which I take to be Hanoch, builded sometime by Cham) wherein giants did inhabit, who trusting to the strength and hugenesse of their bodies, did verie great oppression and mischeefe in the world. The Hebrues called them generallie Enach, of Hanach the Chebronite, father to Achimam, Scheschai and Talma, although their first originall was deriued from Henoch the sonne of Caine, of whome that pestilent race descended, as I read. The Moabits named them Emims, and the Ammonites Zamsummims, and it should seeme by the second of Deut. cap. 19, 20. that Ammon and Moab were greatlie replenished with such men, when Moses wrote that treatise. For of these monsters some families remained of greater stature than other vnto his daies, in comparison of whome the children of Israell confessed themselues to be but grashoppers. Nu. cap. 13. verse. 33, & 34. Which is one noble testimonie that the word Gigas or Enach is so well taken for a man of huge stature, as for an homeborne child, wicked tyrant, or oppressour of the people.

Deut. 3. vers. 11. Og of Basan. Furthermore, there is mention made also in the scriptures of Og, sometime king of Basan, who was the last of the race of the giants, that was left in the land of promise to be ouercome by the Israelits, whose iron bed was afterward shewed for a wonder at Rabbath (a citie of the Ammonites) conteining 9. cubits in length, and 4. in bredth, which cubits I take not to be geometricall, (that is, each one so great as six of the smaller, as those were wherof the Arke was made, as our Diuines affirme, especiallie Augustine: whereas Origen, *hom. 2. in Gen.* out of whom he seemeth to borrow it, appeareth to haue no such meaning directlie) but rather of the arme of a meane man, which oftentimes doth varie & differ from the standard. Oh how Goropius dalieth about the historie of this Og, of the breaking of his pate against the beds head, & of hurting his ribs against the sides, and all to proue, that Og was not bigger than other men, and so he leaueth the matter as sufficientlie answered with a French countenance of truth. But see Augustin. *de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 25. & ad Faustum Manich. lib. 12.* Ambros. *&c.* and Iohannes Buteo that excellent geometrician, who hath written of purpose of the capacitie of the Arke.

Cap 17. ver. 4, 5, 6. Goliah. In the first of Samuel you shall read of Goliah a Philistine, the weight of whose brigandine or shirt of maile was of 5000. sicles, or 1250. ounces of brasse, which amounteth to 104. pound of Troie weight after 4. common sicles to the ounce. The head of his speare came vnto ten pound English or 600. sicles of that metall. His height also was measured at six cubits and an hand bredth. All which do import that he was a notable giant, and a man of great stature & strength to weare such an armour, and beweld so heauie a lance. But Goropius thinking himselfe still to haue Og in hand, and indeuouring to extenuate the fulnesse of the letter to his vttermost power, doth neuertheless earnestlie affirme, that he was not aboue three foot more than the common sort of men, or two foot higher than Saule: and so he leaueth it as determined.

Cap. 21. ver. 16, 17, &c. In the second of Samuel, I find report of foure giants borne in Geth; of which Ishbenob the first, that would haue killed Dauid, had a speare, whose head weighed the iust halfe of that of Goliah: the second called Siphai, Sippai or Saph, 1. *Par.* 20. was nothing inferiour to the first: the third hight also Goliah, the staffe of whose speare was like vnto the beame of a weauers loome, neuertheless he was slaine in the second battell in Gob by Elhanan, as the first was by Abisai Ioabs brother, and the second by Elhanan. The fourth brother (for they were all brethren) was slaine at Gath by Ionathan nephew to Dauid, and he was not onlie huge of personage, but also of disfigured forme, for he had 24. fingers and toes. Whereby it is euident, that the generation of giants was not extinguished in Palestine, vntill the time of Dauid, which was 2890. after the floud, nor vtterlie consumed in Og, as some of our expositors would haue it.

Now to come vnto our christian writers. For though the authorities alreadie alleged out of the word, are sufficient to confirme my purpose at the full; yet will I not let to set downe such other notes as experience hath reuealed, onelie to the end that the reader shall not thinke the name of giants, with their quantities, and other circumstances, mentioned in the scriptures, rather to haue some mysticall interpretation depending vpon them, than that the sense of the text in this behalfe is to be taken simplie as it speaketh. And first of all to omit that which Tertullian *Lib. 2. de resurrect.* saith; De ciuitate Dei lib. 15. cap. 9. S. Augustine noteth, how he with other saw the tooth of a man, wherof he tooke good aduisement, and pronounced in the end that it would haue made 100. of his owne, or anie other mans that liued in his time. Iohannes Boccacius. The like hereof also doth Iohn Boccace set downe, in the 68. chapter of his 4. booke, saieng that in the caue of a mountaine, not far from Drepanum (a towne of Sicilia called Eryx as he geseth) the bodie of an exceeding high giant was discouered, three of whose teeth did weigh 100. ounces, which being conuerted into English poise, doth yeeld eight pound and foure ounces, after twelue ounces to the pound, that is 33. ounces euerie tooth.

He addeth farther, that the forepart of his scull was able to conteine manie bushels of wheat, and by the proportion of the bone of his thigh, the Symmetricians iudged his bodie to be aboue 200. cubits. A carcase discouered of 200. cubits. Those teeth, scull, and bones, were (and as I thinke yet are, for ought I know to the contrarie) to be seene in the church of Drepanum in perpetuall memorie of his greatnesse, whose bodie was found vpon this occasion. As some digged in the earth to laie the foundation of an house, the miners happened vpon a great vault, not farre from Drepanum: whereinto when they were entred, they saw the huge bodie of a man sitting in the caue, of whose greatnesse they were so afraid, that they ranne awaie, and made an outcrie in the citie, how there sat a man in such a place, so great as an hill: the people hearing the newes, ran out with clubs and weapons, as if they should haue gone vnto a foughten field, and 300. of them entring into the caue, they forthwith saw that he was dead, and yet sat as if he had been aliue, hauing a staffe in his hand, compared by mine author vnto the mast of a tall ship, which being touched fell by and by to dust, sauing the nether end betweene his hand and the ground, whose hollownesse was filled with 1500. pound weight of lead, to beare vp his arme that it should not fall in peeces: neuertheless, his bodie also being touched fell likewise into dust, sauing three of his aforesaid teeth, the forepart of his scull, and one of his thigh bones, which are reserued to be seene of such as will hardlie beleeue these reports.

In the histories of Brabant I read of a giant found, whose bones were 17. or 18. cubits in length, but Goropius, as his maner is, denieth them to be the bones of a man, affirming rather that they were the bones of an elephant, because they somwhat resembled those of two such beasts which were found at the making of the famous ditch betweene Brusels and Mechlin. As though there

there were anie precise resemblance betweene the bones of a man and of an elephant, or that there had euer béene any elephant of 27. foot in length. But see his demeanour. In the end he granteth that another bodie was found vpon the shore of Rhodanus, of thirtie foot in length. Which somewhat staieth his iudgement, but not altogither remoueth his error.

Mar. Westmon. The bodie of Pallas was found in Italie, in the yeare of Grace 1038. and being measured it conteined twentie foot in length, this Pallas was companion with Æneas.

Iohannes Leland. Masieus, lib. 14. Triuet. Mat. West. There was a carcase also laid bare 1170. in England vpon the shore (where the beating of the sea had washed awaie the earth from the stone wherein it laie) and when it was taken vp, it conteined 50. foot in measure, as our histories do report. The like was séene before in Wales, in the yeare 1087. of another of 14. foot.

In Perth moreouer a village in Scotland another was taken vp, which to this daie they shew in a church, vnder the name of little Iohn (*per Antiphrasin*) being also 14. foot in length, as diuerse do affirme which haue beholden the same, and whereof Hector Boetius doth saie, that he did put his whole arme into one of the hanch bones: which is worthie to be remembred.

Hector Boet. In the yeare of Grace 1475. the bodie of Tulliola the daughter of Cicero was taken vp, & found higher by not a few foot than the common sort of women liuing in those daies.

Geruasius Tilberiensis. Geruasius Tilberiensis, head Marshall to the king of Arles writeth in his Chronicle dedicated to Otho 4. how that at Isoretum, in the suburbes of Paris, he saw the bodie of a man that was twentie foot long, beside the head and the necke, which was milling & not found, the owner hauing peraduenture béene beheaded for some notable trespasse committed in times past, or (as he saith) killed by S. William.

The Græke writers make mention of Andronicus their emperour, who liued 1183. of Grace, and was ten foot in height, that is, three foot higher than the Dutch man that shewed himselfe in manie places of England, 1582. this man maried Anna daughter to Lewis of France (before assured to Alexius, whome he strangled, dismembred and drowned in the sea) the ladie not being aboue eleuen yeares of age, whereas he was an old dotard, and beside hir he kept Marpaca a fine harlot, who ruled him as she listed.

Zonaras speaketh of a woman that liued in the daies of Iustine, who being borne in Cilicia, and of verie comelie personage, was neuertheless almost two foot taller than the tallest woman of hir time.

Sir Thomas Eliot. A carcase was taken vp at Iuie church neere Salisburie but of late yeares to speake of, almost fourtéene foot long. *in Dictionario Eliotæ.*

Leland in Combrit. In Gilleland in Come Whitton paroche not far from the chappell of the Moore, six miles by east from Carleill, a coffin of stone was found, and therein the bones of a man, of more than incredible greatnes. In like sort Leland speaketh of another found in the Ile called Alderney, whereof you shall read more in the chapiter of our Ilands.

Richard Grafton. Richard Grafton in his Manuell telleth of one whose shinbone conteined six foot, and thereto his scull so great that it was able to receiue fiue pecks of wheat. Wherefore by coniecturall symmetrie of these parts, his bodie must néeds be of 24. foot, or rather more, if it were diligentlie measured. For the proportion of a comelie and well featured bodie, answereth 9. times to the length of the face, taken at large from the pitch of the crowne to the chin, as the whole length is from the same place vnto the sole of the foot, measured by an imagined line, and seuered into so manie parts by like ouerthwart draughts, as Drurerus in his lineall description of mans bodie doth deliuer. Neuertheles, this symmetrie is not taken by other than the well proportioned face,

The Symmetrie or proportion of the bodie of a comelie man.

for *Recta, orbiculata* (or *fornicata*) *prona, resupinata*, and *lacunata* (or *repanda*) do so far degenerate from the true proportion as from the forme and beautie of the comelie. Hereby also they make the face taken in strict maner, to be the tenth part of the whole bodie, that is, frō the highest part of the forehead to the pitch of the chin, so that in the vse of the word face there is a difference, whereby the 9. part is taken (I say) from the crowne (called *Vertex*, because the haire there turneth into a circle) so that if the space by a rule were truelie taken, I meane from the crowne or highest part of the head to the pitch of the nether chap, and multiplied by nine, the length of the whole bodie would easilie appeare, & shew it selfe at the full. In like maner I find, that from the elbow to the top of the midle finger is the 4. part of the whole length, called a cubit: from the wrist to the top of the same finger, a tenth part: the length of the shinbone to the ancle a fourth part (and all one with the cubit:) from the top of the finger to the third ioint, two third parts of the face from the top of the forehead. Which obseruations I willinglie remember in this place, to the end that if anie such carcases happen to be found hereafter, it shall not be hard by some of these bones here mentioned, to come by the stature of the whole bodie, in certeine & exact maner. As for the rest of the bones, ioints, parts, &c: you may resort to Drurerus, Cardan, and other writers, sith the farther deliuerie of them concerneth not my purpose. To proceed therefore with other examples, I read that the bodie of king Arthur being found in the yeare 1189. was two foot higher than anie man that came to behold the same. Sylvester Giraldus. Finallie the carcase of William conqueror was séene not manie yeares since (to wit, 1542.) in the citie of Cane, twelue inches longer, by the iudgment of such as saw it, than anie man which dwelled in the countrie. Constans fama Gallorum. All which testimonies I note togither, bicause they proceed from christian writers, from whome nothing should be farther or more distant, than of set purpose to lie, and feed the world with fables.

In our times also, and whilest Francis the first reigned ouer France, there was a man séene in Aquiteine, whome the king being in those parties made of his gard, whose height was such, that a man of common heigth might easilie go vnder his twist without stooping, a stature incredible. Moreouer Casanion, a writer of our time, telleth of the bones of Briat a giant found of late in Delphinois, of 15. cubits, the diameter of whose scull was two cubits, and the breadth of his shoulders foure, as he himselfe beheld in the late second wars of France, & whereunto the report of Ioan Marius made in his bookes *De Galliarum illustrationibus*, where he writeth of the carcase of the same giant found not farre from the Rhodanus, which was 22. foot long, from the scull to the sole of the feet, doth yéeld sufficient testimonie. Also Calameus in his commentaries *De Biturigibus*, confirmeth no lesse, adding that he was found 1556. & so doth Baptista Fulgosus, *lib. 1. cap. 6.* saieng farther, that his graue was séene not farre from Valentia, and discouered by the violence and current of the Rhodanus. The said Casanion in like sort speaketh of the bones of a man which he beheld, one of whose téeth was a foot long, and eight pound in weight. Also of the sepulchre of another neere vnto Charmes castell, which was nine paces in length, things incredible to vs, if eiesight did not confirme it in our owne times, and these carcases were not reserued by the verie prouidence of God, to the end we might behold his works, and by these relikes vnderstand, that such men were in old time in deed, of whose statures we now begin to doubt. Now to say somwhat also of mine owne knowledge, there is the thighbone of a man to be séene in the church of S. Laurence néere Guildhall in London, which in time past was 26. inches in length, but now it beginneth to decaie, so that it is shorter by foure inches than it was in the time of king Edward. Another also

Briat.

is

is to be seene in Aldermarie burie, of some called Aldermanburie, of 32. inches and rather more, whereof the symmetrie hath beene taken by some skilfull in that practise, and an image made according to that proportion, which is first in the east end of the cloister of the same church, not farre from the said bone, and sheweth the person of a man full ten or eleuen foot high, which as some say was found in the cloister of Poules, that was nære to the librarie, at such time as the Duke of Somerset did pull it downe to the verie foundation, and carried the stones thereof to the Strand, where he did build his house. These two bones haue I seene, beside other, whereof at the beholding I toke no great heed, bicause I minded not as then to haue had any such vse of their proportions, and therefore I will speake no more of them: this is sufficient for my purpose that is deliuered out of the christian authors.

Now it resteth furthermore that I set downe, what I haue read therof in Pagane writers, who had alwaies great regard of their credit, and so ought all men that dedicate any thing vnto posteritie, least in going about otherwise to reape renowme and praise, they do procure vnto themselues in the end nothing else but mære contempt and infamie. For my part I will touch rare things, and such as to my selfe do seeme almost incredible: howbeit as I find them, so I note them, requiring your Honour in reading hereof, to let euerie Author beare his owne burden, and euerie ore his bundle.

*In vita Sertorij de Antheo.*

Plutarch telleth how Sertorius being in Lybia, nére to the streicts of Maroco, to wit, at Tingi (or Tanger in Mauritania, as it is now called) caused the sepulchre of Antheus, afore remembred to be opened: for hearing by common report that the said giant laie buried there, whose corps was fiftie cubits long at the least, he was so far off from crediting the same, that he would not beleeue it, vntill he saw the coffin open wherein the bones of the aforesaid prince did rest. To be short therefore, he caused his souldiers to cast downe the hill made sometime ouer the tombe, and finding the bodie in the bottome coffined in stone, after the measure therof taken, he saw it manifestlie to be 60. cubits in length, which were ten more than the people made accompt of, which Strabo also confirmeth.

Pausanias reporteth out of one Miso, that when the bodie of Aiax was found, the whirlebone of his knee was adiudged so broad as a pretie dish: also that the bodie of Asterius somtime king of Creta was ten cubits long, and that of Hyllus or Gerion no lesse maruelous than the rest, all which Goropius still condemneth to be the bones of monsters of the sea (notwithstanding the manifest formes of their bones, epitaphes, and inscriptions found ingrauen in brasse and lead with them in their sepulchres) so far is he from being persuaded and led from his opinion.

Philostrate. Philostrate *in Heroicis* saith, how he saw the bodie of a giant thirtie cubits in length, also the carcase of another of two and twentie, and the third of twelue.

Liuie in the seauenth of his first decade, speaketh of an huge person which made a challenge as he stood at the end of the Anien bridge, against any Romane that would come out and fight with him, whose stature was not much inferiour to that of Golias, of Artaches (of whome Herodot speaketh in the historie of Xerxes) who was fiue common cubits of stature, which make but fiue of the kings standard, bicause this is longer by three fingers than the other. Of Pusio, Secundilla, & Cabaras, of which the first two liuing vnder Augustus were aboue ten foot, and the later vnder Claudius of full nine, and all remembred by Plinie; of Eleazar a Iew, of whome Iosephus saith, that he was sent to Tiberius, and a person of heigth fiue cubits; of another of whom Nicephorus maketh mention *lib.* 12. *cap.* 13. *Hist. eccles.* of fiue cubits and an handfull, I say nothing, bicause Casanion of Putterell hath alredie sufficientlie discoursed vpon these examples in his *De gigantibus*, which as I gesse he hath written of set purpose against Goropius, who in his *Gigantomachia*, supposeth himselfe to haue killed all the giants in the world, and like a new Iupiter *Alterum carcasse Herculem*, as the said Casanion doth merilie charge and vpbraid him.

Plinie telleth of an earthquake at Creta, which discouered the body of a giant, that was 46. cubits in length after the Romane standard, and by diuerse supposed to be the bodie of Orion or Ætion. Nevertheless I read, that Lucius Flaccus and Metellus did sweare *Per sua capita*, that it was either the carcase of some monster of the sea, or a forged deuise to bleare the peoples eies withall, wherein it is wonderfull to see, how they please Goropius as one that first deriued his fantasticall imagination from their asseueration & oth. The said Plinie also addeth that the bodie of Orestes was seuen cubits in length, one Gabbara of Arabia nine foot nine inches, and two reserued *In conditorio Sallustianorum* halfe a foot longer than Gabbara was, for which I neuer read that anie man was driuen to sweare. Lib. 7.

Trallianus writeth how the Athenienses digging on a time in the ground, to laie the foundation of a new wall to be made in a certeine Iland in the daies of an emperour, did find the bones of Macrosyris in a coffin of hard stone, of 100. cubits in length after the accompt of the Romane cubit, which was then either a foot and a halfe, or not much in difference from halfe a yard of our measure now in England. These verses also, as they are now translated out of Greeke were found withall, Trallianus.

*Sepultus ego Macrosyris in longa insula*
*Vitæ peractis annis mille quinquies:*

which amounteth to 81. yeares foure moneths, after the Aegyptian reckoning.

In the time of Hadrian the emperour, the bodie of the giant Ida was taken vp at Messana, conteining 20. foot in length, and hauing a double row of teeth, yet standing whole in his chaps. Eumachus also in *Periegesi*, telleth that when the Carthaginenses went about to dich in their prouince, they found two bodies in seuerall coffins of stone, the one was 23. the other 24. cubits in length, such another was found in Bosphoro Cymmerio after an earthquake, but the inhabitants did cast those bones into the Meotidan marris. In Dalmatia, manie graues were shaken open with an earthquake, in diuers of which certeine carcases were found, whose ribs conteined 16. els, after the Romane measure, whereby the whole bodies were iudged to be 64. sith the longest rib is commonlie about the fourth part of a man, as some rouing symmetricians affirme.

Arrhianus saith, that in the time of Alexander the bodies of the Asianes were generallie of huge stature, and commonlie of fiue cubits, and such was the heigth of Porus of Inde, whom the said Alexander vanquished and ouerthrew in battell.

Suidas speaketh of Ganges, killed also by the said prince, who farre exceeded Porus; for he was ten cubits long. What should I speake of Artaceas a capitaine in the host of Xerxes, afore remembred, whose heigth was within 4. fingers breadth of fiue cubits, & the tallest man in the armie except the king himselfe. Herod. *lib.* 7. Of Athanatus whom Plinie remembreth I saie nothing. But of all these, this one example shall passe, which I do read of in Trallianus, and he setteth downe in forme and manner following.

In the daies of Tiberius th'emperor saith he, a corps was left bare or laid open after an earthquake, of which ech tooth (taken one with another) conteined 12. inches ouer at the least. Now forsomuch as in such as be full mouthed, ech chap hath commonlie 16. teeth at the least, which amount vnto 32. in the whole, needs must the wideneſſe of this mans chaps be welnære of 16. foot, and the opening of his lips fiue at the least. A large A mouth of fifteene foot wide.

mouth

mouth in mine opinion, and not to eat peason with Ladies of my time, besides that if occasion serued, it was able to receiue the whole bodies of mo than one of the greatest men, I meane of such as we be in our daies. When this carcase was thus found, euerie man marueled at it, & good cause why. A messenger was sent to Tiberius the emperour also to know his pleasure, whether he would haue the same brought ouer vnto Rome or not, but he forbad them, willing his Legate not to remoue the dead out of his resting place, but rather somewhat to satisfie his phantasie to send him a toth out of his head, which being done, he gaue it to a cunning workeman, commanding him to shape a carcase of light matter, after the proportion of the toth, that at the least by such means he might satisfie his curious mind, and the fantasies of such as are delited with nouelties. To be short, when the image was once made and set vp on end, it appeered rather an huge colossie than the true carcase of a man, and when it had stod in Rome vntill the people were wearie & throughlie satisfied with the sight thereof, he caused it to be broken all to peeces, and the toth sent againe to the carcase frō whence it came, willing them moreouer to couer it diligentlie, and in anie wise not to dismember the corps, nor from thencefoorth to be so hardie as to open the sepulchre anie more. Pausan. *lib.* 8. telleth in like maner of Hiplodanus & his fellowes, who lined when Rhea was with child of Osyris by Cham, and were called to hir aid at such time as she feared to be molested by Hammon hir first husband, whilest she remained vpon the Thoumasian hill, *In ipso loco*, saith he, *spectantur ossa maiora multo quàm vt humana existimari possint, &c.* Of Protophanes who had but one great and broad bone in steed of all his ribs on ech side I saie nothing, sith it concerneth not his stature.

A counterfect made of a monstrous carcase by one tooth taken out of the head.

This man was more fauorable to this monster than our papists were to the bodies of the dead who tare them in peeces to make money of them.

*Grandiáque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.*

I could rehearse manie mo examples of the bodies of such men, out of Solinus, Sabellicus, D. Cooper, and others. As of Oetas and Ephialtes, who were said to be nine orgies or paces in heigth, and foure in bredth, which are taken for so many cubits, bicause there is small difference betweene a mans ordinarie pace and his cubit, and finallie of our Richard the first, who is noted to beare an axe in the wars, the iron of whose head onelie weighed twentie pound after our greatest weight, and whereof an old writer that I haue seene, saith thus:

This king Richard I vnderstand,
Yer he went out of England,
Let make an axe for the nones,
Therewith to cleaue the Saracens bones,
The head in sooth was wrought full weele,
Thereon were twentie pound of steele,
And when he came in Cyprus land,
That ilkon axe he tooke in hand, &c.

I could speake also of Gerards staffe or lance, yet to be seene in Gerards hall at London in Basing lane, which is so great and long that no man can beweld it, neither go to the top thereof without a ladder, which of set purpose and for greater countenance of the wonder is fixed by the same. I haue seene a man my selfe of seuen foot in heigth, but lame of his legs. The chronicles also of Cogshall speake of one in Wales, who was halfe a foot higher, but through infirmitie and wounds not able to beweld himselfe. I might (if I thought good) speake also of another of no lesse heigth than either of these and liuing of late yeares, but these here remembred shall suffice to proue my purpose withall. I might tell you in like sort of the marble stone which Turnus threw at Æneas, and was such as that twelue chosen and picked men (saith Virgil,

(*Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus*)

were not able so stur and remoue out of the place: but I passe it ouer, and diuerse of the like, concluding that these huge blocks were ordeined and created by God: first for a testimonie vnto vs of his power and might; and secondlie for a confirmation, that hugenes of bodie is not to be accompted of as a part of our felicitie, sith they which possessed the same, were not onelie tyrants, doltish, & euill men, but also oftentimes ouercome euen by the weake & feeble. Finallie they were such indeed as in whom the Lord delited not, according to the saieng of the prophet Baruch; *Ibi fuerunt gigantes nominati, illi qui ab initio fuerunt statura magna, scientes bellum, hos non elegit Dominus, neque illis viam disciplinæ dedit, propterea perierunt, & quoniam non habuerunt sapientiam, interierunt propter suam insipientiam, &c.* that is, There were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of great stature and expert in warre, those did not the Lord chose, neither gaue he the waie of knowledge vnto them, but they were destroied, because they had no wisedome, and perished through their owne foolishnesse. That the bodies of men also do dailie decaie in stature, beside Plinie *lib.* 7. Esdras likewise confesseth *lib.* 4. *cap.* 5. whose authoritie is so good herein as that of Homer or Plinie, who do affirme so much, whereas Goropius still continuing his wonted pertinacitie also in this behalfe, maketh his proportion first by the old Romane foot, and then by his owne, & thereupon concludeth that men in these daies be fullie so great as euer they were, whereby as in the former dealing he thinketh it nothing to conclude against the scriptures, chosen writers and testimonies of the oldest pagans. But see how he would salue all at last in the end of his Gigantomachia, where he saith, I denie not but that od huge personages haue bene seene, as a woman of ten, and a man of nine foot long, which I my selfe also haue beholden, but as now so in old time the common sort did so much wonder at the like as we do at these, because they were seldome seene, and not commonlie to be heard of.

Cap. 3. 36.

4. Esd. cap 5.

## Of the languages spoken in this Iland.

Cap. 6.

British.

WHat language came first with Samothes and afterward with Albion, and the giants of his companie, it is hard for me to determine, sith nothing of sound credit remaineth in writing, which may resolue vs in the truth hereof. Yet of so much are we certeine, that the speach of the ancient Britons, and of the Celts, had great affinitie one with another, so that they were either all one, or at least wise such as either nation with small helpe of interpretors might vnderstand other, and readilie discerne what the speaker meant. Some are of the opinion that the Celts spake Greeke, and how the British toong resembled the same, which was spoken in Grecia before Homer did reforme it: but I see that these men do speake without authoritie and therefore I reiect them, for if the Celts which were properlie called Galles did speake Greeke, why did Cesar in his letters sent to Rome vse that language, because that if they should be intercepted they might not vnderstand them, or why did he not vnderstand the Galles, he being so skilfull in the language without an interpretor? Yet I denie not but that the Celtish and British speaches might haue great affinitie one with another, and the British aboue all other with the Greeke, for both do appeere by certeine words, as first in tri for three, march for an horsse, & trimarchia, whereof Pausanias speaketh, for both. Athenæus also writeth of Bathanasius a capitaine of the Galles, whose name is meere British, compounded of Bath & Ynad, & signifieth a noble or comelie iudge. And whereas he saith that the reliques of the Galles toke vp their first dwelling about Isther, and afterward diuided themselues in such wise, that they which went and dwelled in Hungarie were called Sordsai, and the other that inha-

British corrupted by the Latine and Saxon speeches.

Small difference betweene the British and Celtike languages.

The Britons dili-

inhabited within the dominion of Tyrol) Brennt, whose seate was on the mount Brenhere parcell of the Alpes, what else signifieth the word Iscaredich in British, from whence the word Scordisci commeth, but to be diuided? Hereby then, and sundrie other the like testimonies, I gather that the British and the Celtish speaches had great affinitie one with another, as I said, which Cesar (speaking of the similitude or likenesse of religion in both nations) doth also auerre, & Tacitus *in vita Agricolæ*, in like sort plainlie affirmeth, or else it must needs be that the Galles which inuaded Italie and Græce were meere Britons, of whose likenes of speech with the Greeke tong I need not make anie triall, sith no man (I hope) will readilie denie it. Appianus talking of the Brennt calleth them Cymbres, and by this I gather also that the Celts and the Britons were indifferentlie called Cymbri in their owne language, or else that the Britons were the right Cymbri, who vnto this daie do not refuse to be called by that name. Bodinus writing of the means by which the originall of euerie kingdome and nation is to be had and discerned, setteth downe three waies whereby the knowledge thereof is to be found, one is (saith he) the infallible testimonie of the sound writers, the other the description and site of the region, the third the relikes of the ancient speech remaining in the same. Which later if it be of any force, then I must conclude, that the speech of the Britons and Celts was sometime either all one or verie like one to another, or else it must follow that the Britons ouerflowed the continent vnder the name of Cymbres, being peraduenture associat in this volage, or mired by inuasion with the Danes, and Norwegiens, who are called Cymbri and Cymmerij, as most writers do remember. This also is euident (as Plutarch likewise confesseth *In vita Mary*) that no man knew from whence the Cymbres came in his daies, and therfore I beleeue that they came out of Britaine, for all the maine was well knowne vnto them, I meane euen to the vttermost part of the north, as may appeare furthermore by the slaues which were dailie brought from thence vnto them, whom of their countries they called Daui for Daci, Getæ for Gothes, &c: for of their conquests I need not make rehearsall, sith they are commonlie knowne and remembred by the writers, both of the Grækes and Latines.

British corrupted by the Latine and Saxon speeches.

The British tong called Camberaec doth yet remaine in that part of the Iland, which is now called Wales, whither the Britons were driuen after the Saxons had made a full conquest of the other, which we now call England, although the pristinate integritie thereof be not a little diminished by mixture of the Latine and Saxon speaches withall. Howbeit, manie poesies and writings (in making whereof that nation hath euermore delited) are yet extant in my time, whereby some difference betweene the ancient and present language may easilie be discerned, notwithstanding that among all these there is nothing to be found, which can set downe anie sound and full testimonie of their owne originall, in remembrance whereof, their Bards and cunning men haue beene most slacke and negligent. Giraldus in praising the Britons affirmeth that there is not one word in all their language, that is not either Greeke or Latine. Which being rightly vnderstanded and conferred with the likenesse that was in old time betweene the Celts & the British tongs, will not a little helpe those that thinke the old Celtish to haue some sauour of the Greeke. But how soeuer that matter standeth, after the British speach came once ouer into this Iland, sure it is, that it could neuer be extinguished for all the attempts that the Romans, Saxons, Normans, and Englishmen could make against that nation, in anie maner of wise.

The Britons dili-gent in petigrees.

Petigrées and genealogies also the Welsh Britons haue plentie in their owne tong, insomuch that manie of them can readilie deriue the same, either from Brute or some of his band, euen vnto Æneas and other of the Troians, and so forth vnto Noah without anie maner of stop. But as I know not what credit is to be giuen vnto them in this behalfe, although I must needs confesse that their ancient Bards were verie diligent in there collection, and had also publike allowance or salarie for the same; so I dare not absolutelie impugne their assertions, sith that in times past all nations (learning it no doubt of the Hebrues) did verie solemnelie preserue the catalogs of their descents, thereby either to shew themselues of ancient and noble race, or else to be descended from some one of the gods. But

*Scimus quæ fecerint & quid prodest Pontice longo*
*Sanguine censeri, pulchraque maiorum ducere trunca &c.*

Latine.

Next vnto the British speach, the Latine tong was brought in by the Romans, and in maner generallie planted through the whole region, as the French was after by the Normans. Of this tong I will not say much, because there are few which be not skilfull in the same. Howbeit, as the speach it selfe is easie and delectable, so hath it peruerted the names of the ancient riuers, regions, & cities of Britaine in such wise, that in these our daies their old British denominations are quite growne out of memorie, and yet those of the new Latine left as most vncertaine. This remaineth also vnto my time, borowed from the Romans, that all our deeds, euidences, charters, & writings of record, are set downe in the Latine tong, though now verie barbarous, and therevnto the copies and court-rolles, and processes of courts and leets registred in the same.

The Saxon toong.

The third language apparantlie knowne is the Scithian or high Dutch, induced at the first by the Saxons (which the Britons call Saysonaec, as they do the speakers Sayson) an hard and rough kind of speach, God wot, when our nation was brought first into acquaintance withall, but now changed with vs into a farre more fine and easie kind of vtterance, and so polished and helped with new and milder words, that it is to be auouched how there is no one speach vnder the sunne spoken in our time, that hath or can haue more varietie of words, copie of phrases, or figures and floures of eloquence, than hath our English tong, although some haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, than talke like men, because the most of our words (as they do indeed) incline vnto one syllable. This also is to be noted as a testimonie remaining still of our language, deriued from the Saxons, that the generall name for the most part of euerie skilfull artificer in his trade endeth in Here with vs, albeit the H be left out, and er onlie inserted, as Scriuenhere, writehere, shiphere, &c: for scriuener, writer, and shipper, &c: beside manie other relikes of that speech, neuer to be abolished.

The French toong.

After the Saxon tong, came the Norman or French language ouer into our countrie, and therein were our lawes written for a long time. Our children also were by an especiall decree taught first to speake the same, and therevnto inforced to learne their constructions in the French, whensoeuer they were set to the Grammar schole. In like sort few bishops, abbats, or other clergie men, were admitted vnto anie ecclesiasticall function here among vs, but such as came out of religious houses from beyond the seas, to the end they should not vse the English tong in their sermons to the people. In the court also it grew into such contempt, that most men thought it no small dishonor to speake any English there. Which brauerie toke his hold at the last likewise in the countrie with euerie plowman, that euen the verie carters began to war wearie of there mother tong, & laboured to speake French, which as then was counted no small token of gentilitie. And no maruell, for euerie French rascall, when he came once hither, was taken for a gentleman, onelie because he was proud, and could vse his owne language, and all this (I say) to

exile

erile the English and British speaches quite out of the countrie. But in vaine, for in the time of king Edward the first, to wit, toward the latter end of his reigne, the French it selfe ceased to be spoken generallie, but most of all and by law in the midst of Edward the third, and then began the English to recouer and grow in more estimation than before; notwithstanding that among our artificers, the most part of their implements, toles and words of art reteine still their French denominations euen to these our daies, as the language it selfe is vsed likewise in sundrie courts, bookes of record, and matters of law; whereof here is no place to make any particular rehearsall. Afterward also, by diligent trauell of Geffray Chaucer, and Iohn Gowre, in the time of Richard the second, and after them of Iohn Scogan, and Iohn Lydgate monke of Berrie, our said toong was brought to an excellent passe, notwithstanding that it neuer came vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Queene Elizabeth, wherein Iohn Iewell B. of Sarum, Iohn Fox, and sundrie learned & excellent writers haue fullie accomplished the ornature of the same, to their great praise and immortall commendation; although not a few other do greatlie seeke to staine the same, by fond affectation of forren and strange words, presuming that to be the best English, which is most corrupted with externall termes of eloquence, and sound of manie syllables. But as this excellencie of the English toong is found in one, and the south part of this Iland; so in Wales the greatest number (as I said) retaine still their owne ancient language, that of the north part of the said countrie being lesse corrupted than the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne estimation and iudgement. This also is proper to vs Englishmen, that sith ours is a meane language, and neither too rough nor too smooth in vtterance, we may with much facilitie learne any other language, beside Hebrue, Greeke & Latine, and speake it naturallie, as if we were borne in those countries; & yet on the other side it falleth out, I wot not by what other meanes, that few forren nations can rightlie pronounce ours, without some and that great note of imperfection, especiallie the French men, who also seldome write any thing that sauoreth of English truelie. It is a pastime to read how Naralis Comes in like maner, speaking of our affaires, doth clip the names of our English lords. But this of all the rest doth breed most admiration with me, that if any stranger do hit vpon some likelie pronuntiation of our toong, yet in age he swarueth so much from the same, that he is worse therein than euer he was, and thereto peraduenture halteth not a litle also in his owne, as I haue seene by experience in Reginald Wolfe, and other, whereof I haue iustlie maruelled.

The helpers of our English toong.

The Cornish toong.

The Cornish and Deuonshire men, whose countrie the Britons call Cerniw, haue a speach in like sort of their owne, and such as hath in deed more affinitie with the Armoricane toong than I can well discusse of. Yet in mine opinion, they are both but a corrupted kind of British, albeit so far degenerating in these daies from the old, that if either of them do meete with a Welshman, they are not able at the first to vnderstand one an other, except here and there in some od words, without the helpe of interpretors. And no maruell in mine opinion that the British of Cornewall is thus corrupted, sith the Welsh toong that is spoken in the north & south part of Wales, doth differ so much in it selfe, as the English vsed in Scotland doth from that which is spoken among vs here in this side of the Iland, as I haue said alreadie.

Englishmen apt to learne any forren toong.

Scottish english.

The Scottish english hath beene much broader and lesse pleasant in vtterance than ours, because that nation hath not till of late indeuored to bring the same to any perfect order, and yet it was such in maner, as Englishmen themselues did speake for the most part beyond the Trent, whither any great amendement of our language had not as then extended it selfe. Howbeit in our time the Scottish language endeuoreth to come neere, if not altogither to match our toong in fineselle of phrase, and copie of words, and this may in part appeare by an historie of the Apocripha translated into Scottish verse by Hudson, dedicated to the king of that countrie, and conteining fiue books, except my memorie do faile me.

This we see how that vnder the dominion of the king of England, and in the south parts of the realme, we haue three seuerall toongs, that is to saie, English, British, and Cornish, and euen so manie are in Scotland, if you accompt the English speach for one: notwithstanding that for breadth and quantitie of the region, I meane onelie of the soile of the maine Iland, it be somewhat lesse to see to than the other. For in the north part of the region, where the wild Scots, otherwise called the Redshanks, or rough footed Scots (because they go bare footed and clad in mantels ouer their saffron shirts after the Irish maner) do inhabit, they speake good Irish which they call Gathlet, as they saie of one Gathelus, whereby they shew their originall to haue in times past beene fetched out of Ireland: as I noted also in the chapiter precedent, and whereunto *Vincentius cap. de insulis Oceani* doth yeeld his assent, saieng that Ireland was in time past called Scotia; *Scotia eadem* (saith he) *& Hibernia, proxima Britanniæ insula, spatio terrarum angustior, sed situ fœcundior; Scotia autem à Scotorum gentibus traditur appellata, &c.* Out of the 14. booke of Isidorus intituled *Originum*, where he also addeth that it is called Hybernia, because it bendeth toward Iberia. But I find elsewhere that it is so called by certeine Spaniards which came to seeke and plant their inhabitation in the same, whereof in my Chronologie I haue spoken more at large.

The wild Scots.

Redshanks. Rough footed Scots.

Irish scots. Irish speech.

In the Iles of the Orchades, or Orkeney, as we now call them, & such coasts of Britaine as do abbut vpon the same, the Gottish or Danish speach is altogither in vse, and also in Shetland, by reason (as I take it) that the princes of Norwaie held those Ilands so long vnder their subiection, albeit they were otherwise reputed as rather to belong to Ireland, because that the verie soile of them is enimie to poison, as some write, although for my part I had neuer any sound experience of the truth hereof. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of our old speaches, and those fiue languages now vsuallie spoken within the limits of our Iland.

## Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided. Cap. 7.

Britaine at the first one entire kingdome.

IT is not to be doubted, but that at the first, the whole Iland was ruled by one onelie prince, and so continued from time to time, vntill ciuill discord, grounded vpõ ambitious desire to reigne, caused the same to be gouerned by diuerse. And this I meane so well of the time before the comming of Brute, as after the extinction of his whole race & posteritie. Howbeit, as it is vncerteine into how manie regions it was seuered, after the first partition; so it is most sure that this latter disturbed estate of regiment, continued in the same, not onelie vntill the time of Cæsar, but also in maner vnto the daies of Lucius, with whome the whole race of the Britons had an end, and the Romans full possession of this Iland, who gouerned it by Legats after the maner of a prouince. It should seeme also that within a while after the time of Dunwallon (who rather brought those foure princes that vsurped in his time to obedience, than extinguished their titles, & such partition as they had made of the Iland among themselues

selues) each great citie had hir fréedome and seuerall kind of regiment, proper vnto hir selfe, beside a large circuit of the countrie appertinent vnto the same, wherein were sundrie other cities also of lesse name, which owght homage and all subiection vnto the greater sort. And to saie truth, hereof it came to passe, that each of these regions, whereinto this Iland was then diuided, toke his name of some one of these cities; although *Ciuitas* after Cæsar doth sometime signifie an whole continent or kingdome, whereby there were in old time *Tot ciuitates quot regna*, and contrariwise as may appeare by that of the Trinobantes, which was so called of Trinobantum the chiefe citie of that portion, whose territories conteined all Esser, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire, euen as the iurisdiction of the bishop of London is now extended, for the ouersight of such things as belong vnto the church. Ech of the gouernors also of these regions, called themselues kings, and therevnto either of them dailie made warre vpon other, for the inlarging of their limits. But for somuch as I am not able to saie how manie did challenge this authoritie at once, and how long they reigned ouer their seuerall portions, I will passe ouer these ancient times, and come nérer vnto our owne, I meane the 600. yére of Christ, whereof we haue more certeine notice, & at which season there is euident proofe, that there were twelue or thirtéene kings reigning in this Iland.

Wales diuided into three kingdomes.

We find therefore for the first, how that Wales had hir thrée seuerall kingdomes, which being accompted togither conteined (as Giraldus saith) 49. cantreds or cantons (whereof thrée were in his time possessed by the French and English) although that whole portion of the Iland extended in those daies no farder than about 200. miles in length, and one hundred in bredth, and was cut from Lhoegres by the riuers Sauerne and Dée, of which two streames this doth fall into the Irish sea at Westchester, the other into the maine Ocean, betwixt Somersetshire and Southwales, as their seuerall courses shall witnesse more at large.

Gwinhed.

In the begining it was diuided into two kingdoms onelie, that is to saie, Venedotia or Gwynhedh (otherwise called Dehenbarth) and Demetia, for which we now vse most cõmonlie the names of South & Northwales. But in a short processe of time a third sprung vp in the verie middest betwéene them both, which from thence-forth was called Powisy, as shalbe shewed hereafter. For Roderijc the great, who flourished 850. of Christ, and was king of all Wales (which then conteined onlie six regions) leauing thrée sons behind him, by his last will & testament diuided the countrie into thrée portions, according to the number of his children, of which he assigned one vnto either of them, whereby Morwing or Morwinner had Gwynhedh or Northwales, Cadelh Demetia or Southwales, and Anaralt Powisy, as Giraldus and other do remember. Howbeit it came to passe that after this diuision, Cadelh suruiued all his brethren, and thereby became lord of both their portions, and his successors after him vntill the time of Teuther or Theodor (all is one) after which they were contented to keepe themselues within the compasse of Demetia, which (as I said) conteined 29. of those 49. cantreds before mentioned, as Powisy did sir, and Gwinhedh foureteene, except my memorie do faile me.

Venedotia.

The first of these thrée, being called as (I said) Northwales or Venedotia (or as Paulus Iouius saith Malfabrene, for he diuideth Wales also into thrée regions, of which he calleth the first Dumbera, the second Berfrona, and the third Malfabrene) lieth directlie ouer against the Ile of Angleset, the chiefe citie whereof stood in the Ile of Angleset and was called Aberfraw. It conteineth 4. regions, of which the said Iland is the first, and whereof in the chapter insuing I will intreate more at large.

Angleset.

Arfon.

The second is called Arfon, and situate betweene two riuers, the Segwy and the Conwy. The third is Merioneth, and as it is seuered from Arfon by the Conwy, so is it separated from Tegenia (otherwise called Stradcluyd and Igenia the fourth region) by the riuer Cluda. Finallie, the limits of this latter are extended also euen vnto the Dée it selfe, and of these foure regions consisteth the kingdome of Venedotia, whereof in times past the region of the Canges was not the smallest portion.

Merioneth.

Stradcluyd or Tegenia.

The kingdome of Powisy, last of all erected, as I said, hath on the north side Gwinhedh, on the east (from Chester to Hereford, or rather to Deane forest) England, on the south and west the riuer Wy and verie high hilles, whereby it is notablie seuered from Southwales, the chiefe citie thereof being at the first Salopsburg, in old time Pengwerne, and Pulwithig, but now Shrowesburie, a citie or towne raised out of the ruines of Vricouium, which (standing 4. miles from thence, and by the Saxons called Wrekencester and Wrokecester, before they ouerthrew it) is now inhabited with méere English, and where in old time the kings of Powisy did dwell and hold their palaces, till Englishmen draue them from thence to Matrauall in the same prouince, where they from thencefoorth abead. Upon the limits of this kingdome, and not far from Holt castell, vpon ech side of the riuer, as the chanell now runneth, stood sometime the famous monasterie of Bangor, whilest the abated glorie of the Britons yet remained vnextinguished, and herein were 2100. monkes, of which, the learned sort did preach the Gospell, and the vnlearned labored with their hands, thereby to mainteine themselues, and to sustaine their preachers. This region was in like sort diuided afterward in twaine, of which, the one was called Mailor or Mailrosse, the other reteined still hir old denomination, and of these the first laie by south, & the latter by north of the Sauerne.

Powisy.

Bangor.

Mailrosse.

As touching Mailrosse, I read moreouer in the gests of Fowkes de Warren, how that one William sonne to a certeine ladie sister to Paine Peuerell, the first lord of Whittington, after the conquest did win a part of the same, and the hundred of Ellesmore from the Welshmen, in which enterprise he was so desperatlie wounded, that no man hight him life; yet at the last by eating of the shield of a wild bore, he got an appetite and recouered his health. This William had issue two daughters, to wit, Helene maried to the heire of the Alans, and Mellent which refused mariage with anie man, except he were first tried to be a knight of prowesse. Herevpon hir father made proclamation, that against such a daie & at such a place, whatsoeuer Gentleman could shew himselfe most valiant in the field, should marrie Mellent his daughter, & haue with hir his castell of Whittington with sufficient liuelihood to maintaine their estates for euer. This report being spred, Fowkes de Warren came thither all in red, with a shield of siluer and pecocke for his crest, whereof he was called the red knight, and there ouercomming the kings sonne of Scotland, and a Baron of Burgundie, he maried the maid, and by hir had issue as in the treatise appeareth. There is yet great mention of the red knight in the countrie there about; and much like vnto this Mellent was the daughter sometime of one of the lord Rosses, called Rudall, who bare such good will to Fitz-Henrie clarke of hir fathers kitchen, that she made him carie hir awaie on horsebacke behind him, onlie for his manhood sake, which presentlie was tried. For being pursued & ouertaken, she made him light, & held his cloke whilest he killed and draue hir fathers men to flight: and then awaie they go, till hir father conceiuing a good opinion of Fitz-Henrie for this act, receiued him to his fauour, whereby that familie came vp. And thus much (by the waie) of Mailrosse, whereof this may suffice, sith mine intent is not as now to make anie precise description of the particulars of Wales; but onelie to shew how those regions laie,

Fowkes de Warren.

Helene.

Mellent.

The original of Fitz-Henries.

which sometime were knowne to be gouerned in that countrie. The third kingdome is Demetia, or Southwales, sometime knowne for the region of the Syllures, whereunto I also am perswaded, that the Ordolukes laie in the east part thereof, and extended their region euen vnto the Sauerne: but howsoeuer that matter falleth out, Demetia hath the Sauerne on hir south, the Irish sea on hir west parts, on the east the Sauerne onelie, and by north the land of Powisy, whereof I spake of late. Demetia.

Of this region also Caermarden, which the old writers call Maridunum, was the cheefe citie and palace belonging to the kings of Southwales, vntill at the last through forren and ciuill inuasions of enimies, the princes thereof were constrained to remoue their courts to Dinefar (which is in Cantermawr, and situate neuertheless vpon the same riuer Tewy, whereon Caermarden standeth) in which place it is far better defended with high hils, thicke woods, craggie rocks, and deepe marises. In this region also lieth Pembroke *aliàs* Penmoroc shire, whose fawcons haue béene in old time very much regarded, and therein likewise is Milford hauen, whereof the Welsh wisards dw yet dreame strange toies, which they beléeue shall one daie come to passe. For they are a nation much giuen to foretelling of things to come, but more to beléeue such blind prophesies as haue béene made of old time, and no man is accompted for learned in Wales that is not supposed to haue the spirit of prophesie. Cair Maridunum.

That Scotland had in those daies two kingdoms, (besides that of the Orchades) whereof the one consisted of the Picts, and was called Pightland or Pictland, the other of the Irish race, and named Scotland: I hope no wise man will readilie denie. The whole region or portion of the Ile beyond the Scotish sea also was so diuided, that the Picts laie on the east side, and the Scots on the west, ech of them being seuered from other, either by huge hils or great lakes and riuers, that ran out of the south into the north betweene them. It seemeth also that at the first these two kingdoms were diuided from the rest of those of the Britons by the riuers Cluda and Forth, till both of them desirous to inlarge their dominions, draue the Britons ouer the Solue and the Twede, which then became march betweene both the nations. Wherefore the case being so plaine, I will saie no more of these two, but proceed in order with the rehersall of the rest of the particular kingdoms of this our south part of the Ile, limiting out the same by shires as they now lie, so néere as I can, for otherwise it shall be vnpossible for me to leaue certaine notice of the likeliest quantities of these their seuerall portions. Pictland. Scotland. Picts. Scots.

The first of these kingdoms therefore was begunne in Kent by Henghist in the 456. of Christ, and thereof called the kingdome of Kent or Cantwarland, and as the limits thereof ertended it selfe no farther than the said countie (the cheefe citie whereof was Dorobernia or Cantwarbyry now Canturburie) so it indured well néere by the space of 400. yeares, before it was made an earledome or Heretochie, and vnited by Inas vnto that of the West Saxons, Athelstane his sonne, being the first Earle or Heretoch of the same. Maister Lambert in his historie of Kent doth gather, by verie probable coniectures, that this part of the Iland was first inhabited by Samothes, and afterward by Albion. But howsoeuer that case standeth, sure it is that it hath béen the onelie dore, whereby the Romans and Saxons made their entrie vnto the conquest of the region, but first of all Cæsar, who entred into this Iland vpon the eightéenth Cal. or 14. of September, which was foure daies before the full of the moone, as he himselfe confesseth, and then fell out about the 17. or 18. of that moneth, twelue daies before the equinoctiall (apparant) so that he did not tarrie at that time aboue eight or ten daies in Britaine. And as this platforme cannot be denied for his entrance, so the said region and east part of Kent, was the onelie place by which the knowledge of Christ was first brought ouer vnto vs, whereby we became partakers of saluation, and from the darkenesse of mistie errour, true conuerts vnto the light and bright beames of the shining truth, to our eternall benefit and euerlasting comforts. Kent Henghist.

The second kingdome conteined onelie Suffex, and a part of (or as some saie all) Surrie, which Ella the Saxon first held: who also erected his chéefe palace at Chichester, when he had destroied Andredswald in the 492. of Christ. And after it had continued by the space of 232. years, it ceased, being the verie least kingdome of all the rest, which were founded in this Ile after the comming of the Saxons (for to saie truth, it conteined little aboue 7000. families) & within a while after the erection of the kingdome of the Gewisses or Westsaxons, notwithstanding that before the kings of Suffex pretended and made claime to all that which laie west of Kent, and south of the Thames, vnto the point of Cornwall, as I haue often read. Southsax. Ella.

The third regiment was of the East Saxons, or Trinobantes. This kingdome began vnder Erkenwijn, whose cheefe seat was in London (or rather Colchester) and conteined whole Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herfordshire. It indured also much about the prick of 303. yeares, and was diuided from that of the East Angles onlie by the riuer Stoure, as Houeden and others dw report, & so it continueth separated from Suffolke euen vnto our times, although the said riuer be now growne verie small, and not of such greatnesse as it hath béene in times past, by reason that our countriemen make small accompt of riuers, thinking carriage made by horsse and cart to be the lesse chargeable waie. But herin how far they are deceiued, I will else-where make manifest declaration. Eastlar. Erkenwin.

The fourth kingdome was of the West Saxons, and so called, bicause it laie in the west part of the realme, as that of Essex did in the east, and of Suffex in the south. It began in the yeare of Grace 519. vnder Cerdiic, and indured vntill the comming of the Normans, including at the last all Wiltshire, Barkeshire, Dorset, Southampton, Somersetshire, Glocester shire, some part of Deuonshire (which the Britons occupied not) Cornewall, and the rest of Surrie, as the best authors dw set downe. At the first it conteined onelie Wiltshire, Dorcetshire, and Barkeshire, but yer long the princes thereof conquered whatsoeuer the kings of Suffex and the Britons held vnto the point of Cornewall, and then became first Dorchester (vntill the time of Kinigils) then Winchester the cheefe citie of that kingdome. For when Birinus the monke came into England, the said Kinigils gaue him Dorchester, and all the land within seauen miles about, toward the maintenance of his cathedrall sea, by meanes whereof he himselfe remoued his palace to Winchester. Westsax. Cerdiic.

The fift kingdome began vnder Ida, in the 548. of Christ, and was called Northumberland, bicause it laie by north of the riuer Humber. And from the comming of Henghist to this Ida, it was onlie gouerned by earls or Heretoches as an Heretochy, till the said Ida conuerted it into a kingdome. It conteined all that region which (as it should séeme) was in time past either wholie apperteining to the Brigants, or whereof the said Brigants did possesse the greater part. The cheefe citie of the same in like maner was Yorke, as Beda, Capgraue, Leyland, and others dw set downe, who ad thereto that it ertended from the Humber vnto the Scotish sea, vntill the slaughter of Egfride of the Northumbers, after which time the Picts gat hold of all, betweene the Forth and the Twede, which afterward descending to the Scots by meanes of the vtter destruction of the Picts, hath not béene sithens vnited to the crowne of Bernicia, *alias* Northumberland. Ida.

Deira. Ella.

Eastangl. Offa, à q. Offingæ

Mertia. Creodda

of England, nor in possession of the meere English, as before time it had béene. Such was the cruëltie of these Picts also in their recouerie of the same, that at a certeine houre they made a Sicilien euensong, and slew euerie English man, woman and child, that they could laie hold vpon within the aforesaid region, but some escaped narrowlie, and saued themselues by flight.

Deira. Ella. Afterward in the yeare of Grace 560. it was parted in twaine, vnder Adda, that yeelded vp all his portion, which lay betweene Humber and the Tine vnto his brother Ella (according to their fathers appointment) who called it Deira, or Southumberland, but reteining the rest still vnto his owne vse, he diminished not his title, but wrote himselfe as before king of all Northumberland. Howbeit after 91. yeares, it was reunited againe, and so continued vntill Alfred annexed the whole to his kingdome, in the 331. after Ida, or 878. of the birth of Jesus Christ our Sauiour.

Eastangles Offa, à quo Offlingæ. The seauenth kingdome, called of the East-angles, began at Norwich in the 561. after Christ, vnder Offa, of whom the people of that region were long time called Offlings. This included all Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and Elie, and continuing 228. yeares, it flourished onelie 35. yeares in perfect estate of liberte, the rest being consumed vnder the tribut and vassallage of the Mercians, who had the souereigntie thereof, and held it with great honour, till the Danes gat hold of it, who spoiled it verie sore, so that it became more miserable than any of the other, and so remained till the kings of the West-saxons vnited it to their crownes. Some saie that Grantcester, but now Cambridge (a towne erected out of hir ruines) was the chéefe citie of this kingdome, and not Norwich. Wherein I may well shew the discord of writers, but I cannot resolue the scruple. Some take this region also to be all one with that of the Icenes, but as yet for my part I cannot yeeld to their assertions, I meane it of Leland himselfe, whose helpe I vse chéefelie in these collections, albeit in this behalfe I am not resolued that he doth iudge aright.

Mertia. Creodda. The 8. & last was that of Mertia, which indured 251. yeares, and for greatnesse exceeded all the rest. It tooke the name either of Meare the Saxon word, bicause it was march to the rest (and trulie, the limits of most of the other kingdomes abutted vpon the same) or else for that the lawes of Martia the Quéene were first vsed in that part of the Iland. But as this later is but a méere coniecture of some, so the said kingdome began vnder Creodda, in the 585. of Christ, & indured well neere 300. yeares before it was vnited to that of the West-saxons by Alfred, then reigning in this Ile. Before him the Danes had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Ceolulph an idiot in the same; but as he was soone reiected for his follie, so it was not long after yer the said Alfred (I saie) annexed it to his kingdome by his manhood. The limits of the Mertian dominions included Lincolne, Northampton, Chester, Darbie, Nottingham, Stafford, Huntington, Rutland, Oxford, Buckingham, Worcester, Bedford shires, and the greatest part of Shropshire (which the Welsh occupied not) Lancaster, Gloucester, Hereford (*alias* Hurchford) Warwike and Hertford shires: the rest of whose territories were holden by such princes of other kingdomes through force as bordered vpon the same. Moreouer, this kingdome was at one time diuided into south and north Mertia, whereof this laie beyond and the other on this side of the Trent, which later also Oswald of Northumberland did giue to Weada the sonne of Penda for kindred sake, though he not long inioied it. This also is worthie to be noted, that in these eight kingdomes of the Saxons, there were twelue princes reputed in the popish Catalog for saints or martyrs, of which Alcimund, Edwine, Oswald, Oswijn and Aldwold reigned in Northumberland; Sigebert, Ethelbert, Edmond, and another Sigebert among the Estangels; Kenelme and Wistan in Mertia; and Saint Edward the confessor, ouer all; but how worthilie, I referre me to the iudgement of the learned. Thus much haue I thought good to leaue in memorie of the aforesaid kingdomes: and now will I speake somewhat of the diuision of this Iland also into prouinces, as the Romanes seuered it whiles they remained in these parts. Which being done, I hope that I haue discharged whatsoeuer is promised in the title of this chapter.

Limits of Mertia.

The Romans therefore hauing obteined the possession of this Iland, diuided the same at the last into fiue prouinces, as Vibius Sequester saith. The first whereof was named Britannia prima, and conteined the east part of England (as some do gather) from the Trent vnto the Twede. The second was called Valentia or Valentiana, and included the west side, as they note it, from Lirpwle vnto Cokermouth. The third hight Britannia secunda, and was that portion of the Ile which laie southwards, betwéene the Trent and the Thames. The fourth was surnamed Flauia Cæsariensis, and conteined all the countrie which remained betwéene Douer and the Sauerne, I meane bysouth of the Thames, and wherevnto (in like sort) Cornewall and Wales were orderlie assigned. The fift and last part was then named Maxima Cæsariensis, now Scotland, the most barren of all the rest, and yet not vnsought out of the grédie Romanes, bicause of the great plentie of fish and foule, fine alabaster and hard marble that are ingendred and to be had in the same, for furniture of houshold and curious building, wherein they much delited. More hereof in Sextus Rufus, who liued in the daies of Valentine, and wrate *Notitiam prouinciarum* now extant to be read.

Britannia prima.

Valentia.

Britannia secunda.

Flauia Cæsariensis.

Maxima Cæsariensis

## A Catalog of the kings and princes of this Iland, first from Samothes vnto the birth of our sauiour Christ, or rather the comming of the Romans: secondlie of their Legates: thirdlie of the Saxon princes according to their seuerall kingdomes: fourthlie of the Danes, and lastlie of the Normans and English princes, according to the truth conteined in our Histories.

### Of the kings of Britaine, from Samothes to Brute.

Samothes,
Magus.
Sarronius.
Druiyus.
Bardus.
Longho.
Bardus Iunior.
Lucus.
Celtes.
Albion.
Celtes after Albion slaine.
Galates.
Harbon.
Lugdus.
Beligius.
Iasius.
Allobrox.
Romus.
Paris.
Lemanus.
Olbius.
Galates. 2.
Nannes.
Remis.
Francus.
Pictus.

After whom Brute entreth into the Iland, either negleated by the Celts, or otherwise by conquest, and reigned therein with his posteritie by the space of 636. yeares, in such order as foloweth.

Brute.
Locrinus.
Gwendolena his widow.
Madan.
Mempricius.
Ebracus.
Brutus Iunior.
Leil.
Rudibras.
Bladunus
Leir.
Cordeil his daughter.
Cunedach and Morgan.
Riuallon.
Gurgustius.
Sisillus.
Iago.
Kimmachus.
Gorbodug.
Ferres and Porrex.

These 2. being slaine, the princes of the iland straue for the superiozitie and regiment of the same, by the space of 50. yéares (after the race of Brute was decaied) vntil Dunwallon king of Cornwall subdued them all, & brought the whole to his subiection, notwithstan-

ding that the aforesaid number of kings remained still, which were but as vassals & inferiours to him, he being their chefe and onelie souereigne.

Dunwallon reigneth.
Belinus his sonne, in whose time Brennus vsurpeth.
Gurgwinbarrus.
Guitellinus.
Seisill.
Kymarus.
Owan *aliàs* Elan.
Morwich *aliàs* Morindus.
Grandobodian *aliàs* Gorbonian.
Arcigallon.
Elidurus *aliàs* Hesidor.
Arcigallon againe.
Elidurus againe.
Vigen *aliàs* Higanius, & Petitur *aliàs* Peridurus.
Elidurus the third time.
Gorbodia *aliàs* Gorbonian.
Morgan.
Meriones *aliàs* Eighuans.
Idouallon.
Rhimo Rohugo.
Geruntius Voghen.
Catellus.
Coellus.
Pyrrho *aliàs* Porrex.
Cherinus.
Fulganius *aliàs* Sulgenis.
Eldadus.
Androgius.
Vrian.
Hellindus.
Dedantius Eldagan.
Clotenis Claten.
Gurguntus.
Merian.
Bledunus Bledagh.
Cophenis.
Owinus *aliàs* Oghwen.
Sisillus or Sitsiltus.
Blegabridus.
Arcimalus Archiuall.
Eldadus.
Ruthenis three monethes.
Rodingarus *aliàs* Rodericus.
Samulius Penysell.
Pyrrho 2.
Carporis *aliàs* Capporis.
Dynellus *aliàs* Dygnellus.
Hellindus a few monethes.
Lhoid.
Casibellane.
Theomantius.
Cynobellinus.
Aruiragus.
Marius.
Coellus.
Lucius.

Hitherto I haue set forth the catalog of the kings of Britaine, in such sort as it is to be collected out of the most ancient histories, monuments and records of the land. Now I will set forth the order and succession of the Romane legates or deputies, as I haue borowed them first out of Tacitus, then Dion, and others: howbeit I cannot warrant the iust course of them from Iulius Agricola forward, bicause there is no man that reherseth them orderlie. Yet by this my doing herein, I hope some better table may be framed hereafter by other, whereof I would be glad to vnderstand when soeuer it shall please God that it may come to passe.

Aulus Plautius.
Ostorius Scapula.
Didius Gallus.
Auitus.
Veranius a few monethes.
Petronius Turpilianus.
Trebellius Maximus.
Vectius Volanus.
Petilius Cerealis.
Iulius Frontinus.
Iulius Agricola.

Hitherto Cornelius Tacitus reherseth these vicegerents or deputies in order.

Salustius Lucullus.
Cneius Trebellius.
Suetonius Paulinus.
Calphurnius Agricola.
Publius Trebellius.
Pertinax Helrius.
Vlpius Marcellus.
Clodius Albinas.
Heraclius.
Carus Tyrannus.
Iunius Seuerus, *aliàs* Iulius Seuerus.
Liuius Gallus.
Lollius Vrbicus.
Maximus.
Octauius.
Traherus.
Maximinianus.
Gratianus.
Actius.

Other Legates whose names are taken out of the Scotish historie but in incertein order.

Fronto sub Antonino.
Publius Trebellius.
Aulus Victorinus.
Lucius Antinoris.
Quintus Bassianus.

## Wales.

1.

¶ The Romans not regarding the gouernance of this Iland, the Britons ordeine a king in the 447. after the incarnation of Christ.

Vortiger.
Vortimer.
Aurelius Ambrosius.
Vther.
Arthur.
Constantine.
Aurelius Conanus.
Vortiporius.
Maglocunus.
Caretius.
Cadwan.
Cadwallon.
Cadwallader.

¶ The kingdome of Wales ceaseth, and the gouernance of the countrie is translated to the westsaxons by Inas, whose second wife was Denwalline the daughter of Cadwallader: & with hir he not onlie obteined the principalitie of Wales but also of Cornwall & Armorica now called little Britaine, which then was a colonie of the Britons, and vnder the kingdome of Wales.

## Kent.

2.

¶ Hengist in the 9. of the recouerie of Britaine proclaimeth himselfe king of Kent, which is the 456. of the birth of our Lord & sauior Jesus Christ.

Hengist.
Osrijc *aliàs* Osca.
Osca his brother.
Ermenricus.
Athelbert.
Eadbaldus.
Ercombert.
Ecbert.
Lother.
Edrijc.
The seat void.
Withredus.
Adelbert Iunior.
Eadberr.
Alrijc.
Eadbert.
Guthred.
Alred.

¶ As the kingdome of Wales was united vnto that of the westsaxons by Inas, so is the kingdom of Kent at this present by Ecbert in the 827. of Christ, who putteth out Alfred and maketh Adelstane his owne base sonne Hertoch of the same, so that whereas it was before a kingdome, now it becometh an Hertochie or Dukedome, and so continueth for a long time after.

## Southsex.

3.

¶ Ella in the 46. after Britaine giuen ouer by the Romanes createth a kingdom in Southsex, to wit, in the 492. of Christ whose race succeedeth in this order.

Ella.
Cyssa.
Ceadwin.
Celrijc.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Kinwalch.
Ethelwold.
Berthun.
Aldwijn.

¶ This kingdome endured not verie long as ye may see, for it was united to that of the westsaxons by Inas, in the 4689. of the world, which was the 723. of Christ, according to the vsuall supputation of the church, and 232. after Ella had created the same, as is aforesaid.

## Essex.

4.

¶ Erkenwijn in the 527. after our sauiour Christ beginneth to reigne ouer Essex, and in the 81. after the returne of Britaine from the Romane obedience.

Erkenwijn.
Sledda.
Sebertus.
Sepredus and Sywardus.
Sigebert fil. Syward.
Sigebert.
Swithelijn.
Sijgar and Sebba.
Sebba alone.
Sijgard.
Offa.
Selredus.
Ethelwold.
Albert.
Humbeanna.
Sinthredus.

¶ In the 303. after Erkenwijn, Ecbert of the westsaxons vnited the kingdome of Essex vnto his owne, which was in the 828. after the birth of our sauiour Christ. I cannot as yet find the exact yeres of the later princes of this realme, and therefore I am constrained to omit them altogither, as I haue done before in the kings of the Britons, vntill such time as I may come by such monuments as may restore the defect.

## Westsex.

5.

¶ Cerdijc entreth the kingdome of the westsaxons, in the 519. of the birth of Christ, & 73. of the abiection of the Romaine seruitude.

Cerdijc *aliàs* Cerdic.
Cenrijc.
Ceaulijn.
Kinegils *aliàs* Celrijc.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Ceuwalch.
Sexburgh.
The seat void.
Centwinus.
Cadwallader.
Inas.
Ethelard.
Cuthredus.
Sigebert.
Kinwulf.
Brithrijc.
Ecbert.
Ethelwulf.
Ethebald.
Ethelbert.
Ethelstid.
Alfrid.
Edward 1.
Adelstane.
Edmund.
Eadred.
Edwijn.
Edgar.
Edward 2.
Eldred.
Edmund 2.
Canutus.
Harald.
Canutus 2.
Edward 3.
Harald 2.

¶ The saxons hauing reigned hitherto in this land, and brought the same into a perfect monarchie, are now dispossessed by the Normans, & put out of their hold.

## Bernicia.

6.

¶ Ida erecteth a kingdome in the North, which he extended from the Humber mouth to S. Johns towne in Scotland, & called it of the Northumbers. This was in the 547. after the birth of our sauiour Christ.

Ida.
Adda.
Glappa.
Tidwaldus.
Fretwulfus.
Tidrijc.
Athelfrid.
Edwijn.
Kinfrid.
Oswald.
Oswy.
Egfrid.
Alfrid.
Osred.
Kinred.
Osrijc.
Kilwulf.
Edbert.
Offulse.
Ethelwold.
Elred.
Ethelred.
Alswold.
Osred.

Ethelred.

Ethelred.
Osbald.
Eardulf.
Aldeswold.
Eandred.
Edelred.
Redwulf.
Edelred againe.
Osbright.
Ecbert.
Ricisiuus a Dane.
Ecbert againe.

¶ Alfride king of the Westsaxons subdueth this kingdome in the 878. after our sauiour Christ, and 33. after Ida.

## Deira.
7.

¶ Ella brother to Adda is ouer the south Humbers, whose kingdome reched from Humber to the These, in the 590. after the incarnation of Iesus Christ our sauiour.

Ella.
Edwijn.
Athelbright.
Edwijn againe,
Osrijc.
Oswald.
Oswijn.

¶ Of all the kingdomes of the Saxons, this of Deira which grew by the diuision of the kingdome of the Northumbers betweene the sons of Ida was of the smallest continuance, & it was united to the Northumbers (wherof it had bene I saie in time past a member) by Oswijn in the 91. after Ella, when he had most traitorouslie slaine his brother Oswijn in the yeer of the world, 4618. (or 651. after the comming of Christ) and conteined that countrie which we now call the bishoprike.

## Estanglia.
8.

¶ Offa or Vffa erecteth a kingdome ouer the Estangles or Oslings in the 561. after the natiuitie of Christ, and 114. after the deliuerie of Britaine.

Offa.
Titellius.
Redwaldus.
Corpenwaldus.
The seat void.
Sigebert.
Egricus.
Anna.
Adeler.
Ethelwold.
Adwulf.
Beorne.
Ethelred.
Ethelbert.

¶ Offa of Mercia killeth Ethelbert, and uniteth Estanglia vnto his owne kingdome, in the 793. of Christ, after it had continued in the posteritie of Offa, by the space of 228. yeers and yet of that short space, it enioyed onelie 35. in libertie, the rest being vnder the tribute of the king of Mercia aforesaid.

## Mercia.
9.

¶ Creodda beginneth his kingdome of Mercia, in the 585. of our sauiour Christ, and 138. after the captiuitie of Britaine ended.

Creodda.
Wibba.
Cherlus.
Penda.
Oswy.
Weada.
Wulferus.
Ethelred.
Kinred or Kindred.
The seat void.
Kilred.
Ethebald.
Beorred.
Offa.
Egferth.
Kinwulf.
Kenelme.
Kilwulf.
Bernulf.
Ludicane.
Willaf.
Ecbert.
Willaf againe.
Bertulf.
Butred.
Kilwulf.

¶ Alfride uniteth the kingdome of Mercia, to that of the Westsaxons, in the 291. after Creodda, before Alfred the Dane had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Cleolulphus therein, but he was soone expelled, and the kingdome ioyned to the other afore rehearsed.

## ✻ The succession of the kings of England from William bastard, vnto the first of Queene ELIZABETH.

William the first.
William his sonne.
Henrie 1.
Stephen.
Henrie 2.
Richard 1.
Iohn.
Henrie 3.
Edward 1. *alias* 4.
Edward 2.
Edward 3.
Richard 2.
Henrie 4.
Henrie 5.
Henrie 6.
Edward 4. *alias* 7.
Edward 5.
Richard 3.
Henrie 7.
Henrie 8.
Edward 6.
Marie his sister.
Elizabeth.

¶ Thus haue I brought the Catalog of the Princes of Britaine vnto an end, & that in more plaine and certeine order than hath beene done hertofore by anie. For though in their regions since the conquest few men haue erred that haue vsed any diligence, yet in the times before the same, fewer haue gone any thing neere the truth, through great ouersight & negligence. Their seuerall yeres also do appeere in my Chronologie insuing.

## Of the ancient religion vsed in Albion. Cap. 9.

Samothes.

IT is not to be doubted, but at the first, and so long as the posteritie of Japhet onelie reigned in this Iland, that the true knowledge and forme of religion brought in by Samothes, and published with his lawes in the second of his arriuall, was exercised among the Britans. And although peraduenture in proces of time, either through curiositie, or negligence (the onelie corruptors of true pietie and godlinesse) it might a little decaie, yet when it was at the worst, it farre exceeded the best of that which afterward came in with Albion and his Chemminites, as may be gathered by view of the superstitious rites, which Cham and his successours did plant in other countries, yet to be found in authors.

What other learning Magus the sonne of Samothes taught after his fathers death, when he also came to the kingdome, beside this which concerned the true honoring of God, I cannot easilie say, but that it should be naturall philosophie, and astrologie (whereby his disciples gathered a kind of foreknowledge of things to come) the verie vse of the word Magus (or Magusæus) among the Persians doth yeeld no vncerteine testimonie.

Sarron.

In like maner, it should seeme that Sarron sonne vnto the said Magus, diligentlie followed the steps of his father, and thereto beside his owne practise of teaching, opened schooles of learning in sundrie places, both among the Celts and Britans, whereby such as were his auditors, grew to be called Sarronides, notwithstanding, that as well the Sarronides as the Magi, and Druiydes, were generallie called Samothei, or Semnothei, of Samothes still among the Grecians, as Aristotle in his *De magia* doth confesse; and furthermore calling them Galles, he addeth thereunto, that they first brought the knowledge of letters and good learning vnto the Greekes. Samothei. Semnothei.

Druiyus the son of Sarron (as a scholer of his fathers owne teaching) seemed to be exquisit in all things, that perteined vnto the diuine and humane knowledge: and therefore I may safelie pronounce, that he excelled not onlie in the skill of philosophie and the quadriuials, but also in the true Theologie, whereby the right service of God was kept and preserued in puritie. He wrote moreouer sundrie precepts and rules of religious doctrine, which among the Celts were reserued verie religiouslie, and had in great estimation of such as sought vnto them. Druiyus.

How and in what order this prince left the state of religion, I meane touching publike orders in administration of particular rites and ceremonies, as yet I do not read: howbeit this is most certeine, that after he died, the puritie of his doctrine began somewhat to decaie. For such is mans nature, that it will not suffer any good thing long to remaine as it is left, but (either by addition or subtraction of this or that, to or from the same) so to chop and change withall from time to time, that in the end there is nothing of more difficultie, for such as do come after them, than to find out the puritie of the originall, and restore the same againe vnto the former perfection. Corruptors of religion.

In the beginning this Druiyus did preach vnto his hearers, that the soule of man is immortall, that God is omnipotent, mercifull as a father in shewing fauor vnto the godlie, and iust as an vpright iudge in punishing the wicked; that the secrets of mans hart are not vnknowne, and onelie knowne to him: and that as Cæsar.

the world and all that is therein had their beginning by him, at his owne will, so shall all things likewise haue an end, when he shall see his time. He taught them also with more facilitie, how to obserue the courses of the heauens and motions of the planets by arithmeticall industrie, to find out the true quantities of the celestiall bodies by geometricall demonstration, and thereto the compasse of the earth, and hidden natures of things contained in the same by philosophicall contemplation. But alas, this integritie continued not long among his successors, for vnto the immortalitie of the soule, they added, that after death it went into another bodie, (of which translation Ouid saith;

Strabo. li. 4. Socion. lib. succes. Cicero diuinat. 1.

*Morte carent animæ, semperque priore relicta*
*Sede, nouis domibus viuunt habitántque recepta.)*

The second or succedent, being alwaies either more noble, or more vile than the former, as the partie deserued by his merits, whilest he liued here vpon earth. And therefore it is said by Plato and other, that Orpheus after his death had his soule thrust into the bodie of a swanne, that of Agamemnon conueied into an egle, of Aiax into a lion, of Atlas into a certeine wrestler, of Thersites into an ape, of Deiphobus into Pythagoras, and Empedocles dieng a child, after sundrie changes into a man, whereof he himselfe saith;

*Ipse ego námq; fui puer olim, deinde puella,*
*Arbustum & volucris, mutus quóq; in æquore piscis.*

Plinius. lib. 16. cap. vltimo.

For said they (of whom Pythagoras also had, and taught this errour) if the soule apperteined at the first to a king, and he in this estate did not leade his life worthie his calling, it should after his decease be shut vp in the bodie of a slaue, begger, cocke, owle, dog, ape, horse, asse,

Metempsuchôsis.

worme, or monster, there to remaine as in a place of purgation and punishment, for a certeine period of time. Beside this, it should peraduenture sustaine often translation from one bodie vnto another, according to the quantitie and qualitie of his doings here on earth, till it should finallie be purified, and restored againe to an other humane bodie, wherein if it behaued it selfe more orderlie than at the first: after the nert death, it should be preferred, either to the bodie of a king againe, or other great estate. And thus they made a perpetuall circulation or reuolution of our soules, much like vnto the continuall motion of the heauens, which neuer stand still, nor long yeld one representation and figure. For this cause also, as Diodorus saith, they vsed to cast certeine letters into the fire, wherein the dead were burned, to be deliuered vnto their deceased frends, whereby they might vnderstand of the estate of such as trauelled here on earth in their purgations (as the Moscouits do write vnto S. Nicholas to be a speach-man for him that is buried, in whose hand they bind a letter, and send him with a new paire of shoes on his feet into the graue) and to the end that after their nert death they should deale with them accordinglie, and as their merits required. They brought in also the worshipping of manie gods, and their seuerall sacrifices: they honoured likewise the oke, whereon the mistle groweth, and dailie deuised infinit other toies (for errour is neuer assured of hir owne doings) whereof neither Samothes, nor Sarron, Magus, nor Druiyus did leaue them anie prescription.

Oke honored whereon mistle did grow, and so doo our sorcerers euen to this daie thinking some spirits to deale about ỳ same, for hidden treasure,

These things are partlie touched by Cicero, Strabo, Plinie, Sotion, Laertius, Theophrast, Aristotle, and partlie also by Cæsar, Mela, Val. Max. *lib.* 2. and other authors of later time, who for the most part do confesse, that the cheefe schole of the Druiydes was holden here in Britaine, where that religion (saith Plinie) was so hotlie professed and followed, *vt dedisse Persis videri possit, lib.* 30. *cap.* 1. and whither the Druiydes also themselues, that dwelt among the Galles, would often resort to come by the more skill, and sure vnderstanding of the mysteries of that doctrine. And as the Galles receiued their religion from the Britons, so we likewise had from them some vse of Logike & Rhetorike, such as it was which our lawiers practised in their plæs and common causes. For although the Greeks were not vnknowne vnto vs, nor we to them, euen from the verie comming of Brute, yet by reason of distance betweene our countries, we had no great familiaritie and common accesse one vnto another, till the time of Gurguntius, after whose entrance manie of that nation trauelled hither in more securitie, as diuers of our countriemen did vnto them without all danger, to be offered vp in sacrifice to their gods. That we had the maner of our plees also out of France, Iuuenal is a witnesse, who saith;

Logike and Rhetorike out of Gallia.

*Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos.*

Howbeit as they taught vs Logike and Rhetorike, so we had also some Sophistrie from them; but in the worst sense: for from France is all kind of forgerie, corruption of maners, and craftie behauiour not so sone as often transported into England. And albeit the Druiydes were thus honored and of so great authoritie in Britaine, yet were there great numbers of them also in the Iles of Wight, Anglesey, and the Orchades, in which they held open schooles of their profession, aloofe as it were from the resort of people, wherein they studied and learned their songs by heart. Howbeit the cheefe college of all I say, remained still in Albion, whither the Druiydes of other nations also (beside the Galles) would of custome repaire, when soeuer any controuersie among them in matters of religion did happen to be moued. At such times also the rest were called out of the former Ilands, whereby it appeareth that in such cases they had their synods and publike meetings, and thereunto it grew finallie into custome, and after that a prouerbe, euen in variances falling out among the princes, great men, and common sorts of people liuing in these weast parts of Europe, to yeld to be tried by Britaine and hir three Ilands, bicause they honoured hir preests (the Druiydes) as the Atheniens did their Areopagites.

Furthermore, in Britaine, and among the Galles, and to say the truth, generallie in all places where the Druiysh religion was frequented, such was the estimation of the preests of this profession, that there was little or nothing done without their skilfull aduise, no not in ciuill causes, perteining to the regiment of the common-wealth and countrie. They had the charge also of all sacrifices, publike and priuate, they interpreted oracles, preached of religion, and were neuer without great numbers of yong men that heard them with diligence, as they taught from time to time.

Estimation of the Druiydes or Druiysh preests.

Touching their persons also, they were exempt from all temporall seruices, impositions, tributes, and exercises of the wars: which immunitie caused the greater companies of scholers to flocke vnto them from all places, & to learne their trades. Of these likewise, some remained with them seuen, eight, ten, or twelue years, still learning the secrets of those vnwritten mysteries by heart, which were to be had amongst them, and commonlie pronounced in verse. And this policie, as I take it, they vsed onelie to preserue their religion from contempt, whereinto it might easilie haue fallen, if any books thereof had happened into the hands of the common sort. It helped also not a little in the exercise of their memories, whereunto bookes are vtter enimies, insomuch as he that was skilfull in the Druiysh religion, would not let readilie to rehearse manie hundreds of verses togither, and not to faile in one tittle, in the whole processe of this his laborious repetition. But as they dealt in this order for matters of their religion, so in ciuill affairs, historicall treatises, and setting downe of lawes, they vsed like order and letters almost with the Grecians. Whereby it is easie to be seene, that they reteined this kind of writing from Druiyus (the originall founder of their religion) and that this Iland hath

Immunitie of the clergie greater vnder idolatrie than vnder the gospell.

not

not béene void of letters and learned men, euen ſith it was firſt inhabited. I would ad ſome thing in particular alſo of their apparell, but ſith the dealing withall is nothing profitable to the reader, I paſſe it ouer, ſignifieng neuertheleſſe, that it was diſtinguiſhed by ſundrie deuiſes from that of the common ſort, and of ſuch eſtimation among the people, that whoſoeuer ware the Druiyſh wæd, might walke where he would without any harme or annoiance. This honour was giuen alſo vnto the prééſts in Rome, inſomuch that when Voluſius was exiled by the Triumuirate, and ſaw himſelfe in ſuch danger, as that he could not eſcape the hardeſt, he gat the wæd of a prieſt vpon his backe, and begged his almes therein, euen in the high waies as he trauelled, and ſo eſcaped the danger and the furie of his aduerſaries: but to proceed with other things.

Bardus. After the death of Druiyus, Bardus his ſonne, and fift king of the Celts, ſucceéded not onelie ouer the ſaid kingdome, but alſo in his fathers vertues, whereby it is verie likelie, that the winding and wrapping vp of the ſaid religion, after the afore remembred ſort into verſe, was firſt deuiſed by him, for he was an excellent poet, and no leſſe indued with a ſingular ſkill in the practiſe and ſpeculation of muſicke, of which two many ſuppoſe him to be the verie author and beginner, although vniuſtlie, ſith both poetrie and ſong were in vſe before the flood, as was alſo the harpe and pipe, which Iubal inuented, and could neuer be performed without great ſkill in muſicke. But to proceéd, as the cheefe eſtimation of the Druiydes remained in the end among the Britons onelie, for their knowledge in religion, ſo did the faine of the Bardes (which were ſo called of this Bardus for their excellent ſkill in muſicke, poetrie, and the heroicall kind of ſong, which at the firſt conteined onelie the high myſteries and ſecret points of their religion. There was little difference alſo betwéene them and the The Bards degenerate. Druiydes, till they ſo farre degenerated from their firſt inſtitution, that they became to be minſtrels at feaſts, dronken mœtings, and abhominable ſacrifices of the idols: where they ſang moſt commonlie no diuinitie as before, but the puiſſant acts of valiant princes, and fabulous narrations of the adulteries of the gods. Certes in my time this fond vſage, and thereto the verie name of the Bardes, are not yet extinguiſhed among the Britons of Wales, where they call their poets and Muſicians Barthes, as they do alſo in Ireland: which Sulpitius alſo writing to Lucane remembreth, where he ſaith that the word Bardus is mere Celtike, and ſignifieth a ſinger. Howbeit the Romans iudging all nations beſide themſelues to be but rude and barbarous, and thereto miſliking vtterlie the rough muſicke of the Bardes, entred ſo farre into the contemptuous mockage of their melodie, that they aſcribed the word Bardus vnto their fooles and idiots, whereas contrariwiſe the Scythians and ſuch as dwell within the northweaſt part of Europe, did vſe the ſame word in verie honourable maner, calling their beſt poets and heroicall ſingers, Singebardos; their couragious ſingers and capiteins that delited in muſicke, Albardos, Dagobardos, Rodtbardos, & one lame muſician Lambard aboue all other, of whoſe ſkilfull ditties Germanie is not vnfurniſhed, as I heare vnto this daie. In Quizqueia or new Spaine, an Iland of the Indies, they call ſuch men Boitios, their rimes Arcitos, and in ſtéed of harps they ſing vnto timbrels made of ſhels ſuch ſonnets and ditties as either perteine vnto religion, prophane loue, commendation of anceſtrie, and inflammation of the mind vnto Mars, whereby there appeareth to be ſmall difference betwéene their Boitios and our Bardes. Finallie of our ſort, Lucane in his firſt booke writeth thus, among other like ſaiengs well toward the latter end;

Lucan. li. 1.

*Vos quóq; qui fortes animas, belloq; peremptas*
*Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,*
*Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina Bardi,*
*Et vos barbaricos ritus, morémque ſiniſtrum*
*Sacrorum Druiydæ, poſitis recepiſtis ab armis.*
*Solis noſſe Deos, & cœli numina vobis,*
*Aut ſolis neſcire datum: nemora alta remotis*
*Incolitis lucis. Vobis authoribus, umbræ*
*Non tacitas Erebi ſedes, Ditiſque profundi*
*Pallida regna petunt, regit idem ſpiritus artus*
*Orbe alio. Longæ canitis ſi cognita, vitæ*
*Mors media eſt, certe populi, quos deſpicit arctos,*
*Fœlices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum*
*Maximus haud vrget leti metus: inde ruendi*
*In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces*
*Mortis: & ignauum eſt redituræ parcere vitæ.*

Thus we ſée as in a glaſſe the ſtate of religion, for a time, after the firſt inhabitation of this Iland: but how long it continued in ſuch ſoundneſſe, as the originall authors left it, in good ſooth I cannot ſay, yet this is moſt certeine, that after a time, when Albion arriued here, the religion earſt imbraced fell into great decaie. For whereas Iaphet & Samothes with their children taught nothing elſe than ſuch doctrine as they had learned of Noah: Cham the great grandfather of this our Albion, and his diſciples vtterlie renouncing to follow their ſteps, gaue their minds wholie to ſeduce and lead their hearers headlong vnto all error. Whereby his poſteritie not onelie corrupted this our Iland, with moſt filthie trades and practiſes; but alſo all mankind, generallie where they became, with vicious life, and moſt vngodlie conuerſation. For from Cham and his ſucceſſours proceéded at the firſt all ſorcerie, witchcraft, and the execution of vnlawfull luſt, without reſpect of ſex, age, conſanguinitie, or kind: as branches from an odious and abhominable rot, or ſtreames deriued from a moſt filthie and horrible ſtinking puddle. Howbeit, & notwithſtanding all theſe his manifold lewdneſſes, ſuch was the follie of his Ægyptians (where he firſt reigned and taught) that whileſt he liued they alone had him in great eſtimation (whereas other nations contemned and abhorred him for his wickedneſſe, calling him Chemeſenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham) and not onelie builded a citie vnto him which they called Chem Min, but alſo after his death reputed him for a god, calling the higheſt of the ſeuen planets after his name, as they did the nert beneath it after Oſyris his ſonne, whom they likewiſe honored vnder the name of Iupiter.

What doctrine Cham and his diſciples taught.

Chemeſenua.

Chem Min.

Cham made a god.

Certes it was a cuſtome begonne in Ægypt of old time, and generallie in vſe almoſt in euerie place in proceſſe of time (when any of their famous worthie princes died) to aſcribe ſome forme or other of the ſtars vnto his perſon, to the end his name might neuer weare out of memorie. And this they called their tranſlation in heauen, ſo that he which had any ſtarres or forme of ſtarres dedicated vnto him, was properlie ſaid to haue a ſeat among the gods. A toie much like to the catalog of Romiſh ſaints, (although the one was written in the celeſtiall or immateriall orbes, the other in ſheeps ſkins, and verie brickle paper) but yet ſo eſtéemed, that euerie prince would oft hazard and attempt the vttermoſt aduentures, thereby to win ſuch fame in his life, that after his death he might by merit haue ſuch place in heauen, among the ſhining ſtarres. Howbeit, euerie of thoſe that were called gods, could not obteine that benefit, for then ſhould there not haue béene ſtars enow in heauen to haue ſerued all their turnes, wherfore another place was in time imagined, where they reigned that were of a ſecond calling, as the Semones who were gods by grace and fauour of the people. *Semones dici voluerunt* (ſaith Fulgentius *In vocibus antiquis*) *quos cœlo nec dignos aſcriberent, ob meriti paupertatem; ſicut Priapus Hyppo. Vortumnus, &c. nec terrenos eos deputare vellent per gratiæ venerationem*, as alſo a third place that is to ſay an earth, where thoſe gods dwelled which were noble men, officers,

Tranſlation of mortall men into heauen how it began.

*Cyril. aduerſus Iul. lib. 6. ſect. 8.*

officers, good gouernours and lawgiuers to the people, and yet not thought worthie to be of the second or first companie, which was a iollie diuision.

Thus we see in generall maner, how idolatrie, honoring of the starres, and brood of inferiour gods were hatched at the first, which follies in processe of time came also into Britaine, as did the names of Saturne & Iupiter, &c: as shall appeare hereafter. And here sith I haue alreadie somewhat digressed from my matter, I will go yet a little farder, and shew forth the originall vse of the word Saturne, Iupiter, Hercules, &c: whereby your Honor shall see a little more into the errours of the Gentils, and not onelie that, but one point also of the rot of all the confusion that is to be found among the ancient histories. Certes it was vsed for a few yéeres after the partition of the earth (which was made by Noah, in the 133. yeare after the floud) that the beginners of such kingdoms as were then erected should be called Saturni, whereby it came to passe that Nimbrote was the Saturne of Babylon: Cham of Ægypt: and so forth other of sundrie other countries. Their eldest sonnes also that succeeded them, were called Ioues; and their nephewes or sonnes sonnes, which reigned in the third place Hercules, by which meanes it followed that euerie kingdome had a Saturne, Iupiter and Hercules of hir owne, and not from anie other.

Which were properlie called, Saturni, Ioues, Iunones, and Hercules.

In like sort they had such another order among their daughters, whom they married as yet commonlie vnto their brethren (God himselfe permitting the same vnto them for a time) as before the floud, to the end the earth might be thoroughlie replenished, and the sooner furnished with inhabitants in euerie part thereof. The sister therefore and wife of euerie Saturne was called Rhea, but of Iupiter, Iuno, Isis, or Io. Beyond these also there was no latter Harold that would indeuour to deriue the petigree of any prince, or potentate, but supposed his dutie to be sufficientlie performed, when he had brought it orderlie vnto some Saturne or other, wherat he might cease, and shut vp all his trauell. They had likewise this opinion grounded amongst them, that heauen & earth were onlie parents vnto Saturne and Rhea, not knowing out of doubt, what they themselues did meane, sith these denominations, Heauen, Ogyges, *the Sunne*, Pater Deorum, and such like, were onelie ascribed vnto Noah: as * Terra, (*the Earth*) Vesta, Aretia, *the Moone*, Mater deorum, and other the like were vnto Tydea his wife. So that hereby we see, how Saturne is reputed in euerie nation for their oldest god, or first prince, Iupiter for the next, and Hercules for the third. And therfore sith these names were dispersed in the beginning ouer all, it is no maruell that there is such confusion in ancient histories, and the doings of one of them so mired with those of another, that it is now impossible to distinguish them in sunder. This haue I spoken, to the end that all men may see what gods the Pagans honored, & thereby what religion the posteritie of Cham did bring ouer into Britaine. For vntill their comming, it is not likelie that anie grosse idolatrie or superstition did enter in among vs, as deifieng of mortall men, honoring of the starres, and erection of huge images, beside sorcerie, witchcraft, and such like, whereof the Chemminites are worthilie called the autors. Neither were these errors anie thing amended, by the comming in of Brute, who no doubt added such deuises vnto the same, as he and his companie had learned before in Græcia, from whence also he brought Helenus the sonne of Priamus, (a man of exceeding age) & made him his préest and bishop thorough out the new conquest, that he had atchieued in Britaine.

Isis, Io, and Iuno all one.

Cœlum or Cœlus.
Ogyges.
Sol.
Pater deorum.
* Tydea.
Vesta.
Terra.
Luna.
Aretia.
Deorum mater.

Frō whence Brute did learne his religion.

After Brute, idolatrie and superstition still increased more and more among vs, insomuch that beside the Druiysh and Bardike ceremonies, and those also that came in with Albion and Brute himselfe: our countriemen either brought hither from abroad, or dailie inuented at home new religion and rites, whereby it came to passe that in the stead of the onelie and immortall God (of whome Samothes and his posteritie did preach in times past) now they honored the said Samothes himselfe vnder the name of Dis and Saturne: also Iupiter, Mars, Minerua, Mercurie, Apollo, Diana; and finallie Hercules, vnto whome they dedicated the gates and porches of their temples, entrances into their regions, cities, townes and houses, with their limits and bounds (as the papists did the gates of their cities and ports vnto Botulph & Giles) bicause fortitude and wisedome are the cheefe vpholders and bearers vp of common-wealths and kingdoms, both which they ascribed to Hercules (forgetting God) and diuers other idols whose names I now remember not. In lieu moreouer of sheepe and oxen, they offred mankind also vnto some of them, killing their offendors, prisoners, and oft such strangers as came from farre vnto them, by shutting vp great numbers of them togither in huge images made of wicker, réed, haie, or other light matter: and then setting all on fire togither, they not onelie consumed the miserable creatures to ashes (sometimes adding other beasts vnto them) but also reputed it to be the most acceptable sacrifice that could be made vnto their idols. From whence they had this horrible custome, trulie I cannot tell, but that it was common to most nations, not onlie to consume their strangers, captiues, &c; but also their owne children with fire, in such maner of sacrifice: beside the text of the Bible, the prophane histories do generallie leaue it euident, as a thing either of custome or of particular necessitie, of which later Virgil saith;

Dis or Samothes made a god.

Mela.
Diodorus.
Strab. 4.
Plin.
Cæsar. 5.

*Sanguine placastis ventos & virgine cæsa, &c.*

As Silius doth of the first, where he telleth of the vsuall maner of the Carthaginenses, saieng after this maner;

*Vrna reducebat miserandos annua casus, &c.*

But to proceed with our owne gods and idols, more pertinent to my purpose than the reherfall of forreine demeanours: I find that huge temples in like sort were builded vnto them, so that in the time of Lucius, when the light of saluation began stronglie to shine in Britaine, thorough the preaching of the gospell, the christians discouered 25. Flamines or idol-churches, beside three Archflamines, whose préests were then as our Archbishops are now, in that they had superior charge of all the rest, the other being reputed as inferiours, and subiect to their iurisdiction in cases of religion, and superstitious ceremonies.

Ptol. Lucensis.

Of the quantities of their idols I speake not, sith it is inough to saie, that they were monstrous, and that each nation contended which should honour the greater blocks, and yet all pretending to haue the iust heigth of the god or goddesse whom they did represent. Apollo Capitolinus that stood at Rome, was thirtie cubits high at the least; Tarentinus Iupiter of 40.; the idoll of the sonne in the Rhodes, of 70. (whose toe few men could fadam;) Tuscanus Apollo that stood in the librarie of the temple of Augustus, of 50. foot; another made vnder Nero of 110. foot; but one in France passed all, which Zenoduris made vnto Mercurie at Aruernum in ten years space, of 400. foot. Wherby it appeareth, that as they were void of moderation in number of gods, so without measure were they also in their proportions, and happie was he which might haue the greatest idoll, and lay most cost thereon.

Monstrous proportions of idols.

Hitherto yee haue heard of the time, wherein idolatrie reigned and blinded the harts of such as dwelled in this Iland. Now let vs see the successe of the gospell, after the death and passion of Iesus Christ our sauiour. And euen here would I begin with an allegation of Theodoret, whereupon some repose great assurance (conceiuing yet more hope therein by the words of Sophronius) that Paule the Apostle should preach the word of saluation here, after his deliuerie out of captiuitie,

Theodoret. Sophronius.

uitie, which fell as I do read in the 57. of Christ. But sith I cannot verifie the same by the words of Theodoret, to be spoken more of Paule than Peter, or the rest, I will passe ouer this coniecture (so far as it is grounded vpon Theodoret) and deale with other authorities, whereof we haue more certeintie. First of all therfore let vs see what Fortunatus hath written of Pauls comming into Britaine, and afterward what is to be found of other by-writers in other points of more assurance. Certes for the presence of Paule I read thus much:

*Quid facer ille simul Paulus tuba gentibus ampla,*
*Per mare per terras Christi præconia fundens,*
*Europam & Asiam, Lybiam, sale dogmata complens,*
*Arctos, meridies, hic plenus vesper & ortus,*
*Transit & Oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum,*
*Quáscq; Britannus habet terras atque vltima Thule, &c.*

That one Iosephus preached here in England, in the time of the Apostles, his sepulchre yet in Aualon, now called Glessenburg or Glastenburie, an epitaph affixed thereunto is proofe sufficient. Howbeit, sith these things are not of competent force to persuade all men, I will ad in few, what I haue read elsewhere of his arriuall here. First of all therefore you shall note that he came ouer into Britaine, about the 64. after Christ, when the persecution began vnder Nero, at which time Philip and diuers of the godlie being in France (whether he came with other christians, after they had sowed the word of God in Scythia, by the space of 9. yeares) seuered themselues in sunder, to make the better shift for their owne safegard, and yet not otherwise than by their flight, the gospell might haue due furtherance. Hereby then it came to passe, that the said Philip vpon good deliberation did send Iosephus ouer, and with him Simon Zelotes to preach vnto the Britons, and minister the sacraments there according to the rites of the churches of Asia and Greece, from whence they came not long before vnto the countrie of the Galles. Which was saith Malmesburie 103. before Faganus and Dinaw did set forth the gospell amongst them. Of the coming of Zelotes you may read more in the second booke of Niceph. Cal. where he writeth thereof in this maner: *Operæpretium etiam fuerit Simonem Cana Galileæ ortum, qui propter flagrantem in magistrum suum ardorem, summámq; euangelicæ rei per omnia curam Zelotes cognominatus est hic referre, accepit enim is cœlitùs adueniente spiritu sancto, Aegyptium Cyrenem & Africam, deinde Mauritaniam & Lybiam omnem euangelium deprædicans percurrit, eandémque doctrinam etiam ad occidentalem Oceanum insuláque Britannicas perfert.* And this is the effect in a litle roome, of that which I haue read at large in sundrie writers, beside these two here alledged, although it may well be gathered that diuers Britains were conuerted to the faith, before this sixtie foure of Christ. Howbeit, whereas some write that they liued, and dwelled in Britaine, it cannot as yet take any absolute hold in my iudgement, but rather that they were baptised and remained, either in Rome, or else-where. And of this sort I suppose Claudia Rufina the wife of Pudens to be one, who was a British ladie indeed, and not onelie excellentlie seene in the Greeke and Latine tongs, but also with hir husband highlie commended by S. Paule, as one hauing had conuersation and conference with them at Rome, from whence he did write his second epistle vnto Timothie, as I read. Of this ladie moreouer Martial speaketh, in reioising that his poesies were read also in Britaine, and onelie by hir meanes, who vsed to cull out the finest & honestest of his epigrams and send them to hir frends for tokens, saieng after this maner, as himselfe doth set it downe:

*Dicitur & nostros cantare Britannia versus.*

Furthermore making mention of hir and hir issue, he addeth these words:

*Claudia cæruleis cùm sit Rufina Britannis*
*Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet?*

*Quale decus formæ? Romanam crederet æs*
*Italides possint, Atthides esse suam.*
*Dij bene, quod sancto peperit fœcunda marito,*
*Quot sperat, generos, quótque puella nurus.*
*Sic placeat superis, vt coniuge gaudeat vno,*
*Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.*

The names of hir three children were Pudentiana, Praxedes, both virgins, and Nouatus, who after the death of Pudens their father (which befell him in Cappadocia) dwelled with their mother in Vmbria, where they ceased not from time to time to minister vnto the saints. But to leaue this impertinent discourse, and proceed with my purpose.

I find in the Chronicles of Burton (vnder the yeare of Grace 141. and time of Hadrian the emperour) that nine scholers or clerkes of Grantha or Granta (now Cambridge) were baptised in Britaine, and became preachers of the gospell there, but whether Taurinus bishop or elder ouer the congregation at Yorke (who as Vincentius saith, was executed about this time for his faith) were one of them or not, as yet I do not certeinlie find; but rather the contrarie, which is that he was no Britaine at all, but *Episcopus Ebroicensis*, for which such as perceiue not the easie corruption of the word, may soone write *Eboracensis*, as certeinlie mine author out of whom I alledge this authoritie hath done before me. For Vincentius saith flat otherwise, and therefore the Chronologie if it speake of anie Taurinus bishop of Yorke is to be reformed in that behalfe. Diuers other also imbraced the religion of Christ verie zealouslie before these men. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding, the glad tidings of the gospell had neuer free and open passage here, vntill the time of Lucius, in which the verie enimies of the word became the apparent meanes (contrarie to their owne minds) to haue it set forth amongst vs. For when Antoninus the emperour had giuen out a decree, that the Druiyish religion should euerie where be abolished, Lucius the king (whose surname is now perished) toke aduise of his councell what was best to be done, & wrote in this behalfe. And this did Lucius, because he knew it * impossible for man to liue long without any religion at all: finallie finding his Nobilitie & subiects vtter enimies to the Romane deuotiõ (for that they made so many gods as they listed, & some to haue the regiment euen of their dirt & dung) and therunto being pricked forwards by such christians as were conuersant about him, to chose the seruice of the true God that liueth for euer, rather than the slauish seruitude of any pagan idoll: he fullie resolued with himselfe in the end, to receiue and imbrace the gospell of Christ. He sent also two of his best learned and greatest philosophers to Rome, vnto Eleutherus then bishop there in the 177. of Christ, not to promise any subiection to his sea, which then was not required, but to say with such as were pricked in mind, Acts. 2. verse. 37. *Quid faciemus viri fratres?* I meane that they were sent to be perfectlie instructed, and with farther commission, to make earnest request vnto him and the congregation there, that a competent number of preachers might be sent ouer from thence, by whose diligent aduise and trauell, the foundation of the gospell might surelie be laid ouer all the portion of the Ile, which conteined his kingdome, according to his mind.

When Eleutherus vnderstood these things, he reioiced not a little for the great goodnesse, which the Lord had shewed vpon this our Ile and countrie. Afterwards calling the brethren togither, they agreed to ordeine, euen those two for bishops, whom Lucius as you haue heard, had directed ouer vnto them. Finallie after they had thoroughlie catechized them, making generall praier vnto God and earnest supplication for the good successe of these men, they sent them home againe with no small charge, that they should be diligent in their function, and carefull ouer the flocke committed to their custo-

Iosephus.

Philip. Freculphus To. 2. lib. 2. cap. 4. Nennius. Nicephorus lib. 2. cap. 40.

*Isidorus lib. de vita & obit. dict. patrum. W. Malmes. de antiq. Glasconici monast.*

Claudia Rufina a British ladie.

2. Tim. 4.

Li. 11. Epig. 54.

Lib. 10. cap. 17. Taurinus.

* This is contrarie to the common talke of our Atheists who say, Let vs liue here in wealth, credit and authoritie vpon earth, and let God take heauen and his religion to himselfe to doo withall what he listeth.

Lucius openeth his ears to good counsell, as one desirous to serue God & not prefer the world.

The purpose of Lucius opened vnto the congregation at Rome by Eleutherus.

custodie.

The first of these was called Eluanus Aualonius, a man borne in the Ile of Aualon, and brought vp there vnder those godlie pastours and their disciples, whom Philip sent ouer at the first for the conuersion of the Britons. The other hight Medguinus, and was thereto surnamed Belga, bicause he was of the towne of Welles, which then was called Belga. This man was trained vp also in one schoole with Eluanus, both of them being ornaments to their horie ages, and men of such grauitie and godlinesse, that Eleutherus supposed none more worthie to support this charge, than they: after whose comming home also, it was not long yer Lucius and all his houshold with diuers of the Nobilitie were baptised, beside infinit numbers of the common people, which dailie resorted vnto them, and voluntarilie renounced all their idolatrie and paganisme.

A zealous prince maketh feruent subiects.

In the meane time, Eleutherus vnderstanding the successe of these learned doctours, and supposing with himselfe, that they two onlie could not suffice to support so great a charge as should concerne the conuersion of the whole Iland; he directed ouer vnto them in the yeare insuing Faganus, Dinaw (or Dinauus) Aaron, and diuerse other godlie preachers, as fellow-labourers to trauell with them in the vineyard of the Lord. These men therefore after their comming hither, consulted with the other, and forthwith wholie consented to make a diuision of this Iland amongst themselues, appointing what parcell each preacher should take, that with the more profit and ease of the people, and somewhat lesse trauell also for themselues, the doctrine of the Gospell might be preached and receiued. In this distribution, they ordeined that there should be one congregation at London, where they placed Theonus as cheefe elder and bishop, for that present time, worthilie called Theonus. 1. for there was another of that name who fled into Wales with Thadiocus of Yorke, at the first comming of the Saxons; and also Guthelmus, who went (as I read) into Armorica, there to craue aid against the Scots and Vandals that plagued this Ile, from the Twede vnto the Humber. After this Theonus also Eluanus succeeded, who conuerted manie of the Druiydes, and builded the first libzarie neere vnto the bishops palace. The said Lucius also placed another at Yorke, whither they appointed Theodosius: and the third at Caerlheon vpon the riuer Vske, builded sometimes by Belinus, and called Glamorgantia, but now Chester (in which three cities there had before time beene three Archflamines erected vnto Apollo, Mars, and Minerua, but now raced to the ground, and three other churches builded in their steds by Lucius) to the end that the countries round about might haue indifferent accesse vnto those places, and therewithall vnderstand for certeintie, whither to resort for resolution, if after their conuersion they should happen to doubt of any thing. In like sort also the rest of the idoll-temples standing in other places were either ouerthrowne, or conuerted into churches for christian congregations to assemble in, as our writers do remember. In the report whereof giue me leaue gentle reader, of London my natiue citie to speake a little: for although it may and doth seeme impertinent to my purpose, yet it shall not be much, and therefore I will soone make an end. There is a controuersie moued among our historiographers, whether the church that Lucius builded at London stood at Westminster, or in Cornehill. For there is some cause, why the metropolitane church should be thought to stand where S. Peters now doth, by the space of 400. and yeeres before it was remoued to Canturburie by Austine the monke, if a man should leane to one side without anie conference of the asseuerations of the other. But herin (as I take it) there lurketh some scruple, for beside that S. Peters church stood in the east end of the citie, and that of Apollo in the west, the word Cornehill (a denomination giuen of late to speake of to one street) may eastlie be mistaken for Thorney. For as the word Thorney proceedeth from the Saxons, who called the west end of the citie by that name, where Westminster now standeth, bicause of the wildnesse and bushinesse of the soile; so I do not read of anie streete in London called Cornehill before the conquest of the Normans. Wherfore I hold with them, which make Westminster to be the place where Lucius builded his church vpon the ruines of that Flamine 264. yeeres, as Malmesburie saith, before the comming of the Saxons, and 411. before the arriuall of Augustine. Read also his appendix *in lib. 4. Pontif.* where he noteth the time of the Saxons, in the 449. of Grace, and of Augustine in the 596. of Christ; which is a manifest accompt, though some copies haue 499. for the one, but not without manifest corruption and error.

Faganus. Dinauus. Aaron.

Radulphus de la noir aliàs Niger.

3. Cheefe Bishops in Britaine.

Theonus. Theodosius London. Yorke. Caerlheon.

Thus became Britaine the first prouince that generallie receiued the faith, and where the gospell was freelie preached without inhibition of hir prince. Howbeit, although that Lucius and his princes and great numbers of his people imbraced the word with greedinesse, yet was not the successe thereof either so vniuersall, that all men beleeued at the first; the securitie so great, as that no persecution was to be feared from the Romane empire after his decease; or the proceeding of the king so seuere, as that he inforced any man by publike authoritie to forsake and relinquish his paganisme: but onelie this freedome was enioied, that who so would become a christian in his time, might without feare of his lawes profesle the Gospell, in whose testimonie, if need had beene, I doubt not to affirme, but that he would haue shed also his bloud, as did his neece Emerita, who being constant aboue the common sort of women, refused not after his decease by fire, to yeeld hir selfe to death, as a sweet smelling sacrifice in the nostrels of the Lord, beyond the sea in France.

Britaine the first prouince that receiued the Gospell generallie.

Emerita neece vnto Lucius.

The faith of Christ being thus planted in this Iland in the 177. after Christ, and Faganus and Dinaw with the rest sent ouer from Rome, in the 178. as you haue heard: it came to passe in the third yeare of the Gospell receiued, that Lucius did send againe to Eleutherus the bishop, requiring that he might haue some breefe epitome of the order of discipline then vsed in the church. For he well considered, that as it auaileth litle to plant a costlie vineyard, except it afterward be cherished, kept in good order, and such things as annoie, dailie remoued from the same: so after baptisme and entrance into religion, it profiteth little to beare the name of christians, except we do walke in the spirit, and haue such things as offend apparentlie, corrected by seuere discipline. For otherwise it will come to passe, that the weedes of vice, and vicious liuing, will so quicklie abound in vs, that they will in the end choke vp the good seed sowne in our minds, and either inforce vs to returne vnto our former wickednesse with deeper securitie than before, or else to become meere Atheists, which is a great deale worse.

Lucius sendeth againe to Rome.

Ro. 8. ver. 1

For this cause therefore did Lucius send to Rome, the second time, for a copie of such politike orders as were then vsed there, in their regiment of the church. But Eleutherus considering with himselfe, how that all nations are not of like condition, and therefore those constitutions that are beneficiall to one, may now and then be preiudiciall to another: and seeing also that beside the word no rites and orders can long continue, or be so perfect in all points, but that as time serueth, they will require alteration: he thought it best not to laie any more vpon the necks of the new conuerts of Britaine as yet, than Christ and his apostles had alreadie set downe vnto all men. In returning therefore his messengers, he sent letters by them vnto Lucius and his Nobilitie, dated in the consulships of Commodus and

The wisedome of Eleutherus.

and Vespronius, wherein he told them that Christ had left sufficient order in the scriptures for the gouernment of his church alreadie in his word, and not for that onlie, but also for the regiment of his whole * kingdome, if he would submit himselfe, to yéeld and follow that rule. The epistle it selfe is partlie extant, and partlie perished, yet such as it is, and as I haue faithfullie translated it out of sundrie verie ancient copies, I doo deliuer it here, to the end I will not defraud the reader of anie thing that may turne to the glorie of God, and his commoditie, in the historie of our nation.

* Though most princes cánot heare on that side.

Epistle of Eleutherus vnto Lucius.

"You require of vs the Romane ordinances, and thereto the statutes of the emperours to be sent ouer vnto you, and which you desire to practise and put in vre within your realme and kingdome. The Romane lawes and those of emperours we may eftsoones reprooue, but those of God can neuer be found fault with all. You haue receiued of late through Gods mercie in the realme of Britaine the law and faith of Christ, you haue with you both volumes of the scriptures: out of them therefore by Gods grace, and the councell of your realme take you a law, and by that law through Gods sufferance rule your kingdome, for you are Gods vicar in your owne realme, as the roiall prophet saith; Psal.24. The earth is the Lords and all that is therein, the compasse of the world, and they that dwell therein. Againe, Psal.45. Thou hast loued truth and hated iniquitie, wherefore God, euen thy God hath annointed thee with oile of gladnesse aboue thy fellowes. And againe, according to the saieng of the same prophet; Oh God giue thy Psal.71. iudgement vnto the king, & thy iustice vnto the kings sonne. The kings sons are the christian people & flocke of the realme, which are vnder your gouernance, and liue & continue in peace within your kingdome. * The * Here wanteth. gospell saith; As the hen gathereth hir chickens vnder hir wings, so doth the king his people. Such as dwell in the kingdome of Britaine are yours, whom if they be diuided, you ought to gather into concord and vnitie, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to his sacred church: to cherish and mainteine, to rule also and gouerne them, defending each of them from such as would do them wrong, and keeping them from the malice of such as be their enimies. * Woo vnto the nation whose king is a child, and whose princes rise vp earlie to banket and féed, which is spoken not of a prince that is within age, but of a prince that is become a child, through follie, sinne & vnstedfastnesse, of whom the prophet saith; The bloudthirstie and deceitfull men shall not Psal.55. liue forth halfe their daies. * By féeding I vnderstand gluttonie; by gluttonie, lust; & by lust all wickednesse & sinne, according to the saieng of Salomon the king; Wisedome entreth not into a wicked mind, nor dwelleth with a man that is subiect vnto sinne. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of the possession of his realme. You shalbe a king whilest you rule well, but if you do otherwise, the name of a king shall not remaine with you, but you shall vtterlie forgo it, which God forbid. The almightie God grant you so to rule the kingdome of Britaine, that you may reigne with him for euer, whose vicar (or vicegerent) you are within your aforesaid kingdome. Who with the Sonne and the Holie-ghost, &c.

Hitherto out of the epistle that Eleutherus sent vnto Lucius, wherein manie prettie obseruations are to be collected, if time and place would serue to stand vpon them. After these daies also the number of such as were ordeined to saluation, increased dailie more and more, whereby (as in other places of the world) the word of God had good successe in Britaine, in time of peace; and in heat of persecution, there were no small number of martyrs that suffered for the same, of which Albane, Amphibalus, Iulius and Aaron, are reputed to be the chiefe, bicause of their noble parentage, which is a great matter in the sight of worldlie men.

Albane. Amphibalus. Iulius. Aaron.

There are which affirme our Lucius to renounce his kingdome, and afterward to become first a bishop, then a preacher of the gospell, and afterward a pope: but to the end such as hold this opinion may once vnderstand the botome of their errors, I will set downe the matter at large, whereby they shall sée (if they list to looke) how far they haue béene deceiued.

I find that Chlorus had issue by his second wife, two sonnes, Dalmatius (who had a sonne called also Dalmatius and slaine by the souldiors) Constantius father to Gallus, and Iulian the apostata; besides foure other whose names as yet I find not. But being at the first matched with Helena, and before she was put from him by the roiall power of Diocletian, he had by hir three sonnes (beside one daughter named Emerita) of which the name of the first is perished, the second was called Lucius, & the third Constantine, that afterward was emperour of Rome, by election of the armies in Britaine. Now it happened that Lucius, whome the French call Lucion, by means of a quarell growne betwéene him and his elder brother, did kill his said brother, either by a traie or by some other meanes, whereupon his father exiled him out of Britaine, and appointed him from thencefoorth to remaine in Aquitane in France. This Lucion brought thus into worldlie sorow, had now good leasure to meditate vpon heauen, who before in his prosperitie had peraduenture neuer regard of hell. Finallie he fell so far into the consideration of his estate, that at the last he renounced his paganisme, and first became a christian, then an elder, and last of all a bishop in the church of Christ. He erected also a place of praier wherein to serue the liuing God, which after sundrie alterations came in processe of time to be an Abbaie, and is still called euen to our time after Lucion or Lucius: the first founder thereof, and the originall beginner of anie such house in those parts.

Chlorus had three sons, & a daughter by Helena.

Lucion becommeth a christian.

Lucion a bishop.

In this also he and diuers other of his frends continued their times, in great contemplation and praier, and from hence were translated as occasion serued, vnto sundrie ecclesiasticall promotions in the time of Constant. his brother. So that euen by this short narration it is now easie to sée, that Lucius the king, and Lucius or Lucion the sonne of Chlorus, were distinct persons. Hereunto Hermannus Schedelius addeth also how he went into Rhetia with Emerita his sister, and néere vnto the citie Augusta conuerted the Curienses vnto the faith of Christ, and there likewise (being put to death in Castro Martis) lieth buried in the same towne, where his feast is holden vpon the third daie of December, as may readilie be confirmed, whereas the bones of our Lucius were to be séene at Gloucester. That Schedelius erreth not herein also, the ancient monuments of the said Abbaie, whereof he was the originall beginner, as I said, doo yeeld sufficient testimonie, beside an hymne made in his commendation, intituled *Gaude Lucionum, &c.* But for more of this you may resort vnto Bouchet in his first booke, and fift chapter of the Annales of Aquitane, who neuertheles maketh the king of Britaine grandfather to this Lucion. The said Schedelius furthermore setteth downe, that his sister was martyred in Trinecastell, néere vnto the place where the said Lucion dwelled, whereby it appéereth in like sort, that she was not sister to Lucius king of Britaine, of which prince Alexander Neccham in his most excellent treatise *De sapientia diuina*, setteth downe this Distichon:

Hermannus Schedelius. Bruschius cap.3.

Festum Lucionis. Iohn Bouchet.

Emerita martyred in Rhetia.

*Prima Britannorum fidei lux Lucius esse*
*Fertur, qui rexit mœnia Brute tua.*

Neither could Lucion or Lucius be fellow and of kinred vnto Paule the apostle, as Auentine inferreth, except he meane it of some other Lucius, as of one whome he nameth Cyrinensis. But then will not the historie agree with the conuersion of the Rhetians and

Vinde-

Vindelicians, whereof Schedelius and other do make mention. But as each riuer the farder it runneth from the head, the more it is increased by small riuelets, and corrupted with filthie puddels, and stinking gutters, that descend into the same: so the puritie of the gospell, preached here in Britaine, in processe of time became first of all to be corrupted with a new order of religion, and most execrable heresie, both of them being brought in at once by Pelagius, of Wales, who hauing trauelled through France, Italie, Aegypt, Syria, & the easterlie regions of the world, was there at the last made an elder or bishop, by some of the monkes, vnto whose profession he had not long before wholie addicted himselfe. Finallie returning home againe with an augmentation of fame and countenance of greater holinesse than he bare out of the land with him, he did not onelie erect an house of his owne order at Bangor in Wales, vpon the riuer Dee, but also sowed the pestiferous sæd of his hereticall prauities ouer all this Iland, whereby he seduced great numbers of Britons, teaching them to preferre their owne merits, before the free mercie of God, in Iesus Christ his sonne. By this means therefore he brought assurance of saluation into question, and taught all such as had a diligent respect vnto their workes to be doubtfull of the same, whereas to such as regard this latter, there can be no quietnesse of mind, but alwaies an vnstedfast opinion of themselues, whereby they cannot discerne, neither by prosperitie nor aduersitie of this life, whether they be worthie loue or hatred. Neuertheles it behoueth the godlie to repose their hope in that grace which is freelie granted through Iesu Christ, and to flee vnto the mercies of God which are offered vnto vs in with and by his son, to the end that we may at the last find the testimonie of his spirit working with ours, that we are his chosen children, whereby commeth peace of conscience to such as do beleeue.

Heresie and monasticall life brought into Britaine at one time by Pelagius.

Bangor.

Thus we see how new deuises or orders of religion and heresie came in together. I could shew also what Comets, and strange signes appeared in Britaine, much about the same time, the like of which with diuers other haue been perceiued also from time to time, sithence the death of Pelagius, at the entrance of anie new kind of religion into this Ile of Britaine. But I passe them ouer, onelie for that I would not seeme in my tractation of antiquities, to trouble my reader with the rehersall of anie new inconueniences.

To proceed therefore with my purpose, after these there followed in like sort sundrie other kinds of monasticall life, as Anachorites, Heremits, Cyrilline and Benedictine monkes, albeit that the heremeticall profession was onelie allowed of in Britaine, vntill the comming of Augustine the monke, who brought in the Benedictine sect, framed after the order of the house which Benedict surnamed Nursinus did first erect in *Monte Cassino*, about the 524. of Christ, & was finallie so well liked of all men, that we had few or (as I suppose) no blacke monkes in England that were not of his order. In processe of time how Benedict Biscop also our countrieman restored the said Benedictine profession greatlie decaied in England, our histories are verie plentifull, which Biscop went oft into Italie, and at one time for a speciall confirmation of his two monasteries which he had builded at other mens costs vnto Paule and Peter vpon the bankes of the Were, as Beda doth remember. So fast also did these and other like humane deuises prosper after his time, that at their suppression in England and Wales onelie, there were found 440. religious houses at the least, of which 373. might dispend 200. li. by the yeere at the least, as appeareth by the record of their suppression, which also noteth the totall summe of their reuenues to amount vnto 32000. pounds, their moueables 100000. li. and the number of religious men conteined in the same, to be 10000. which would make a prettie armie, whereunto if you adde those 45. of late standing in Scotland, you shall sone see what numbers of these dens of spirituall robbers were mainteined here in Britaine. What number of saincts also haue been hatched in them I could easilie remember, and beside those 160. which Capgraue setteth down, & other likewise remembred in the golden Legend, and Legendarie of Ercester, I might bring a rable out of Scotland able to furnish vp a calendar, though the yere were twise as long.

Anachorites. Heremites. Cyrillines. Benedictines.

Monkes and Heremites onelie allowed of in Britaine.

The number of religious houses in England at their dissolution.

As touching Pelagius the first heretike that euer was bred in this realme (notablie knowne) and parent of Monachisme, it is certeine, that before his corruption and fall, he was taken for a man of singular learning, deepe iudgement, and such a one, as vpon whome for his great gifts in teaching and strictnesse of life, no small peece of the hope and expectation of the people did depend. But what is wisedome of the flesh, without the feare and true knowledge of God: and what is learning except it be handmaid to veritie and sound iudgement: Wherefore euen of this man, we may see it verified, that one Roger Bakon pronounced long after of the corruption of his time, when all things were measured by wit and worldlie policie, rather than by the scriptures or guidance of the spirit; Better it is saith he, to heare a rude and simple idiot preach the truth, without apparance of skill and learned eloquence, than a profound clearke to set forth error, with great shew of learning, and boast of filed vtterance. Gerson in like sort hath said fullie asmuch. These follies of Pelagius were blased abroad about the 400. of Christ, and from thencefoorth how his number of monkes increased on the one side, and his doctrine on the other, there is almost no reader that is vnskilfull and ignorant.

Roger Bakon his saieng of the preachers of his time who were the best lawyers and the worst Diuines.

This also is certeine, that within the space of 200. yeares and odde, there were manie more than 2100. monkes gathered togither in his house, whose trades notwithstanding the errors of their founder, (who taught such an estimation of merits and bodilie exercise (as Paule calleth it) that therby he sought not onlie to impugne, but also preuent grace, which was in deed the originall occasion of the erection of his house) were yet farre better and more godlie than all those religious orders, that were inuented of later time, wherein the professours liued to themselues, their wombs and the licentious fruition of those parts, that are beneath the bellie. For these laboured continuallie for their owne liuings, at vacant times from praier (as did Serapions monkes, which were 10000. ouer whome he himselfe was Abbat) and likewise for the better maintenance of such learned men as were their appointed preachers. Their liues also were correspondent to their doctrine, so that herein onelie they seemed intollerable, in that they had confidence in their deeds, and no warrant out of the word for their succor & defense, but were such a plant as the heauenlie father had not planted, and therefore no maruell, though afterward they were raised by the roots.

More than 2100. monkes in the College or Abbaie of Bangor in whose territories the parish of Ouerton standeth.

Niceph. lib. 11. cap. 34.

But as Pelagius and his adherents had a time to infect the church of Christ in Britaine, so the liuing God hath had a season also to purge and cleanse the same, though not by a full reformation of doctrine, sith Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius, and such like leaning for the most part vnto the monasticall trades, did not so much condemne the generall errors of Pelagius one waie, as maintaine the same, or as euill opinions another. For as Patricke seemed to like well of the honoring of the dead, so Germanus being in Britaine repaired an old chapell to S. Albane, wherein Lupus also praied, as Palladius vpheld the strictnesse of life, in monasticall profession to the vttermost of his power. Wherfore God wrought this purgation of his house at the first, rather by taking awaie the wicked and pompous scholemaisters of errour out of this life: hoping

Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius,

*Seuerus Sulpitius in vita Patricij.*

hoping that by ſuch meanes, his people would haue giuen eare to the godlie that remained. But in proceſſe of time, when this his merciſull dealing was forgotten and our countriemen returned to their former diſorders, he brought in the Sarons, who left no idoll vnhonored, no not their filthie Priapus, vnto whom the women builded temples, and made a beaſtlie image (*Cum pene intenſo*, and as if he had beene circumciſed) whome they called Ithypallus, Verpus, and as Goropius Atvatic. pag. 26. addeth, Ters: calling vpon him in maner at euerie word, yea at the verie fall of a knife out of their hands, and not counted anie ſhame vnto the moſt ancient and ſober matrone of them all. Howbeit when this proceeding of the Lord could alſo take no place, and the ſheepe of his paſture would receiue no wholeſome fodder, it pleaſed his maieſtie, to let them run on headlong from one iniquitie to another, in ſo much that after the doctrine of Pelagius, it receiued that of Rome alſo, brought in by Auguſtine and his monkes, whereby it was to be ſeene, how they fell from the truth into hereſie, and from one hereſie ſtill into another, till at the laſt they were drowned altogither in the pits of error digged vp by Antichriſt, wels in deed that hold no water, which notwithſtanding to their followers ſeemed to be moſt ſound doctrine, and ciſterns of liuing water to ſuch as imbraced the ſame.

Auguſtine the monke.

Auguſtine.

This Auguſtine, after his arriuall, conuerted the Sarons in deed from paganiſme, but as the prouerbe ſaith, bringing them out of Gods bleſſing into the warme ſunne, he alſo imbued them with no leſſe hurtfull ſuperſtition, than they did know before: for beſide the onelie name of Chriſt, and externall contempt of their priſtinate idolatrie, he taught them nothing at all, but rather (I ſaie) made an exchange from groſſe to ſubtill treacherie, from open to ſecret idolatrie, & from the name of pagans, to the bare title of chriſtians, thinking this ſufficient for their ſoules health, and the eſtabliſhment of his monachiſme, of which kind of profeſſion, the holie ſcriptures of God can in no wiſe like or allow. But what cared he? ſith he got the great fiſh for which he did caſt his hooke, and ſo great was the fiſh that he caught in deed, that within the ſpace of 1000. yeares, and leſſe, it deuoured the fourth part & more of the beſt ſoile of the Iland, which was wholie beſtowed vpon his monkes, & other religious broods that were hatched ſince his time, as may hereafter appeere in the booke following, where I intreate of cities, townes, &c.

Monks of Canturburie plagued.

In the meane ſeaſon what ſucceſſe his monkes had at Canturburie, how oft they were ſpoiled by enimies, their houſes burned by caſualtie, and brethren conſumed with peſtilence, I refer me to Gotcellius, Houeden, Geruaſe, and the reſt of their owne hiſtoriographers. And ſo ſore did the peſtilence rage among them in the time of Celnothus (in whoſe daies the prælts, clerks and monkes ſang their ſeruice togither in the quire, that (of I wote not how manie) there remained onelie fiue aliue, which was a notable token of the furie and wrath of God conceiued and executed againſt that malignant generation. It came alſo to paſſe at the laſt, that men vſed to praie for helpe at the ſaid Auguſtines tumbe (although afterward Thomas Becket a newer ſaint did not a little deface his glorie) among which king Athelſtane was one, whome Elnothus the abbat ſtaied ſo long in the place, when he came thither to praie, that his ſoldiours waiting for his comming, and ſuppoſing the monkes to haue murdered him, began to giue an aſſault and ſet fire vpon the houſe.

Meates. Pictes. Caledoniens.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in hand, in the ſouth part of Albion, the Meates, Picts, and Caledoniens, which lie beyond the Scotiſh ſea, receiued alſo the faith, by preaching of ſuch chriſtian elders as aduentured thither dailie, who trauelled not without great ſucceſſe and increaſe of perfect godlines in that part of the Ile. Certes this proſperous attempt paſſed all mens expectation, for that theſe nations were in thoſe daies reputed wild, ſauage, and more vnfaithfull and craftie then well-minded people (as the wild Iriſh are in my time) and ſuch were they (to ſaie the truth) in deed, as neither the ſugred courteſie, nor ſharpe ſwords of the Romans could mollifie or reſtraine from their naturall furie, or bring to anie good order. For this cauſe alſo in the end, the Romane emperours did vtterlie caſt them off as an vnprofitable, brutiſh, & vntameable nation, and by an huge wall hereafter to be deſcribed, ſeparated that rude companie from the more mild and ciuill portion.

Scotland conuerted to the faith of Chriſt.

This conuerſion of the north parts fell out in the firſt yeare before the warres that Seuerus had in thoſe quarters, and 170. after the death of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt. From thenceforth alſo the chriſtian religion continued ſtill among them, by the diligent care of their paſtors and biſhops (after the vſe of the churches of the ſouth part of this Iland) till the Romane ſhepheard ſought them out, and found the meanes to pull them vnto him in like ſort with his long ſtaffe as he had done our countriemen, whereby in the end he aboliſhed the rites of the churches of Aſia there alſo, as Auguſtine had done alreadie in England: and in ſtead of the ſame did furniſh it vp with thoſe of his pontificall ſee, although there was great contention, and no leſſe bloodſhed made amongſt them, before it could be brought to paſſe, as by the hiſtories of both nations yet extant may be ſeene.

Paladius.

In the time of Cœleſtine biſhop of Rome, who ſate in the 423. of Chriſt, one Paladius a Grecian borne (to whome Cyrill wrote his dialog *De adoratione in ſpiritu*) and ſometime diſciple to Iohn 24. biſhop of Jeruſalem, came ouer from Rome into Britaine, there, to ſuppreſſe the Pelagian hereſie, which not a little moleſted the orthodoxes of that Iland. And hauing done much good in the extinguiſhing of the aforeſaid opinion there, he went at the laſt alſo into Scotland, ſuppoſing no leſſe, but after he had trauelled ſomwhat in confutation of the Pelagians in thoſe parts, he ſhould eaſilie perſuade that crooked nation to admit and receiue the rites of the church of Rome, as he would faine haue done beforehand in the ſouth. But as Faſtidius Priſcus archbiſhop of London, and his Suffragans reſiſted him here; ſo did the Scotiſh prelates withſtand him there alſo in this behalfe: howbeit, bicauſe of the authoritie of his commiſſion, grauitie of perſonage, and the great gift which he had in the veine of pleaſant perſuaſion (whereby he drew the people after him, as Orpheus did the ſtones with his harpe, and Hercules ſuch as heard him by his tong) they had him not onelie then in great admiration, but their ſucceſſors alſo from time to time, and euen now are contented (and the rather alſo for that he came from Rome) to take him for their cheefe apoſtle, reckoning from his comming as from the faith receiued, which was in the 431. yeare of Chriſt, as the truth of their hiſtorie doth verie well confirme.

The firſt attempt of the biſhop of Rome to bring Scotland vnder his obedience.

Faſtidius biſhop of London.

Paladius accompted for the apoſtle of the Scots

Thus we ſee what religion hath from time to time beene receiued in this Iland, & how and when the faith of Chriſt came firſt into our countrie. Howbeit as in proceſſe of time it was ouerſhadowed, and corrupted with the dreames and fantaſticall imaginations of man, ſo it dailie warred worſe & worſe, till that it pleaſed God to reſtore the preaching of his goſpell in our daies, whereby the man of ſinne is now openlie reuealed, and the puritie of the word once againe brought to light, to the finall ouerthrow of the Romiſh ſathan, and his popiſh adherents that honour him daie and night to the vttermoſt of their power, yelding vp their harts as temples for him to dwell in, which rather ought to be the temples of God and habitations of the Holy-ghoſt. But ſuch is their peruerſe ignorance (notwithſtanding that Paule hath giuen warning of him alreadie 2. Theſſ. 2. calling him (as I ſaid) the man of ſinne, and ſaieng that he ſitteth as God in the temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe

himselfe in his chalenge of power, as if he were God, vnder pretense of zeale vnto true religion) that they will not giue eare vnto the truth, but rather shut their eares and their eies from hearing and reading of the scriptures, because they will not be drawne out of his snares and bondage.

## Of the manifold conuersions and alterations of the estate of the common-wealth of Britaine, sithens the time of Samothes.

THere is a certeine period of kingdomes, of 430. yeares, in which commonlie they suffer some notable alteration. And as in the aforesaid season there is set a time of increase and decaie, so we find that before the execution of Gods purpose doth come to passe, in changing the estate of things, sundrie tokens are sent, whereby warning is giuen, that without repentance he will come and visit our offenses. This is partlie verified by Ioachimus Camerarius, who in his first booke *De ostentis* intreating of the same argument, telleth of a strange earthquake felt in Delus, which was neuer touched with any such plague before or after the ouerthrow of the Persians, giuen vnto them by the Grecians; also of the beard that suddenlie grew out of the face of the Pedacien prophetesse, so often as the citie was to be touched with any alteration and change. *Nam* (saith he) *descriptas esse diuinitùs ætates quibus idem humanarum rerum status duraret, quibus finitis, prædici prius quàm existeret nouationem in deterius euenturam rerum, quæque indies minùs ac minùs memini cordi essent. Emittuntur igitur cometæ diuinitus, & reuocantur dum supra nos conspecti quamdiu placuit Deo inferuntur &c.* Plato referreth such changes as happen in common-wealths to a certeine diuine force that resteth hidden in sundrie od numbers, whereof their periods do consist. True it is that God created all things in number, weight & measure, & that after an incomprehensible maner vnto our fraile & humane capacitie. Neuertheless, he appointed not these three to haue the rule of his works, wherefore we must not ascribe these changes to the force of number with Plato, much lesse then vnto destinie with the Peripatetiks, but vnto the diuine prouidence and appointment of God, which onelie may be called destinie as S. Augustine saith, for of other destinie it is impietie to dreame. Aristotle ascribing all euents vnto manifest causes precedent, doth scoffe at Plato and his numbers in his booke of common-wealths, and bringeth in sundrie causes of the alteration of the state of things, which we may referre vnto principals, as iniurie, oppression, ambition, treason, rebellion, contempt of religion and lawes, and therevnto abundance of wealth in few, and great necessitie and miserie in manie. But whatsoeuer Aristotle gesseth at these things by humane reason as at the first causes, yet we acknowledge other beyond them, as sinne, which being suffered and come to the full, is cut downe by the iustice of the high God, the cheefe cause of all, who foreseeing the wickednesse of such as dwell on earth, doth constitute such a reuolution of things in their beginnings, as best standeth with the execution of his purpose, and correction of our errors. The causes therefore that Aristotle doth deliuer, are nothing else but the meanes which God vseth to bring his purposes to passe; and yet they deserue the name of causes, in that they preced those effects which follow them immediatlie. But in truth other than secondarie or third causes no man can iustlie call them. Bodinus in his historicall method, cap. 6. making a large discourse of the conuersions of commonwealths, doth seeme at the first to denie the force of number, but after a while he maruelleth that no Grecian or Latine Academike, hath hitherto made any discourse of the excellencie of such numbers as apperteine to the estate of empires and kingdomes by exemplification in any one citie or other. Hereby he sheweth himselfe vpon the sudden to alter his iudgement, so that he setteth downe certeine numbers as fatall; to wit, three vnto women, and seauen and nine vnto men, which (saith he) haue *Magnam in tota rerum natura potestatem*, meaning as well in common-wealths and kingdomes from their first erections, as in particular ages of bodies, for sicknesse, health, change of habitation, wealth, and losse, &c: and for the confirmation of the same, he setteth downe sundrie examples of apparant likelihod, either by multiplication of one by the other, or diuision of greater numbers by either of them, or their concurrence one with another, calling the aforesaid three his criticall or iudiciall numbers, whereby he bringeth or rather restoreth an old kind of arithmancie (fathered on Pythagoras, yet neuer inuented by him) againe into the world. But we christians, in respecting of causes, haue to looke vnto the originall and great cause of all, and therefore we haue not to leane vnto these points in any wise as causes: for we know and confesse that all things depend vpon his prouidence, who humbleth and exalteth whom it pleaseth him. Neuertheless, I hope we may without offense examine how these assertions hold, so long as we vse them rather as *Indices* than *Causas mutationum*. And therefore haue I attempted to practise at this present the example of Bodinus, first in the alterations of our ciuill estate passed; and secondlie, of the like in cases of religion; from the flood generallie, and then after the first comming in of Samothes into our Ile, thereby somewhat to satisfie my selfe, and recreate the readers; but still protesting in the meane season that I vtterlie denie them to be any causes, or of themselues to worke any effect at all in these things, as Bodinus would seeme to vphold. As for those of other countries, I referre you to Aristotles politikes, and the eight of the common-wealth which Plato hath left vnto vs, therby to be farther resolued, if you be desirous to looke on them. In beginning therefore with my purpose; First because the flood of Noah was generall, and therefore appertinent vnto all, it shall not be amisse to begin with that, which was in the yeare 1656. after the creation of Adam, so that if you diuide the same by nine, you shall find the quotient to fall out exactlie with the 184. reuolution of the same number. Secondlie, for so much as the confusion of tongs was the originall cause of the dispersion of the people ouer the face of the whole earth, it shall not be amisse also to examine the same. Certes it fell out in the 133. after the flood: if we diuide therefore the said 133. by seauen, you shall find the quotient 19. without any ods remaining. From hence also vnto the comming of Samothes into Britaine, or rather his lawes giuen vnto the Celts, and with them vnto the Britons, in the second of his arriuall in this land, we find by exact supputation 126. yeares, which being parted by nine or seauen sheweth such a conclusion as maketh much for this purpose. Doubtlesse I am the more willing to touch the time of his lawes than his entrance, sith alteration of ordinances is the cheefe and principall token of change in ruls and regiment; although at this present the circumstances hold not, sith he dispossessed none, neither incroched vpon any. From Samothes vnto the tyrannie of Albion, are 335. yeares complet, so that he arriued here in the 335. or 48. septenarie, which also concurreth with the 590. after the flood. In like sort the regiment of Albion continued but seauen yeares, and then was the souereingtie of this Ile restored againe by Hercules vnto the Celts. The next alteration of our estate openlie knowne, happened by Brute, betweene whose time and death of Albion there passed full 601. yeares (for he spent much time after his departure out of Grecia, before he came into Albion) so that if you accompt him to come hither in the 602. you shall haue 86. septenaries exactlie. From Brute to the extinction of his posteritie in Ferrex and Porrex, and pentarchie of Britaine,

Fatal numbers.

taine, are 630. yeares, or 70. nouenaries, than the which where shall a man find a more precise period after this method or prescription, for manie and diuers considerations. The time of the pentarchie indured likewise 49. yeares, or seauen septenaries, which being expired Dunwallo brought all the princes vnder his subiection, and ruled ouer them as monarch of this Ile. After the pentarchie ended, we find againe that in the 98. yeare, Brennus rebelled against Beline his brother, whereupon insued cruell bloodshed betweene them. So that here you haue 14. septenaries, as you haue from those warres ended, which indured a full yeare & more before Brennus was reconciled to his brother, to the comming of Cæsar into this Iland (whereat our seruitude and miserable thraldome to the Romans may worthilie take his entrance) 48. or 336. yeares, than the which concurrences I know not how a man should imagine a more exact.

After the comming of Cæsar we haue 54. or sixe nouenaries to Christ, whose death and passion redoundeth generallie to all that by firme and sure faith take hold of the same, and applie it vnto their comfort. From the birth of Christ to our countrie deliuered from the Romane yoke, are 446. yeares, at which time the Britains chose them a king, and betooke themselues to his obedience. But neither they nor their king being then able to hold out the Scots and Picts, which dailie made hauocke of their countrie; the said Vortiger in the third yeare of his reigne (which was the 63. septenarie after Christ) did send for the Saxons, who arriued here in the 449. and 450. yeares of Grace, in great companies, for our aid and succour, although that in the end their entrances turned to our vtter decaie and ruine, in that they made a conquest of the whole Ile, and draue vs out of our liuings. Hereby we see therefore how the preparatiue began in the 449. but how it was finished in the tenth nouenarie, the sequele is too too plaine. In like sort in the 43. nouenarie or 387. after the comming of the Saxons, the Danes entred, who miserablie afflicted this Ile by the space of 182. yeares or 26. septenaries, which being expired, they established themselues in the kingdome by Canutus. But their time lasting not long, the Normans followed in the end of the 49. yeare, and thus you see how these numbers do hold exactlie vnto the conquest. The like also we find of the continuance of the Normans or succession of the Conquerour, which indured but 89. yeares, being extinguished in Stephen, and that of the Saxons restored in Henrie the second, although it lacke one whole yeare of ten nouenaries, which is a small thing, sith vpon diuers occasions the time of the execution of any accident may be preuented or proroged, as in direction and progression astronomicall is often times perceiued. From hence to the infamous excommunication of England in king Iohns daies, whereupon insued the resignation of his crownes and dominions to the pope, are eight septenaries or 56. yeares. Thence againe to the deposition of Richard. 2. and vsurpation of Henrie 4. are 77. yeares or 11. septenaries. From hence to the conspiracie made against Edward. 2. after which he was deposed & murdered are 117. yeares, or 13. nouenaries. From hence to the beginning of the quarell betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster (wherein foure score and od persons of the blood rotall were slaine and made awaie first and last, and which warres begunne in the 1448. and the yeare after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, whose murther seemed to make free passage to the said broile) are 72. yeares or eight nouenaries. From hence to the translation of the crowne from the house of Lancaster to that of Yorke, in Edward the 4. are 14. yeares or two septenaries, and last of all to the vnion of the said houses in Henrie the eight, is an exact quadrat of seuen multiplied in it selfe, or 49. yeares, whereof I hope this may in part suffice.

Now as concerning religion, we haue from Christ to the faith first preached in Britaine (by Iosephus ab Aramathia, and Simon Zelotes) as some write 70. yeares or 10. septenaries. Thence also to the baptisme of Lucius, and his nobilitie in the yeare after their conuersion, 12. nouenaries or 108. yeares. After these the Saxons entred and changed the state of religion for the most part into paganisme, in the yeare 449. 39. nouenarie, and 273. yeare after Lucius had beene baptised, which is 39. septenaries, if I be not deceiued. In the 147. or 21. septenarie, Augustine came, who brought in poperie, which increased and continued till Wicklif with more boldnesse than anie other began to preach the gospell, which was Anno. 1361. or 765. yeares after the comming of Augustine, and yeeld 85. nouenaries exactlie. From hence againe to the expulsion of the pope 175 yeares, or 25. septenaries, thence to the receiuing of the pope and popish doctrine 21. yeares or 3. septenaries, whereunto I would ad the time of restoring the gospell by Queene Elizabeth, were it not that it wanteth one full yeare of 7. Whereby we may well gather, that if there be anie hidden mysterie or thing conteined in these numbers, yet the same extendeth not vnto the diuine disposition of things, touching the gift of grace and free mercie vnto the penitent, vnto which neither number weight nor measure shall be able to aspire.

Henrie.8.

Marie.

## Of such Ilands as are to be seene vpon the coasts of Britaine. Cap. 10.

THere are neere vnto, or not verie farre from the coasts of Britaine many faire Ilands, whereof Ireland with hir neighbors (not here handled) seeme to be the cheefe. But of the rest, some are much larger or lesse than other, diuers in like sort enuironed continuallie with the salt sea (whereof I purpose onelie to intreat, although not a few of them be Ilands but at the floud) and other finallie be clipped partlie by the fresh and partlie by the salt water, or by the fresh alone, whereof I may speake afterward.

Of these salt Ilands (for so I call them that are enuironed with the Ocean waues) some are fruitfull in wood, corne, wild foule, and pasture ground for cattell, albeit that manie of them be accounted barren, bicause they are onelie replenished with conies, and those of sundrie colours (cherished of purpose by the owners, for their skins or carcases in their prouision of household) without either man or woman otherwise inhabiting in them. Furthermore, the greatest number of these Ilands haue townes and parish-churches, within their seuerall precincts, some mo, some lesse: and beside all this, are so inriched with commodities, that they haue pleasant hauens, fresh springs, great store of fish, and plentie of cattell, wherby the inhabitants do reape no small aduantage. How manie they are in number I cannot as yet determine, bicause mine informations are not so fullie set downe, as the promises of some on the one side, & mine expectation on the other did extend vnto. Howbeit, first of all that there are certeine which lie neere togither, as it were by heapes and clusters, I hope none will readilie denie. Of these also those called the Nesiadæ, Insulæ Scylurum, Sileustræ, Syllanæ, now the Sorlings, and Iles of Silley, lieng beyond Cornwall are one, and conteineth in number one hundreth fourtie and seauen (each of them bearing grasse) besides shelfes and shallowes. In like sort the companie of the Hebrides in old time subiect vnto Ireland are another, which are said to be 43. situat vpon the west side of this Iland, betweene Ireland & Scotland, and of which there are some that repute Anglesei, Mona

Nesiadæ.
Insulæ Scylurum.
Sileustræ.
Syllanæ.
Sorlingæ.
Sylley.
Hebrides.
Hebudes.
Meuaniæ.
Orchades.

Mona Cæsaris, and other lieng betweene them to be parcell, in their corrupted iudgement. The third cluster or bunch consisteth of those that are called the Orchades, and these lie vpon the northwest point of Scotland, being 31. *alias* 28. in number, as for the rest they lie scattered here and there, and yet not to be vntouched as their courses shall come about. There are also the 18. Shetland Iles, and other yet farther distant from them, of which Iohn Frobuser I doubt not touched vpon some in his voiage to *Meta Incognita:* but for somuch as I must speake of the Shetlands hereafter, I do not meane to spend anie time about them as yet.

There haue beene diuers that haue written of purpose, *De insulis Britanniæ*, as Cæsar doth confesse. The like also may be seene by Plutarch, who nameth one Demetrius a Britaine, that should set forth an exact treatise of each of them in order, and among other tell of certeine desert Iles beyond Scotland dedicated to sundrie gods and goddesses, but of one especiallie, where Briareus should hold Saturne and manie other spirits fast bound with the chaines of an heauie sléepe, as he heard, of which some die now and then, by meane whereof the aire becommeth maruellouslie troubled, &c: as you may sée in Plutarch *De cessatione oraculorum, &c.* But sith those bookes are now perished, and the most of the said Ilands remaine vtterlie vnknowen, euen to our owne selues (for who is able in our time to say where is Glota, Hiuerion, Etta, Iduna, Armia, Æsarea, Barsa, Isiandium, Icdelis, Xantisma, Indelis, Siata, Ga. Andros or Edros, Siambis, Xanthos, Ricnea, Menapia, &c? whose names onelie are left in memorie by ancient writers, but I saie their places not so much as heard of in our daies) I meane (God willing) to set downe so manie of them with their commodities, as I do either know by Leland, or am otherwise instructed of by such as are of credit. Herein also I will touch at large those that are most famous, and brieflie passe ouer such as are obscure and vnknowen, making mine entrance at the Thames mouth, and directing this imagined course (for I neuer sailed it) by the south part of the Iland into the west. From thence in like sort I will proceed into the north, & come about againe by the east side into the fall of the aforesaid streame, where I will strike saile, and safelie be set a shore, that haue often in this voiage wanted water, but oftener béene set a ground, especiallie on the Scotish side.

In beginning therefore, with such as lie in the mouth of the aforesaid riuer, I must néeds passe by the How, which is not an Iland, and therefore not within the compasse of my description at this time, but almost an Iland, which parcels the Latins call Peninsulas, and I do english a Byland, vsing the word for such as a man may go into drie-foted at the full sea, or on horsebacke at the low water without anie boat or vessell: and such a one almost is Rochford hundred in Esser also, yet not at this time to be spoken of, bicause not the sea onelie but the fresh water also doth in maner environ it, and is the chéefe occasion wherfore it is called an Iland. This How lieth betweén Cliffe (in old time called Clouesho, to wit, Cliffe in How or in the hundred of How) & the midwaie that goeth along by Rochester, of which hundred there goeth an old prouerbe in rime after this maner:

He that rideth into the hundred of How,
Beside pilfering sea-men shall find durt ynow.

How.

Next vnto this we haue the Greane, wherein is a towne of the same denomination, an Ile supposed to be foure miles in length, and two in bredth. Then come we to Shepey, which Ptolomie calleth Connos, conteining seauen miles in length, and three in bredth, wherein is a castell called Quinborow, and a parke, beside foure townes, of which one is named Minster, another Eastchurch, the third Warden, and the fourth Leyden: the whole soile being throughlie fed with shéepe, verie well

Greane.

Shepey.

wooded, and (as I heare) belongeth to the Lord Cheyney, as parcell of his inheritance. It lieth thirtéene miles by water from Rochester, but the castell is fiftéene, and by south thereof are two small Ilands, whereof the one is called Elmesie, and the more easterlie Hertesie. In this also is a towne called Hertie, or Hartie, and all in the Lath of Scraie, notwithstanding that Hartie lieth in the hundred of Feuersham, and Shepey reteineth one especiall Bailie of hir owne.

Elmesie. Hertesie.

From hence we passe by the Reculuers (or territorie belonging in time past to one Raculphus, who erected an house of religion, or some such thing there) vnto a little Iland in the Stoure mouth. Here vpon also the Thanet abutteth, which Ptolomie calleth Toliapis, other Athanatos, bicause serpents are supposed not to liue in the same, howbeit sith it is not environed with the sea, it is not to be dealt withall as an Iland in this place, albeit I will not let to borow of my determination, and describe it as I go, bicause it is so fruitfull. Beda noteth it in times past to haue conteined 600. families, which are all one with Hidelands, *Ploughlands, Carrucates, or Temewares. He addeth also that it is diuided from our continent, by the riuer called Wantsume, which is about three furlongs broad, and to be passed ouer in two places onelie. But whereas Polydore saieth, the Thanet is nine miles in length & not much lesse in bredth, it is now reckoned that it hath not much aboue seauen miles from Nordtmuth to Sandwich, and foure in bredth, from the Stoure to Margate, or from the south to the north, the circuit of the whole being 17. or 18. as Leland also noteth. This Iland hath no wood growing in it except it be forced, and yet otherwise it is verie fruitfull, and beside that it wanteth few other commodities, the finest chalke is said to be found there. Herein also did Augustine the monke first arriue, when he came to conuert the Saxons, and afterward in processe of time, sundry religious houses were erected there, as in a soile much bettered (as the supersticious supposed) by the steps of that holy man, & such as came ouer with him. There are at this time 10. parish churches at the least in the Ile of Thanet, as S. Nicholas, Birchington, S. Iohns, Wood or Woodchurch, S. Peters, S. Laurence, Mownton or Monkeron, Minster, S. Gyles, and all Saincts, whereof W. Lambert hath written at large in his description of Kent, and placed the same in the Lath of saint Augustine and hundred of Ringslow, as may easilie be séene to him that will peruse it.

Thanet. Stureey. Thanet.

* In Lincolneshire the word Hide or hideland, was neuer in vse in old time as in other places, but for Hide they vsed the word Carucate or cartware, or Teme, and these were of no lesse compasse than an Hideland. *Ex Hugone le blanc Monacho Petroburgensi.*

Sometime Rutupium or (as Beda calleth it) Reptacester, stood also in this Iland, but now thorough alteration of the chanell of the Dour, it is shut quite out, and annexed to the maine. It is called in these daies Richborow, and as it should séeme builded vpon an indifferent soile or high ground. The large brickes also yet to be séene there, in the ruinous walles, declare either the Romane or the old British workemanship. But as time decaieth all things, so Rutupium named Ruptimuth is now become desolate, and out of the dust thereof Sandwich produced, which standeth a full mile from the place where Reptacester stood. The old writers affirme, how Arthur & Mordred fought one notable battell here, wherin Gwallon or Gawan was slaine; at which time the said rebell came against his souereigne with 70000. Picts, Scots, Irish, Norwegiens, &c: and with Ethelbert the first christian king of Kent did hold his palace in this towne, and yet none of his coine hath hitherto béene found there, as is dailie that of the Romanes, whereof manie péeces of siluer and gold, so well as of brasse, copper, and other mettall haue often béene shewed vnto me. It should appéere in like sort, that of this place, all the whole coast of Kent therabout was called Littus Rutupinum, which some do not a little confirme by these words of Lucane, to be read in his first booke some after the beginning:

Rutupium.

*Aut vaga cum Tethis, Rutupináq; littora feruent,*
*Vnda Calidonios fallit turbata Britannos.*

The last verse of one couple and first of an other.

Or when the wandering seas
and Kentish coasts doo worke,
And Calidons of British bloud,
the troubled waues beguile.

Meaning in like sort by the latter, the coast nére Andredeswald, which in time past was called Litus Calidonium of that wood or forrest, as Leland also confirmeth. But as it is not my mind to deale anie thing curiouslie in these by-matters, so in returning againe to my purpose, and taking my iourney toward the Wight, I must needs passe by Seleséy, which sometime (as it should séeme) hath béene a noble Iland, but now in maner a Byland or Peninsula, wherin the chéefe sée of the bishop of Chichester was holden by the space of thrée hundred twentie nine yeares, and vnder twentie bishops.

Seoleséy of Seles there taken.

Next vnto this, we come vnto those that lie betweene the Wight and the maine land, of which the most easterlie is called Thorne, and to saie truth, the verie least of all that are to be found in that knot. Being past the Thorne, we touched vpon the Haling, which is bigger than the Thorne, and wherein one towne is situat of the same denomination beside another, whose name I remember not. By west also of the Haling lieth the Port (the greatest of the three alreadie mentioned) and in this standeth Portsmouth and Kingstéed, whereof also our Leland, saieth thus: Port Ile is cut from the shore by an arme of the maine hauen, which breaketh out about thrée miles aboue Portsmouth, and goeth vp two miles or more by moorish ground to a place called Portbridge, which is two miles from Portsmouth. Then breaketh there out another créeke from the maine sea, about Auant hauen, which gulleth vp almost to Portbridge, and thence is the ground disseuered, so that Portsmouth standeth in a corner of this Ile, which Iland is in length six miles, and three miles in bredth, verie good for grasse and corne, not without some wood, and here and there inclosure. Beside this, there is also another Iland north northwest of Port Ile, which is now so worne and washed awaie with the working of the sea, that at the spring tides it is wholie couered with water, and thereby made vnprofitable. Finallie being past all these, and in compassing this gulfe, we come by an other, which lieth north of Hirst castell, & south-east of Bate hauen, whereof I find nothing worthie to be noted, sauing that it wanteth wood, as Ptolomie affirmeth in his Geographicall tables of all those Ilands which enuiron our Albion.

Thorne.

Haling.

Port.

Wight. Guidh.

The Wight is called in Latine *vectis*, but in the British speach Guidh, that is to saie, Eese or easie to be séene, or (as D. Caius saith) separate, bicause that by a breach of the sea, it was once diuided from the maine, as Sicilia was also from Italie, Anglesei from Wales, Foulenesse from Esser, & Quinborow from Kent. It lieth distant from the south shore of Britaine (where it is fardest off) by fiue miles & a halfe, but where it commeth nerest, not passing a thousand paces, and this at the cut ouer betwéene Hirst castell and a place called Whetwell chine, as the inhabitants doo report. It conteineth in length twentie miles, and in bredth ten, it hath also the north pole eleuated by 50. degrées and 27. minutes, and is onelie 18. degrees in distance, and 50. od minuts from the west point, as experience hath confirmed, contrarie to the description of Ptolomie, and such as folow his assertions in the same. In forme, it representeth almost an egg, and so well is it inhabited with meere English at this present, that there are thirtie six townes, villages and castels to be found therein, beside 27. parish-churches, of which 15. or 16. haue their Parsons, the rest either such poore Vicars or Curats, as the liuings left are able to sustaine. The names of the parishes in the Wight are these.

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| 1 | Newport, a chap. | | 15 | Bottelson. | p. |
| 2 | Cairsbrosie. | v. | 16 | Yarmouth. | p. |
| 3 | Northwood. | | 17 | Thorley. | v. |
| 4 | Arrium. | v. | 18 | Shalflete. | v. |
| 5 | Goddeshill. | v. | 19 | Whippingham. | p. |
| 6 | Whitwell. | | 20 | Wotton. | p. |
| 7 | S. Laurence. | p. | 21 | Chale. | p. |
| 8 | Nighton. | p. | 22 | Kingston. | p. |
| 9 | Brading. | v. | 23 | Shorwell. | p. |
| 10 | Newchurch. | v. | 24 | Gatrombe. | p. |
| 11 | S. Helene. | v. | 25 | Brosie. | |
| 12 | Yauerland. | p. | 26 | Birston. | p. |
| 13 | Calborne. | p. | 27 | Bensted. | p. |
| 14 | Bonechurch. | p. | | | |

P. signifieth parsonages, V. vicarages.

It belongeth for temporall iurisdiction to the countie of Hamshire, but in spirituall cases it yéeldeth obedience to the sée of Winchester, wherof it is a Deanerie. As for the soile of the whole Iland, it is verie fruitfull, for notwithstanding the shore of it selfe be verie full of rocks and craggie cliffes, yet there wanteth no plentie of cattell, corne, pasture, medow ground, wild foule, fish, fresh riuers, and pleasant woods, whereby the inhabitants may liue in ease and welfare. It was first ruled by a seuerall king, and afterwards wonne from the Britons by Vespasian the legat, at such time as he made a voiage into the west countrie. In processe of time also it was gotten from the Romans by the kings of Suller, who held the souereignetie of the same, and kept the king thereof vnder tribute, till it was wonne also from them, in the time of Athelwold, the eight king of the said south region, by Ceadwalla, who killed Aruald that reigned there, and reserued the souereignetie of that Ile to himselfe and his successors for euermore. At this time also there were 1200. families in that Iland, whereof the said Ceadwalla gaue 300 to Wilfride sometime bishop of Yorke, exhorting him to erect a church there, and preach the gospell also to the inhabitants thereof, which he in like maner performed, but according to the prescriptions of the church of Rome, whereunto he yéelded himselfe vassall and feudarie: so that this Ile by Wilfride was first conuerted to the faith, though the last of all other that hearkened vnto the word. After Ceadwalla, Woolfride the parricide was the first Saxon prince that aduentured to flie into the Wight for his safegard, whither he was driuen by Kenwalch of the West saxons, who made great warres vpon him, and in the end compelled him to go into this place for succour, as did also king Iohn, in the rebellious stir of his Barons, practised by the clergie: the said Iland being as then in possession of the Forts, as some doo write that haue handled it of purpose. The first Earle of this Iland that I doo read of, was one Baldwijne de Betoun, who married for his second wife, the daughter of William le Grosse Earle of Awmarle; but he dieng without issue by this ladie, she was maried the second time to Earle Yaundeuile, and thirdlie to William de Fortes, who finished Skipton castell, which his wiues father had begun about the time of king Richard the first. Hereby it came to passe also, that the Forts were Earls of Awmarle, Wight, and Deuonshire a long time, till the ladie Elizabeth Fortes, sole heire to all those possessions came to age, with whom king Edward the third so preuailed through monie & faire words, that he gat the possession of the Wight wholie into his hands, & held it to himselfe & his successors, vntill Henrie the first, about the twentieth of his reigne, crowned Henrie Beauchamp sonne to the lord Richard Earle of Warwike king thereof and of Iardesey and Gardesey with his owne hands, and thervnto gaue him a commendation of the Dutchie of Warwike with the titles of *Comes comitum Angliæ*, lord Spenser of Aburgauenie, and of the castell of Brikstow (which castell was sometime taken from his ancestors by king Iohn) albeit he did not long enioy

these great honors, sith he died 1446. without issue, and seuen yéeres after his father.

After we be past the Wight, we go forward and come vnto Poole hauen, wherein is an Ile, called Brunt Keysy, in which was sometime a parish-church, and but a chapell at this present, as I heare. There are also two other Iles, but as yet I know not their names.

Brunt Keysy.

We haue (after we are passed by these) another Ile, or rather Byland also vpon the coast named Portland not far from Waymouth or the Golwy, a prettie fertile peece though without wood, of ten miles in circuit, now well inhabited, but much better heretofore, and yet are there about foure score housholds in it. There is but one street of houses therein, the rest are dispersed, howbeit they belong all to one parish-church, whereas in time past there were two within the compasse of the same. There is also a castell of the kings, who is lord of the Ile, although the bishop of Winchester be patrone of the church, the parsonage whereof is the fairest house in all the péece. The people there are no lesse excellent slingers of stones than were the Baleares, who would neuer giue their children their dinners till they had gotten the same with their slings, and therefore their parents vsed to hang their meate verie high vpon some bough, to the end that he which strake it downe might onlie haue it, whereas such as missed were sure to go without it, Florus lib. 3. cap. 8. Which feat the Portlands vse for the defense of their Iland, and yet otherwise are verie couetous. And wheras in time past they liued onlie by fishing, now they fall to tillage. Their fire bote is brought out of the Wight, and other places, yet do they burne much cow dong dried in the sunne, for there is I saie no wood in the Ile, except a few elmes that be about the church. There would some grow there, no doubt, if they were willing to plant it, although the soile lie verie bleake and open. It is not long since this was vnited to the maine, and likelie yer long to be cut off againe.

Portland.

Being past this we raise another, also in the mouth of the Golwy, betweene Colsford and Lime, of which for the smalnesse thereof I make no great account. Wherefore giuing ouer to intreat any farther of it, I cast about to Jardsey, and Gardesey, which Iles with their appurtenances apperteined in times past to the Dukes of Normandie, but now they remaine to our Quéene, as parcell of Hamshire and iurisdiction of Winchester, & belonging to hir crowne, by meanes of a composition made betweene K. Iohn of England and the K. of France, when the dominions of the said prince began so fast to decrease, as Thomas Sulmo saith.

Jardsey. Gardesey.

Of these two, Jardsey is the greatest, an Iland hauing thirtie miles in compasse, as most men do coniecture. There are likewise in the same twelue parish-churches, with a colledge, which hath a Deane and Prebends. It is distant from Gardsey full 21. miles, or therabouts, and made notable, by meanes of a bloudie fact done there in Queene Maries daies, whereby a woman called Perotine Massie wife vnto an honest minister or préest, being great with childe by hir husband, was burned to ashes: through the exceeding crueltie of the Deane and Chapiter, then contending manifestlie against God for the mainteinance of their popish and antichristian kingdome. In this hir execution, and at such time as the fire caught holde of hir wombe, hir bellie brake, and there issued a goodly manchilde from hir, with such force that it fell vpon the cold ground quite beyond the heate and furie of the flame, which quicklie was taken vp and giuen from one tormentor and aduersarie to an other to looke vpon, whose eies being after a while satisfied with the beholding thereof, they threw it vnto the carcase of the mother which burned in the fire, whereby the poore innocent was consumed to ashes, whom that furious element would gladlie haue left vntouched, & whereunto it ministred (as you heare) an hurtlesse passage. In this latter also, there haue béene in times past, fiue religious houses, and nine castels, howbeit in these daies there is but one parish-church left standing in the same. There are also certeine other small Ilands, which Henrie the second in his donation calleth Insulettas, beside verie manie rocks, whereof one called S. Hilaries (wherein sometime was a monasterie) is fast vpon Jardsey, another is named the Cornet, which hath a castel not passing an arrow shot from Gardsey. The Serke also is betweene both, which is six miles about, and hath another annexed to it by an Isthmus or Strickland, wherein was a religious house, & therwithall great store of conies.

Horrible murther.

Gardsey.

S. Hilaries. Cornet. Serke.

There is also the Brehoc, the Gytho, and the Herme, which latter is foure miles in compasse, and therein was sometime a Canonrie, that afterward was conuerted into an house of Franciscanes. There are two other likewise neere vnto that of S. Hilarie, of whose names I haue no notice. There is also the rockie Ile of Burhoo, but now the Ile of rats, so called of the huge plentie of rats that are found there, though otherwise it be replenished with infinit store of conies, betweene whome and the rats, as I coniecture, the same which we call Turkie conies, are oftentimes produced among those few houses that are to be seene in this Iland. Some are of the opinion that there hath béene more store of building in this Ile than is at this present to be seene, & that it became abandoned through multitudes of rats, but hereof I find no perfect warrantise that I may safelie trust vnto, yet in other places I read of the like thing to haue happened, as in Gyara of the Cyclades, where the rats increased so fast that they draue away the people. Varro speaketh of a towne in Spaine that was ouerthrowne by conies. The Abderits were driuen out of Thracia by the increase of mice & frogs; and so manie conies were there on a time in the Iles Maiorca and Minorca (now perteining to Spaine) that the people began to starue for want of bread, and their cattell for lacke of grasse. And bicause the Islanders were not able to ouercome them, Augustus was constreined to send an armie of men to destroie that needlesse brood. Plin. *lib.* 8. *cap.* 55. A towne also in France sometime became desolate onelie by frogs and todes. Another in Africa by locustes and also by grashoppers, as Amicla was by snakes and adders. Theophrast telleth of an whole countrie consumed by the palmer-worme, which is like vnto an huge caterpiller. Plinie writeth of a prouince vpon the borders of Æthiopia made void of people by ants and scorpions, and how the citizens of Megara in Grecia were faine to leaue that citie through multitudes of bées, as waspes had almost driuen the Ephesians out of Ephesus. But this of all other (whereof Ælianus intreateth) is most wonderfull, that when the Cretenses were chased out of a famous citie of their Iland by infinit numbers of bees, the said bees conuerted their houses into hiues, and made large combes in them which reached from wall to wall, wherein they reserued their honie. Which things being dulie considered, I do not denie the possibilitie of the expulsion of the inhabitants out of the Ile of Burhoo by rats, although I say that I do not warrant the effect, bicause I find it not set downe directlie in plaine words.

Jardsey. Gardesey.

Hornbill. Cornet. Serke. Brehoc. Gytho. Herme. Burhoo, alias the Ile of rats. Turkie conies. Causes of the desolation of sundrie cities and townes.

Beside this there is moreouer the Ile of Alderney a verie prettie plot, about seuen miles in compasse, wherin a préest not long since did find a coffin of stone, in which lay the bodie of an huge giant, whose fore téeth were so big as a mans fist, as Leland doth report. Certes this to me is no maruell at all, sith I haue read of greater, and mentioned them alreadie in the beginning of this booke. Such a tooth also haue they in Spaine whereunto they go in pilgrimage as vnto S. Christophers tooth, but it was one of his eie téeth, if Ludouicus Viues say true, who went thither to offer vnto the same

Alderney. *Comment. Brit.*

same. S. Augustl. *de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 9.* writeth in like sort, of such another found vpon the coast of Vtica, and thereby gathereth that all men in time past were not onlie far greater than they be now, but also the giants farre exceeding the huge stature and height of the highest of them all. Homer complaineth that men in his time were but dwarfes in comparison of such as liued in the wars of Troy. See his fift Iliad, where he speaketh of Diomedes, and how he threw a stone at Æneas, (which 14. men of his time were not able to stirre) and therewith did hit him on the thigh and ouerthrew him. Virgil also moueth no lesse in his owne deuise, but Iuuenal breefelie comprehendeth all this in his 15. Satyra, where he saith:

Iliad. 6.

Iliad 5. & 7.

Virgilius Aen. 12.

*Saxa inclinatis per humum quæsita lacertis*
*Incipiunt torquere, domestica seditione*
*Tela, nec hunc lapidem, quali se Turnus, & Aiax,*
*Et quo Tytides percussit pondere coxam*
*Aeneæ: sed quem valeant emittere dextræ*
*Illis dissimiles, & nostro tempore natæ.*
*Nam genus hoc viuo iam decrescebat Homero,*
*Terra malos homines nunc educat, atque pusillos,*
*Ergo Deus quicunque aspexit, ridet, & odit.*

But to returne againe vnto the Ile of Alderney, from whence I haue digressed. Herein also is a prettie towne with a parish-church, great plentie of corne, cattell, conies, and wilde foule, whereby the inhabitants do reape much gaine and commoditie: onelie wood is their want, which they otherwise supplie. The language also of such as dwell in these Iles, is French; but the wearing of their haire long, & the attire of those that liued in Gardsey and Jardsey, vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, was all after the Irish guise. The Ile of Gardsey also was sore spoiled by the French 1371. and left so desolate, that onlie one castell remained therein vntouched.

Beyond this, and nearer vnto the coast of England (for these do lie about the verie middest of the British sea) we haue one Iland called the Bruch or the Bruchsey, lieng about two miles from Poole, whither men saile from the Fromouth, and wherein is nought else, but an old chapell, without any other housing.

Bruchsey.

Next to this also are certeine rocks, which some take for Iles, as Illeston rocke neere vnto Peritorie, Horestan Ile a mile from Peritorie by south, Blacke rocke Ile southeast from Peritorie toward Teygnemouth, and also Chester, otherwise called Plegimundham: but how (to saie truth) or where this latter lieth, I cannot make report as yet, neuertheless sith Leland noteth them togither, I thinke it not my part to make separation of them.

From hence the next Ile is called Mount Iland, otherwise Mowtland, situate ouer against Lough, about two miles from the shore, and well neere three miles in compasse. This Iland hath no inhabitants, but onelie the warrenner and his dog, who looketh vnto the conies there: notwithstanding that vpon the coast thereof in time of the yeere, great store of pilchards is taken, and carried from thence into manie places of our countrie. It hath also a fresh well comming out of the rocks, which is worthie to be noted in so small a compasse of ground. Moreouer in the mouth of the creeke that leadeth vnto Lough, or Low, as some call it, there is another little Iland of about eight acres of ground called S. Nicholas Ile, and midwaie betweene Falmouth and Dudman (a certeine Promontorie) is such another named the Greefe, wherein is great store of gulles & sea foule. As for Inis Prynnin, it lieth within the Baie, about three miles from Lizards, and containeth not aboue two acres of ground, from which Newlyn is not far distant, and wherein is a pore fisher-towne and a faire wel-spring, wherof as yet no writer hath made mention. After these (omitting Pendinant in the point of Falmouth hauen) we came at last to saint Michaels mount, whereof I find this description readie to my hand in Leland.

Mount Iland.

S. Nicholas Iland.

Greefe.

Inis Prynnin.

S. Michaels mount.

The compasse of the rot of the mount of saint Michaels is not much more than halfe a mile, and of this the south part is pasturable and breedeth conies, the residue high and rockie soile. In the north side thereof also is a garden, with certeine houses and shops for fishermen. Furthermore, the waie to the mountaine lieth at the north side, and is frequented from halfe eb to halfe floud, the entrance beginning at the foot of the hill, and so ascending by steps and greeces westward, first; and then eastward to the vtter ward of the church. Within the same ward also is a court stronglie walled, wherein on the south side is a chapell of S. Michaell, and in the east side another of our ladie. Manie times a man may come to the hill on foot. On the north northwest side hereof also, is a Piere for botes and ships, and in the Baie betwirt the mount and Pensardz are seene at the lowe water marke, diuers roots and stubs of trees, beside hewen stone, sometimes of dores & windowes, which are perceiued in the inner part of the Baie, and import that there hath not onelie beene building, but also firme ground, whereas the salt water doth now rule and beare the maisterie. Beyond this is an other little Ile, called S. Clements Ile, of a chapell there dedicated to that saint. It hath a little from it also the Ile called Mowshole, which is not touched in any chard. As for Mowshole it selfe, it is a towne of the maine, called in Cornish Port Enis, that is, *Portus insulæ*, whereof the said Ile taketh denomination, and in tin workes neere vnto the same there hath beene found of late, speare heds, battell axes, and swords of copper wrapped vp in linnen, and scarselie hurt with rust or other hinderance. Certes the sea hath won verie much in this corner of our Iland, but cheefelie betweene Mowshole and Pensardz.

S. Clements Ile.

Hauing thus passed ouer verie neere all such Iles, as lie vpon the south coast of Britaine, and now being come vnto the west part of our countrie, a sudden Pirie catcheth hold of vs (as it did before, when we went to Jardsey) and carieth vs yet more westerlie among the flats of Sylley. Such force doth the southeast wind often shewe vpon poore trauellers in those parts, as the south and southwest doth vpon strangers against the British coast, that are not skilfull of our rodes and harborowes. Howbeit such was our successe in this voiage, that we feared no rocks, more than did king Athelstane, when he subdued them (and soone after builded a colledge of preests at S. Burien, in performance of his vow made when he enterprised this voiage for his safe returne) nor anie tempest of weather in those parts that could annoie our passage. Perusing therefore the perils whereinto we were pitifullie plunged, we found the Syllane Ilands (places often robbed by the Frenchmen and Spaniards) to lie distant from the point of Cornewall, about three or foure hours sailing, or twentie English miles, as some men do account it. There are of these (as I said) to the number of one hundreth fortie seauen in sight, whereof each one is greater or lesse than other, and most of them sometime inhabited: howbeit, there are twentie of them, which for their greatnesse and commodities exceed all the rest. Thereto (if you respect their position) they are situat in maner of a circle or ring, hauing an huge lake or portion of the sea in the middest of them, which is not without perill to such as with small aduisement enter into the same. Certes it passeth my cunning, either to name or to describe all these one hundreth fourtie seauen, according to their estate; neither haue I had anie information of them, more than I haue gathered by Leland, or gotten out of a map of their description, which I had sometime of Reginald Woolfe: wherfore omitting as it were all the rags, and such as are not worthie to haue anie time spent about

Sylley Iles or Syl.

their

their particular descriptions, I will onelie touch the greatest, and those that lie together (as I said) in maner of a roundle.

S. Maries Ile. The first and greatest of these therefore, called S. Maries Ile, is about fiue miles ouer, or nine miles in compasse. Therein also is a parish-church, and a poore towne belonging thereto, of threescore housholds, beside a castell, plentie of corne, conies, wild swans, puffens, gulles, cranes, & other kinds of foule, in great abundance. This fertile Iland being thus viewed, we sailed southwards by the Norman rocke, and S. Maries sound vnto Agnus Ile, which is six miles ouer, and hath in like sort one towne or parish within the same of fiue or six housholds, beside no small store of hogs & conies of sundrie colours, verie profitable to their owners. It is not long since this Ile was left desolate, for when the inhabitants thereof returned from a feast holden in S. Maries Ile, they were all drowned, and not one person left aliue. There are also two other small Ilands, betweene this and the Annot, whereof I find nothing worthie relation: for as both of them ioind together are not comparable to the said Annot for greatnesse and circuit, so they want both hogs and conies, wherof Annot hath great plentie. There is moreouer the Minwisand, from whence we passe by the Smithy sound (leauing three little Ilands on the left hand, vnto the Suartigan Iland, then to Rousuian, Rousuiar, and the Cregwin, which seauen are (for the most part) replenished with conies onelie, and wild garlike, but void of wood & other commodities, sauing of a short kind of grasse, or here & there some firzes wheron their conies do feed.

Agnus Ile. Annot. Minwisand. Smithy sound. Suartigan. Rousuian. Rousuiar. Cregwin.

Leauing therefore these desert peeces, we incline a little toward the northwest, where we stumble or run vpon Moncardiar, Inis Welseck, & Suethiall. We came in like sort vnto Rat Iland, wherein are so manie monstrous rats, that if anie horsses, or other beasts, happen to come thither, or be left there by negligence but one night, they are sure to be deuoured & eaten vp, without all hope of recouerie. There is moreouer the Anwall and the Brier, Ilands in like sort void of all good furniture, conies onelie excepted, and the Brier (wherein is a village, castell, and parish-church) bringeth forth no lesse store of hogs, and wild foule, than Rat Iland doth of rats, whereof I greatlie maruell.

Moncardiar. Inis Welseck. Suethiall. Rat Iland. Anwall. Brier.

By north of the Brier, lieth the Rusco, which hath a Labell or Byland stretching out toward the southwest, called Inis widdon. This Rusco is verie neere so great as that of S. Maries. It hath moreouer an hold, and a parish within it, beside great store of conies and wild foule, whereof they make much gaine in due time of the yeare. Next vnto this we come to the Round Iland, which is about a mile ouer, then to S. Lides Iland, (wherein is a parish-church dedicated to that Saint, beside conies, wood, and wild foule, of which two later there is some indifferent store) the Notho, the Auing, (one of them being situat by south of another, and the Auing halfe a mile ouer, which is a iust halfe lesse than the Notho) and the Tyan, which later is a great Iland, furnished with a parish-church, and no small plentie of conies as I heare. After the Tyan we come to S. Martines Ile, wherein is a faire towne, the Ile it selfe being next vnto the Rusco for greatnesse, and verie well furnished with conies & fresh springs. Also betwixt this and S. Maries, are ten other, smaller, which reach out of the northeast into the southwest, as Knolworth, Sniuilliuer, Menwetham, Vollis. 1. Surwihe, Vollis. 2. Arthurs Iland, Guiniliuer, Nenech and Gothrois, whose estates are diuers: howbeit as no one of these is to be accounted great in comparison of the other, so they all yeeld a short grasse meet for sheepe and conies, as do also the rest. In the greater Iles likewise (whose names are commonlie such as those of the townes or churches standing in the same) there are (as I here) sundry lakes, and those neuer without great plentie of wild foule, so

Ruſco. Inis widdó. Round Iland. S. Lides. Notho. Auing. Tyan. S. Martines. Knolworth. Sniuilliuer. Menwethã. Vollis. 1. Surwihe. Vollis. 2. Arthurs Ile. Guiniliuer. Nenech. Gothrois.

that the Iles of Sylley, are supposed to be no lesse beneficiall to their lords, than anie other whatsoeuer, within the compasse of our Ile, or neere vnto our coasts. In some of them also are wild swine. And as these Iles are supposed to be a notable safegard to the coast of Cornewall, so in diuerse of them great store of tin is likewise to be found. There is in like maner such plentie of fish taken among those same, that beside the feeding of their swine withall, a man shall haue more there for a penie, than in London for ten grotes. Howbeit their cheese commoditie is made by Reigh, which they drie, cut in peeces, and carie ouer into little Britaine, where they exchange it there, for salt, canuas, readie monie, or other merchandize which they do stand in need of. Alike trade haue some of them also, with Buckhorne or dried whiting, as I heare. But sith the author of this report did not flatlie auouch it, I passe ouer that fish as not in season at this time. Thus haue we viewed the richest and most wealthie Iles of Sylley, from whence we must direct our course eastwards, vnto the mouth of the Sauerne, and then go backe againe vnto the west point of Wales, continuing still our voiage along vpon the west coast of Britaine, till we come to the Soluey whereat the kingdomes part, & from which forth on we must touch such Ilands as lie vpon the west and north shore, till we be come againe vnto the Scotish sea, and to our owne dominions.

Wild swine in Sylley.

From the point of Cornewall therefore, or promontorie of Helenus (so called, as some thinke, bicause Helenus the son of Priamus who arriued here with Brute lieth buried there, except the sea haue washed awaie his sepulchre) vntill we come vnto the mouth of Sauerne, we haue none Ilands at all that I do know or heare of, but one litle Byland, Cape or Peninsula, which is not to be counted of in this place. And yet sith I haue spoken of it, you shall vnderstand, that it is called Pendinas, and beside that the compasse thereof is not aboue a mile, this is to be remembred farder thereof, how there standeth a Pharos or light therein, for ships which saile by those coasts in the night. There is also at the verie point of the said Pendinas, a chapell of saint Nicholas, beside the church of saint Ia, an Irish woman saint. It belonged of late to the Lord Broke, but now (as I gesse) the Lord Mountioy enioieth it. There is also a blockhouse, and a peere in the eastside thereof, but the peere is sore choked with sand, as is the whole shore furthermore from S. Ies vnto S. Carantokes, insomuch that the greatest part of this Byland is now couered with sands, which the sea casteth vp, and this calamitie hath indured little aboue fiftie yeares, as the inhabitants do affirme.

Helenus. Priamus. Pendinas.

There are also two rocks neere vnto Tredwy, and another not farre from Tintagell, all which many of the common sort do repute and take for Iles: wherefore as one desirous to note all, I thinke it not best that these should be omitted: but to proceed. When we be come further, I meane vnto the Sauerne mouth, we meet the two Holmes, of which one is called Stepholme, and the other Flatholme, of their formes béeing in deed parcels of ground and low soiles fit for little else than to beare grasse for cattell, whereof they take those names. For Holme is an old Saxon word, applied to all such places. Of these also Stepholme lieth south of the Flatholme, about foure or fiue miles; the first also a mile and an halfe, the other two miles or thereabout in length; but neither of them a mile and an halfe in breadth, where they do seeme to be the broddest.

It should séeme by some that they are not worthie to be placed among Ilands: yet othersome are of opinion, that they are not altogither so base, as to be reputed amongst flats or rocks: but whatsoeuer they be, this is sure, that they oft annoie such passengers and merchants as passe and repasse vpon that riuer. Neither

Barri.

do I read of any other Iles which lie by east of these, saue onlie the Barri, and Dunwen: the first of which is so called of one Barroc, a religious man (as Gyraldus saith) and is about a flight shot from the shore. Herin also is a rocke standing at the verie entrance of the cliffe, which hath a little rift or chine vpon the side, whereunto if a man do laie his eare, he shall heare a noise, as if smithes did worke at the forge, sometimes blowing with their bellowes, and sometimes striking and clinking with hammers, whereof manie men haue great wonder; and no maruell. It is about a mile in compasse, situat ouer against Aberbarry, and hath a chappell in it.

Barri is a flight shot from the shore.

Dunwen.

Dunwen is so called of a church (dedicated to a Welsh woman saint, called Dunwen) that standeth there. It lieth more than two miles from Henrosser, right against Neuen, and hath within it two faire mils, & great store of conies. Certes if the sand increase so fast hereafter as it hath done of late about it, it will be united to the maine within a short season. Beyond these and toward the coast of southwales lie two other Ilands, larger in quantitie than the Holmes, of which

Caldee.

the one is called Caldee or Inis Pyr. It hath a parish church with a spire steeple, and a prettie towne belonging to the countie of Pembroke, and iurisdiction of one Dauid in Wales. Leland supposeth the ruines that are found therein to haue béene of an old priorie sometimes called Lille, which was a cell belonging to the monasterie of S. Dogmael, but of this I can saie nothing. The other hight Londy, wherein is also a village

Londy.

or towne, and of this Iland the parson of the said towne is not onelie the captaine, but hath thereto welfe, distresse, and all other commodities belonging to the same. It is little aboue sixteene miles from the coast of Wales, though it be thirtie from Caldée, and yet it serueth (as I am informed) lord and king in Deuonshire. Moreouer in this Iland is great plentie of shéepe, but more conies, and therewithall of verie fine and short grasse for their better food & pasturage; likewise much Sampere vpon the shore, which is carried from thence in barrels. And albeit that there be not scarslie fourtie housholds in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge stones (alredie prouided) may kéepe off thousands of their enimies, bicause it is not possible for anie aduersaries to assaile them, but onelie at one place; and with a most dangerous entrance. In this voiage also we met with two other Ilands, one of them called Shepes Ile, the other Rat Ile; the first is but a little plot lieng at the point of the Baie, before we come at the Blockehouse which standeth north of the same, at the verie entrie into Milford hauen vpon the east side. By north also of Shepes Ile, and betwéene it & Stacke rocke, which lieth in the verie middest of the hauen, at another point is Rat Ile yet smaller than the former, but what commodities are to be found in them as yet

Schalmey.

I cannot tell. Schalmey the greater and the lesse lie northwest of Milford hauen a good waie. They belong both to the crowne, but are not inhabited, bicause they

Schoncold.

be so often spoiled with pirates. Schoncold Ile ioineth vnto great Schalmey, and is bigger than it, onlie a passage for ships parteth them, whereby they are supposed to be one: Leland noteth them to lie in Milford hauen. Beside these also we found the Bateholme, Stockeholme, Midland, and Gresholme Iles, and then doubling the Wellock point, we came into a Baie, where we saw saint Brides Iland, and another in the Sound betwéene Ramsey and the point, of all which Iles and such rocks as are offensiue to mariners that passe by them, it may be my hap to speake more at large hereafter.

Limen or Ramsey.

Limen (as Ptolomie calleth it) is situat ouer against S. Dauids in Wales (whereunto we must néeds come, after we be past another little one, which some men do call Gresholme) & lieth directlie west of Schalmey. In a late map I find this Limen to be called in English Ramsey: Leland also confirmeth the same, and I cannot learne more thereof, than that it is much greater than anie of the other last mentioned (sithens I described the Holmes) and for temporall iurisdiction a member of Penbrokeshire, as it is vnto S. Dauids for matters concerning the church. Leland in his commentaries of England *lib.* 8. saieth that it contained three Ilets, whereof the bishop of S. Dauids is owner of the greatest, but the chanter of S. Dauids claimeth the second, as the archdeacon of Cairmarden doth the third. And in these is verie excellent pasture for shéepe and horses, but not for other horned beasts which lacke their vpper téeth by nature (whose substance is conuerted into the nourishment of their hornes) and therefore cannot bite so low. Next vnto this Ile we came to Mawr,

Mawr.

an Iland in the mouth of Mawr, scant a bow shot ouer, and enuironed at the low water with fresh, but at the high with salt, and here also is excellent catching of herings.

After this, proceeding on still with our course, we fetched a compasse, going out of the north toward the west, and then turning againe (as the coast of the countrie leadeth) vntill we sailed full south, leauing the shore still on our right hand, vntill we came vnto a couple of Iles, which do lie vpon the mouth of the Soch, one of them being distant (as we gessed) a mile from the other, and neither of them of anie greatnesse almost worthie to be remembred. The first that we

Tudfall.

came vnto is called Tudfall, and therein is a church, but without anie parishioners, except they be shéepe and conies. The quantitie thereof also is not much aboue six acres of ground, measured by the pole. The next is Penthlin, Myrach, or Mereroste, situat in maner

Penthlin.

betwixt Tudfall or Tuidall and the shore, and herein is verie good pasture for horsses, wherof (as I take it) that name is giuen vnto it. Next vnto them, we come vnto

Guelyn.

Gwelyn, a little Ile which lieth southeast of the fall of Daron or Daren, a thing of small quantitie, and yet almost parted in the mids by water, and next of all vnto Bardsey an Iland lieng ouer against Periuincle the southwest point or promontorie of Northwales (where Merlin Syluestris lieth buried) and whither the rest of the monks of Bangor did flie to saue themselues, when 2100. of their fellowes were slaine by the Saxon princes in the quarell of Augustine the monke, & the citie of Caerleon or Chester raced to the ground, and not since reedified againe to anie purpose. Ptolomie calleth this Iland Lymnos, the Britons Enlhi, and therein also is a parish-church, as the report goeth. From hence we cast about, gathering still toward the northest, till we came to Caer Ierienrhod, a notable rocke situat ouer against the mouth of the Leuenni, wherein standeth a strong hold or fortresse, or else some towne or village. Certes we could not well discerne whether of both it was, bicause the wind blew hard at southwest, the morning was misie, and our mariners doubting some flats to be couched not far from thence, hasted awaie vnto Anglesei, whither we went a pace with a readie wind euen at our owne desire.

Anglesei cut from Wales by working of the sea.

This Iland (which Tacitus misfaketh no doubt for Mona Cæsaris, and so doth Ptolomie as appeareth by his latitudes) is situat about two miles from the shore of Northwales. Paulus Iouius gesseth that it was in time past ioined to the continent, or maine of our Ile, and onelie cut off by working of the Ocean, as Sicilia peraduenture was from Italie by the violence of the Leuant or praatise of some king that reigned there. Thereby also (as he saith) the inhabitants were constreind at the first to make a bridge ouer into the same, till the breach waxed so great, that no such passage could anie longer be maintained. But as these things do either not touch my purpose at all, or make smallie with the present description of this Ile: so (in comming to

my

Anglesei. my matter) Anglesei is found to be full so great as the Wight, and nothing inferiour, but rather surmounting it, as that also which Cæsar calleth Mona in fruitfulnesse of soile by manie an hundred fold. In old time it was reputed and taken for the common granarie to Wales, as Sicilia was to Rome and Italie for their prouision of corne. In like maner the Welshmen themselues called it the mother of their countrie, for giuing their minds wholie to pasturage, as the most easie and lesse chargeable trade, they vtterlie neglected tillage, as men that leaned onelie to the fertilitie of this Iland for their corne, from whence they neuer failed to receiue continuall abundance. Gyraldus saith that the Ile of Anglesei was no lesse sufficient to minister graine for the sustentation of all the men of Wales, than the mountaines called Ereri or Snowdoni in Northwales were to yeld plentie of pasture for all the cattell whatsoeuer within the aforesaid compasse, if they were brought togither and left vpon the same. It contained moreouer so manie townes welnére, as there be daies in a yeare, which some conuerting into Cantreds haue accompted but for three, as Gyraldus saith. Howbeit, as there haue béene I say 363. townes in Anglesei, so now a great part of that reckoning is vtterlie shronke, and so far gone to decaie, that the verie ruines of them are vnneath to be séene & discerned: and yet it séemeth to be méetlie well inhabited. Leland noting the smalnesse of our hundreds in comparison to that they were in time past, addeth (so far as I remember) that there are six of them in Anglesei, as Menay, Maltraith, Liuon, Talbellion, Torkalin, and Tindaithin: hereunto Lhoid saith also how it belonged in old time vnto the kingdoms of Guinhed or Northwales, and that therein at a towne called Aberfraw, being on the southwestside of the Ile, the kings of Gwinhed held euermore their palaces, whereby it came to passe, that the kings of Northwales were for a long time called kings of Aberfraw, as the Welshmen named the kings of England kings of London, till better instruction did bring them farther knowledge.

There are in Anglesei many townes and villages, whose names as yet I cannot orderlie atteine vnto: wherefore I will content my selfe with the rehearsall of so many as we viewed in sailing about the coasts, and otherwise heard report of by such as I haue talked withall. Beginning therefore at the mouth of the Gefni (which riseth at northeast aboue Gefni or Geuenni, 20. miles at the least into the land) we passed first by Hundwyn, then by Newborow, Port Hayton, Beaumarrais, Penmon, Elian, Almwoch, Burric (whereby runneth a rill into a créeke) Cornew, Holihed (standing in the promontorie) Gwifen, Aberfraw, and Cair Cadwalader, of all which, the two latter stand as it were in a nuke betweene the Geuenni water, and the Fraw, whereupon Aberfraw is situate. Within the Iland we heard onlie of Gefni afore mentioned, of Gristial standing vpon the same water, of Tefri, of Lanerchimedh, Lachtenfarwy and Bodedrin, but of all these the cheefe is now Beaumarais, which was builded sometime by king Edward the first, and therewithall a strong castell about the yeare 1295. to keepe that land in quiet. There are also as Leland saith 31. parish churches beside 69. chappels, that is, a hundreth in all. But héerof I can saie little, for lacke of iust instruction. In time past, the people of this Ile vsed not to seuerall their grounds, but now they dig stonie hillocks, and with the stones thereof they make rude walles, much like to those of Deuonshire, sith they want hedgebote, fire bote, and house bote, or (to saie at one word) timber, bushes and træs. As for wine, it is so plentifull and good cheape there most commonlie as in London, through the great recourse of merchants from France, Spaine, and Italie vnto the aforesaid Iland. The flesh likewise of such cattell as is bred there, whereof we haue store yearelie brought vnto Cole faire in Essex is most delicate, by reason of their excellent pasture, and so much was it estéemed by the Romans in time past, that Columella did not onelie commend and preferre them before those of Liguria, but the emperours themselues being nære hand also caused their prouision to be made for nete out of Anglesei, to feed vpon at their owne tables as the most excellent bæfe. It taketh now the name of Angles and Ei, which is to meane the Ile of Englishmen, because they wan it in the Conquerors time, vnder the leading of Hugh earle of Chester, and Hugh of Shrewesburie. Howbeit they recouered it againe in the time of William Rufus, when they spoiled the citie of Glocester, ransacked Shrewesburie, and returned home with great bootie and pillage, in which voiage also they were holpen greatlie by the Irishmen, who after three yeares ioined with them againe, and slue the earle of Shrewesburie (which then liued) with great crueltie. The Welshmen call it Tiremone and Mon, and herein likewise is a promontorie or Byland, called Holie head (which hath in time past béene named Cair kyby, of Kyby a monke that dwelled there) from whence the readiest passage is commonlie had out of Northwales to get ouer into Ireland, of which Ile I will not speake at this time, least I should bereaue another of that trauell. Yet Plinie saith, *lib. 4. cap. 16.* that it lieth not farre off from and ouer against the Silures, which then dwelled vpon the west coast of our Iland, and euen so farre as Dunbritton, and beyond: but to our Cair kybi. The Britons named it Enylsinach, or holie Ile, of the number of carcases of holie men, which they affirme to haue béene buried there. But herein I maruell not a little, wherein women had offended, that they might not come thither, or at the least wise returne from thence without some notable reproch or shame vnto their bodies. By south also of Hilarie point, somewhat inclining toward the east, lieth Inis Lygod, a small thing (God wot) and therefore not worthie great remembrance: neuertheles not to be omitted, though nothing else inforced the memoriall thereof, but onelie the number and certeine tale of such Iles as lie about our Iland. I might also speake of the Ile Mail Ronyad, which lieth north west of Anglesei by fiue miles; but because the true name hereof, as of manie riuers and streames are to me vnknowne, I am the more willing to passe them ouer in silence, least I should be noted to be farther corrupter of such words as I haue no skill to deliuer and exhibit in their kind. And now to conclude with the description of the whole Iland, this I will adde moreouer vnto hir commodities, that as there are the best milstones of white, red, blew, and gréene gréets, (especiallie in Tindaithin) so there is great gaines to be gotten by fishing round about this Ile, if the people there could vse the trade: but they want both cunning and diligence to take that matter in hand. And as for temporall regiment, it apperteineth to the countie of Cairnaruon, so in spirituall cases it belongeth to the bishoprike of Bangor. This is finallie to be noted of Anglesei, that sundrie earthen pots are often found there of dead mens bones conuerted into ashes, set with the mouthes downeward contrarie to the vse of other nations, which turned the brims vpwards, whereof let this suffice.

Holie head, or Cair kiby.

Enilsinach, holie Ile.

Ancient buriall.

Hauing thus described Anglesei, it resteth to report furthermore, how that in our circuit about the same, we met with other little Ilets, of which one lieth northwest thereof almost ouer against Butricke mouth, or the fall of the water, that passeth by Butricke. The Britons called it Ynis Ader, that is to say, the Ile of birds in old time, but now it hight Ynis Moil, or Ynis Rhomaid, that is the Ile of porpasses. It hath to name likewise Ysterisd, and Adros. Being past this, we came to the second lieng by north east, ouer against the Hilarie point

Adar. Moil. Rhomaid. Ysterisd. Adros.

Lygod. point, called Ynis Ligod, that is to saie, the Ile of Mise, and of these two this latter is the smallest, neither of them both being of any greatnesse to speake of. Ynis Seriall or Prestholme, lieth ouer against Penmon, or the point called the head of Mon, where I found a towne (as I told you) of the same denomination. Ptolomie nameth not this Iland, whereof I maruell. It is parcell of Flintshire, and of the iurisdiction of S. Asaph, and in fertilitie of soile, and breed of cattell, nothing inferiour vnto Anglesei hir mother: although that for quantitie of ground it come infinitelie short thereof, and be nothing comparable vnto it. The last Iland vpon the cost of Wales, hauing now left Anglesei, is called Credine, and although it lie not properlie within the compasse of my description, yet I will not let to touch it by the waie, sith the causey thither from Denbighland, is commonlie ouerflowne. It is partlie made an Iland by the Conwey, and partlie by the sea. But to proceed, when we had viewed this place, we passed forth to S. Antonies Ile, which is about two or three miles compasse or more, a sandie soile, but yet verie batable for sheepe and cattell, it is well replenished also with fresh wels, great plentie of wild foule, conies and quarries of hard ruddie stone, which is oft brought thence to Westchester, where they make the foundations of their buildings withall. There are also two parish churches in the same, dedicated to S. Antonie and S. Iohn, but the people are verie poore, bicause they be so oft spoiled by pirats, although the lord of the same be verie wealthie thorough the exchange made with them of his victuals, for their wares, whereof they make good peniworths, as theeues commonlie doo of such preies as they get by like escheat, notwithstanding their landing there is verie dangerous, and onlie at one place. Howbeit they are constreined to vse it, and there to make their marts. From hence we went on, vntill we came to the cape of Ile Bzé, or Hilberie, and point of Wyrale, from whence is a common passage into Ireland, of 18. or 20. houres sailing, if the wether be not tedious. This Iland at the full sea is a quarter of a mile from the land, and the streame betweene foure fadams deepe, as ship-boies haue oft sounded, but at a lowe water a man may go ouer thither on the sand. The Ile of it selfe is verie sandie a mile in compasse, and well stored with conies, thither also went a sort of superstitious soles in times past, in pilgrimage, to our ladie of Hilberie, by whose offerings a cell of monkes there, which belonged to Chester, was cherished and mainteined.

Seriall. Prestholme

Credine.

Hilberie.

Holie head, or Caimkiby.

Enilsnach, holie Ile.

Ancient buriall.

The next Iland vpon the coast of England is Man or Mona Cæsaris, which some name Mana or Manim, but after Ptolomie, Monaoida, as some thinke, though other ascribe that name to Anglesei, which the Welshmen doo commonlie call Môn, as they doo this Manaw. It is supposed to be the first, as Hirtha is the last of the Hebrides. Hector Boetius noteth a difference betweene them of 300. miles. But Plinie saith that Mona is 200000. miles from Camaldunum, *lib.2.cap.75.* It lieth also vnder 53. degrees of latitude, and 30. minuts, and hath in longitude 16. degrees and 40. minuts, abutting on the north side vpon S. Ninians in Scotland, Furnesfels on the east, Prestholme and Anglesei on the south, and Ulsther in Ireland on the west. It is greater than Anglesei by a third, and there are two riuers in the same, whose heads doo ioine so neere, that they doo seeme in maner to part the Ile in twaine. Some of the ancient writers, as Ethicus, &c: call it Eubonia, and other following Orosius, Meuana or Mæuania, howbeit after Beda and the Scotish histories, the Meuaniæ are all those Iles aforesaid called the Hebrides, Eubonides, or Hebudes (whereof William Malmesburie, *lib.1. de regibus* (beside this our Mona) will haue Anglesei also to be one. Wherefore it seemeth hereby that a number of our late writers ascribing the said name vnto Mona onelie, haue not beene a little deceiued. Iornandes *lib. de Ge-*

Eubonia. Meuania.

Adar. Moil. Rhomaid. Ysterisd. Adros.

*tis* speaketh of a second Meuania; *Habet & aliam Meuaniam* (saith he) *necnon & Orchadas.* But which should be *prima*, as yet I do not read, except it should be Anglesei; and then saith Malmesburie well. In like sort Properius speaketh of a Meuania, which he called *Nebulosa*, but he meaneth it euidentlie of a little towne in Umbria where he was borne, *lib.4. eleg. De vrbe Rom.* Therefore there needeth no vse of his authoritie. This in the meane time is euident out of, Orosius, *lib.1. capite 2.* that Scots dwelled sometime in this Ile, as also in Ireland, which Ethicus also affirmeth of his owne time, and finallie confirmeth that the Scots and Irish were sometime one people. It hath in length 24. miles, and 8. in breedth, and is in maner of like distance from Galloway in Scotland, Ireland and Cumberland in England, as Buchanan reporteth.

In this Iland also were some time 1300. families, of which 960. were in the west halfe, and the rest in the other. But now through ioining house to house, land to land (a common plague and canker, which will eat vp all, if prohibition be not made in time to withstand this mischeefe) that number is halfe diminished, and yet many of the rich inhabiters want rome, and wote not how and where to bestowe themselues, to their quiet contentations. Certes this impediment groweth not by reason that men were greater in bodie, than they haue beene in time past, but onelie for that their insatiable desire of inlarging their priuate possessions increaseth still vpon them, and will doo more, except they be restrained: but to returne to our purpose. It was once spoiled by the Scots in the time of king Athelstane, chéeflie by Anlafus in his flight from the bloudie battell, wherein Constantine king of Scotland was ouercome: secondlie by the Scots 1388. after it came to the possession of the English, for in the beginning the kings of Scotland had this Iland vnder their dominion, almost from their first arriuall in this Iland, and as Beda saith till Edwine king of the Northumbers wan it from them, and vnited it to his kingdome. After the time of Edwine, the Scots gat the possession thereof againe, and held it till the Danes & Norwaies wan it from them, who also kept it (but with much trouble) almost 370. yeares vnder the gouernance of their viceroies, whome the kings of Norwaie inuested vnto that honor, till Alexander the third king of that name in Scotland recouered it from them, with all the rest of those Iles that lie vpon the west coast, called also Sodorenses in the daies of Magnus king of Norwaie. And sithens that time the Scotish princes haue not ceased to giue lawes to such as dwelled there, but also from time to time appointed such bishops as should exercise ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in the same, till it was won from them by our princes, and so vnited vnto the realme of England. Finallie, how after sundrie sales bargains and contracts of matrimonie (for I read that William Scrope the kings Vicechamberleine, did buy this Ile and crowne thereof of the lord William Montacute earle of Sarum) it came vnto the ancestours of the earles of Darbie, who haue beene commonlie said to be kings of Man, the discourse following shall more at large declare. Giraldus noteth a contention betweene the kings of England & Ireland for the right of this Iland, but in the end, when by a compromise the triall of the matter was referred to the liues or deaths of such venemous wormes as should be brought into the same, and it was found that they died not at all, as the like doo in Ireland, sentence passed with the king of England, & so he reteined the Iland. But howsoeuer this matter standeth, and whether anie such thing was done at all or not, sure it is that the people of the said Ile were much giuen to witchcraft and sorcerie (which they learned of the Scots a nation greatlie bent to that horrible practise) in somuch that their women would oftentimes sell wind to the mariners,

Chronica Tinemuthi.

inclosed

inclosed vnder certeine knots of thred, with this iniunction, that they which bought the same, should for a great gale vndo manie, and for the lesse a fewer or smaller number. The stature of the men and also fertilitie of this Iland are much commended, and for the latter supposed verie nére to be equall with that of Anglesei, in all commodities.

Tall men in Man.

There are also these townes therein, as they come now to my remembrance, Rushen, Dunglasse, Holme towne, S. Brids, Bala cury (the bishops house) S. Mich. S. Andrew, kirk Christ, kirk Louel, S. Mathees, kirk S. Anne, Pala sala, kirk S. Marie, kirk Concane, kirk Malu, and Home. But of all these Rushen with the castell is the strongest. It is also in recompense of the common want of wood, indued with sundrie prétie waters, as first of al the Burne rising in the northside of Warehill botoms, and branching out by southwest of kirk S. An, it séemeth to cut off a great part of the eastside thereof, from the residue of that Iland. From those hils also (but of the south halfe) commeth the Holme and Holmey, by a towne of the same name, in the verie mouth whereof lieth the Pile afore mentioned. They haue also the Bala passing by Bala cury, on the westside, and the Rame on the north, whose fall is named Ramesei hauen, as I doo read in Chronicles.

Rtuers.

Hilles.

There are moreouer sundrie great hils therein, as that whereupon S. Mathees standeth, in the northeast part of the Ile, a parcell whereof commeth flat south, betwéene kirk Louell, and kirk Marie, yéelding out of their botoms the water Bala, whereof I spake before. Beside these and well toward the south part of the Ile, I find the Warehils, which are extended almost from the west coast ouerthwart vnto the Burne streame. It hath also sundrie hauens, as Ramsei hauen, by north Laxam hauen, by east Port Iris, by southwest Port Home, and Port Michell, by west. In like sort there are diuers Ilets annexed to the same, as the Calfe of man on the south, the Pile on the west, and finallie S. Michels Ile in the gulfe called Ranoths waie in the east. Moreouer the sheepe of this countrie are exceeding huge, well wolled, and their tailes of such greatnesse as is almost incredible. In like sort their hogs are in maner monstrous. They haue furthermore great store of barnacles bréeding vpon their coasts, but yet not so great store as in Ireland, and those (as there also) of old ships, ores, masts, pæces of rotten timber as they saie, and such putrified pitched stuffe, as by wrecke hath happened to corrupt vpon that shore. Howbeit neither the inhabitants of this Ile, nor yet of Ireland can readilie saie whether they be fish or flesh, for although the religious there vsed to eat them as fish, yet elsewhere, some haue bæne troubled, for eating of them in times prohibited for heretikes and lollards.

Hauens.

Calfe of man.

The pile.

S. Michels Ile.

Sheepe.

Hogs.

Barnacles.

Barnacles neither fish nor flesh.

For my part, I haue béene verie desirous to vnderstand the vttermost of the bréeding of barnacls, & questioned with diuers persons about the same. I haue red also whatsoeuer is written by forren authors touching the generation of that foule, & sought out some places where I haue bæne assured to sée great numbers of them: but in vaine. Wherefore I vtterlie despaired to obteine my purpose, till this présent yeare of Grace 1584. and moneth of Maie, wherein going to the court at Grænewich from London by bote, I saw sundrie ships lieng in the Thames newlie come home, either from Barbarie or the Canarie Iles (for I doo not well remember now from which of these places) on whose sides I perceiued an infinit sort of shels to hang so thicke as could be one by another. Drawing nére also, I tooke off ten or twelue of the greatest of them, & afterward hauing opened them, I saw the proportion of a foule in one of them more perfectlie than in all the rest, sauing that the head was not yet formed, bicause the fresh water had killed them all (as I take it) and thereby hindered their perfection. Certeinelie the feathers of the taile hong out of the shell at least two inches, the wings (almost perfect touching forme) were garded with two shels or shéldes proportioned like the selfe wings, and likewise the brestbone had hir couerture also of like shellie substance, and altogither resembling the figure which Lobell and Pena doo giue forth in their description of this foule: so that I am now fullie persuaded that it is either the barnacle that is ingendred after one maner in these shels, or some other sea-foule to vs as yet vnknowen. For by the feathers appearing and forme so apparant, it cannot be denied, but that some bird or other must proceed of this substance, which by falling from the sides of the ships in long voiages, may come to some perfection. But now it is time for me to returne againe vnto my former purpose.

There hath sometime bæne, and yet is a bishop of this Ile, who at the first was called Episcopus Sodorensis, when the iurisdiction of all the Hebrides belonged vnto him. Whereas now he that is bishop there, is but a bishops shadow, for albeit that he beare the name of bishop of Man, yet haue the earles of Darbie, as it is supposed, the chefe profit of his sée (sauing that they allow him a little somewhat for a flourish) notwithstanding that they be his patrons, and haue his nomination vnto that liuing. The first bishop of this Ile was called Wimundus or Raymundus, and surnamed Monachus Sauinensis, who by reason of his extreame and tyrannicall crueltie toward the Ilanders, had first his sight taken from him, & then was sent into exile. After him succéeded another monke in king Stephens daies called Iohn, and after him one Marcus, &c. other after other in succession, the sée it selfe being now also subiect to the archbishop of Yorke for spirituall iurisdiction. In time of Henrie the second, this Iland also had a king, whose name was Cuthred, vnto whome Vinianus the cardinall came as legate 1177. and wherin Houeden erreth not. In the yeare also 1228. one Reginald was viceroy or petie king of Man, afterward murthered by his subiects. Then Olauus, after him Hofbach the sonne of Osmond Hacon, 1290. who being slaine, Olauus and Gotredus parted this kingdome of Sodora, in such wise, that this had all the rest of the Iles, the other onelie the Ile of Man at the first; but after the slaughter of Gotredus, Olauus held all, after whom Olauus his sonne succeeded. Then Harald sonne to Olauus, who being entered in Maie, and drowned vpon the coastes of Ireland, his brother Reginald reigned twentie and seuen daies, and then was killed the first of June, whereby Olauus *alias* Harald sonne to Gotred ruled in the Ile one yeare. Nert vnto him succeeded Magnus the second sonne of Olauus, and last of all Iuarus, who held it so long as the Norwaies were lords thereof. But being once come into the hands of the Scots, one Godred Mac Mares was made lieutenant, then Alane, thirdlie Maurice Okarefer, and fourthlie one of the kings chapleines, &c. I would gladlie haue set downe the whole catalog of all the viceroyes and lieutenants: but sith I can neither come by their names nor successions, I surcesse to speake any more of them, and also of the Ile it selfe, whereof this may suffice.

Bishop of Man.

Patrone of Man.

King of Man.

After we haue in this wise described the Ile of Man, with hir commodities, we returned eastwards backe againe vnto the point of Ramshed, where we found to the number of six Ilets of one sort and other, whereof the first greatest and most southwesterlie, is named the Wauay. It runneth out in length, as we gessed, about fiue miles and more from the southeast into the northwest, betwéene which and the maine land lie two little ones, whose names are Oldborrow and Fowlney. The fourth is called the Fouldra, and being situate southeast of the first, it hath a prettie pile or blockhouse therin, which the inhabitants name the pile of Fouldra.

Wauay.

Fouldra.

By

Fola. Roa.

By eaſt thereof in like ſort lie the Fola and the Roa, plots of no great compaſſe, and yet of all theſe ſir, the firſt and Fouldra are the faireſt and moſt fruitfull.

Rauenglaſſe.

From hence we went by Rauenglaſſe point, where lieth an Iland of the ſame denomination, as Reginald Wolfe hath noted in his great card, not yet finiſhed, nor likelie to be publiſhed. He noteth alſo two other Ilets, betweene the ſame and the maine land; but Leland ſpeaketh nothing of them (to my remembrance) neither any other card, as yet ſet forth of England: and thus much of the Ilands that lie vpon our ſhore in this part of my voiage.

Iles in Scotland.

Hauing ſo exactlie as to me is poſſible, ſet downe the names and poſitions of ſuch Iles, as are to be found vpon the coaſt of the Queenes Maieſties dominions, now it reſteth that we proceed orderlie with thoſe that are ſcene to lie vpon the coaſt of Scotland, that is to ſaie, in the Iriſh, the Deucalidonian & the Germans ſeas, which I will performe in ſuch order as I may, ſith I cannot do ſo much therin as I would. Some therefore do comprehend and diuide all the Iles that lie about the north coaſt of this Ile now called Scotland into three parts, ſauing that they are either occidentals, the weſt Iles, *alias* the Orchades & Zelandine, or the Shetlands. They place the firſt betweene Ireland and the Orchades, ſo that they are extended from Man and the point of Cantire almoſt vnto the Orchades in the Deucalidonian ſea, and after ſome are called the Hebrides. In this part the old writers in deed placed the Hebrides or Hemodes, which diuers call the Hebudes and the Acmodes; albeit the writers varie in their numbers, ſome ſpeaking of 30 Hebudes and ſeuen Hemodes; ſome of fiue Ebudes, as Solinus, and ſuch as follow his authoritie. Howbeit the late Scottiſh writers do product a ſumme of more than 300 of theſe Ilands in all, which ſometime belonged to the Scots, ſometime to the Norwegians, and ſometime to the Danes. The firſt of theſe is our Manaw, of which I haue before intreated: next vnto this is Aliſa a deſert Ile, yet replenished with conies, ſoland foule, and a fit harbor for fiſhermen that in time of the yeare lie vpon the coaſt thereof for herings. Next vnto this is the Arran, a verie hillie and craggie ſoile, yet verie plentifull of fiſh all about the coaſt, and wherein is a verie good hauen: ouer againſt the mouth whereof lieth the Moll, which is alſo no ſmall defenſe to ſuch ſeafaring men as ſeeke harbor in that part. Then came we by the Fladwa or Pladwa, no leſſe fruitfull and ſtored with conies than the Bota, Bura, or Botha, of eight miles long & foure miles broad, a low ground but yet verie batable, and wherein is good ſtore of ſhort and indifferent paſture: it hath alſo a towne there called Roſſe, and a caſtell named the Camps. There is alſo another called the Marnech, an Iland of a mile in length, and halfe a mile in breadth, low ground alſo but yet verie fertile. In the mouth likewiſe of the Glot, lieth the more Cumber and the leſſe, not farre in ſunder one from another, and both fruitfull inough the one for corne, and the other for Platyceraton. The Auon another Iland lieth about a mile from Cantire, and is verie commodious to ſhips, wherof it is called Auon, that is to ſaie, *Portuoſa*, or full of harbor: and therefore the Danes had in time paſt great vſe of it. Then haue we the Raclind, the Kyntar, the Cray, the Gegaw ſix miles in length and a mile and a halfe in breadth; the Dera full of deere, and not otherwiſe vnfruitfull: and therefore ſome thinke that it was called the Ile of deere in old time. Scarba foure miles in length, and one in breadth, verie little inhabited, and thereinto the ſea betweene that and the Ile of deere is ſo ſwift and violent, that except it be at certeine times, it is not eaſilie nauigable. Being paſt theſe, we come to certeine Ilands of no great fame, which lie ſcattered here and there, as Bellach, Gyraſtell, Longaie, both the Fiolas, the three Yarues, Culbrenin, Duncomell, Lupar, Belnaua, Wikerua, Calfile, Luing, Sele Ile, Sound, of which the laſt three are fruitfull, and belong to the earle of Argile. Then haue we the Slate, ſo called of the tiles that are made therin. The Nagſey, Iſdalf, and the Sken (which later is alſo called Thian, of a wicked herbe growing there greatlie hurtfull, and in colour not much vnlike the lillie, ſauing that it is of a more wan and feeble colour) Vderga, kings Ile, Duffa or blacke Ile, Kirke Ile and Triarach. There is alſo the Ile Ard, Humble Ile, Greene Ile, and Heth Ile, Arbor Ile, Gote Ile, Conies Ile *alias* idle Ile, Abrid Ile or bird Ile, and Liſmor, wherein the biſhop of Argill ſometime held his palace, being eight miles in length and two miles in breadth, and not without ſome mines alſo of good mettall. There is alſo the Ile Ouilia, Siuna, Treet, Shepey, Fladaw, Stone Ile, Greſſe, great Ile, Ardis, Muſadell, & Berner, ſometime called the holie ſanctuarie, Vghe Ile, Molochaſgyr, and Drinacha, now ouergrowne with buſhes, elders, and vtterlie ſpoiled by the ruines of ſuch great houſes as haue heretofore beene found therin. There is in like ſort the Wije, the Ranſe, and the Caruer.

Slate Ile.

Ila.

In this tract alſo, there are yet three to intreat of, as Ila, Mula and Iona, of which the firſt is one of the moſt, that hath not beene leaſt accounted of. It is not much aboue 24 miles in length, and in breadth 16 reaching from the ſouth into the north, and yet it is an exceeding rich plot of ground verie plentious of corne, cattell, deere, and alſo lead, and other mettals, which were eaſie to be obteined, if either the people were induſtrious, or the ſoile yeeldable of wood to fine and trie out the ſame. In this Iland alſo there is a lake of ſweet water called the Laie, and alſo a baie wherein are ſundrie Ilands; and therevnto another lake of freſh water, wherein the Falangam Ile is ſituate, wherein the ſouereigne of all the Iles ſometime dwelled. Neere vnto this is the round Ile, ſo called of the conſultations there had: for there was a court ſometime holden, wherein 14 of the principall inhabitants did miniſter iuſtice vnto the reſt, and had the whole diſpoſition of things committed vnto them, which might rule vnto the benefit of thoſe Ilands. There is alſo the Stoneheape, an other Iland ſo called of the heape of ſtones that is therein. On the ſouth ſide alſo of Ila, we find moreouer the Colurne, Mulmor, Oſiin, Brigidan, Corkerke, Humble Ile, Imerſga, Bethy, Texa, Shepeie, Naoſig, Rinard, Cane, Tharſcher, Aknor, Gret Ile, Man Ile, S. Iohns Ile, and Stackbed. On the weſt ſide thereof alſo lieth Ouerſey, whereby runneth a perilous ſea, and not nauigable, but at certeine houres, Merchant Ile, Vſabraſt, Tanask, Neff, Wauer Ile, Oruans, Hog Ile, and Colauanſo.

Round Ile.

Mula.

Mula is a right noble Ile, 24 miles in length and ſo manie in breath, rough of ſoile, yet fruitfull enough: & beſide woods, deere, & good harborough for ſhips, repleniſhed with diuers and ſundrie townes and caſtels. Ouer againſt Columkill alſo, it hath two riuers, which yeld verie great ſtore of ſalmons, and other riuellets now altogither vnfruitfull, beſide two lakes, in each of which is an Iland: and likewiſe in euerie of theſe Ilands a caſtell. The ſea beating vpon this Ile, maketh foure notable baies wherein great plentie and verie good herrings are taken. It hath alſo in the northweſt ſide Columbria, or the Ile of doues; on the ſoutheaſt, Era: both verie commodious for fiſhing, cattell, and corne. Moreouer, this is worth the noting in this Ile aboue all the reſt, that it hath a pleſant ſpring, ariſing two miles in diſtance from the ſhore, wherein are certeine little egs found, much like vnto indifferent pearles, both for colour and bright-

Hemodes of ſome called Acmodes, ſee Plinie, *Mela*, *Martianus*, *Capella*. Plutarch. *de defect. orac.*

Scarba.

nesse, and thereto full of thicke humour, which egs being carried by violence of the fresh water vnto the salt, are there within the space of twelue houres conuerted into great shels, which I take to be mother pearle; except I be deceiued.

Iona. Iona was sometime called Columkill, in fame and estimation nothing inferiour to anie of the other, although in length it exceed little aboue two miles, and in breadth one. Certes it is verie fruitfull of all such commodities, as that climat wherein it standeth doth yeld, and beareth the name of Columbus the abbat, of whome I haue spoken more at large in my Chronologie. There were somtimes also two monasteries therein, one of monks builded by Fergus, another of nuns: and a parish church, beside many chappels builded by the Scotish kings, and such princes as gouerned in the Iles. And when the English had once gotten possession of the Ile of Manaw, a bishops see was erected in the old monasterie of Columbus, whereby the iurisdiction of those Iles was still maintained and continued. Certes there remaine yet in this Iland the old burials apertaining to the most noble families that had dwelled in the west Iles; but three aboue other are accompted the most notable, which haue little houses builded vpon them. That in the middest hath a stone, whereon is written, *Tumuli regum Scotiæ*, The burials of the kings of Scotland: for (as they saie) fourtie eight of them were there interred. Another is intituled with these words, The burials of the kings of Ireland, because foure of them lie in that place. The third hath these words written thereon, The graues of the kings of Norwaie, for there eight of them were buried also, and all through a fond suspicion conceiued of the merits of Columbus. Howbeit in processe of time, when Malcolme Cammor had erected his abbeie at Donfermeling, he gaue occasion to manie of his successors to be interred there.

Regum tumuli.

About this Iland there lie six other Iles dispersed, small in quantitie, but not altogither barren, sometimes giuen by the kings of Scotland and lords of the Iles vnto the abbeie of saint Columbus, of which the Soa, albeit that it yeld competent pasturage for shéepe, yet is it more commodious, by such egs as the great plentie of wildfoule there brééding do laie within the same. Then is there the Ile of Shrewes or of women; as the more sober heads do call it. Also Rudan, & next vnto that, the Kering. There is also the Shen halfe a mile from Mula, whose bankes do swarme with conies: it hath also a parish church, but most of the inhabitants do liue and dwell in Mula. There is also the Corse or the Arse, and all these belong vnto saint Columbus abbeie. Two miles from Arse is the Olue, an Iland fiue miles in length, and sufficientlie stored with corne and grasse, & not without a good hauen for ships to lie and harbor in. There is also the Colsans, an Iland fruitfull inough, and full of cornell trées. There is not far off also the Gomater, Stafa, the two Kerneburgs, and the Mosse Ile, in the old Brittish speech called Monad, that is to saie Mosse. The soile of it is verie blacke, because of the corruption & putrefaction of such woods as haue rotted thereon: whereupon also no small plentie of mosse is bred and ingendered. The people in like maner make their fire of the said earth, which is fullie so good as our English turffe. There is also the Long, & six miles further toward the west, Tirreie, which is eight miles in length and three in breadth, & of all other one of the most plentifull for all kinds of commodities: for it beareth corne, cattell, fish, and seafowle aboundantlie. It hath also a well of fresh water, a castell, and a verie good hauen for great vessels to lie at safegard in. Two miles from this also is the Gun, and the Coll two miles also from the

The Ile of Shrewes.

Mosse Ile.

Gun. Then passed we by the Calfe, a verie woddie Iland, the foure greene Iles, the two glasse or skie Ilands, the Ardan, the Ile of woolfes, & then the great Iland which reacheth from the east into the west, is sixtene miles in length, and six in breadth, full of mounteins and swelling woods: and for asmuch as it is not much inhabited, the seafoules laie great plentie of egs there, whereof such as will, may gather what number them liketh. Upon the high cliffes and rocks also the Soland géese are taken verie plentifullie. Beyond this, about foure miles also is the Ile of horses: and a little from that the hog Iland, which is not altogither vnfruitfull. There is a falcon which of custome bréédeth there, and thereunto it is not without a conuenient hauen. Not farre off also is the Canna, and the Egga, little Iles, but the later full of Soland géese. Likewise the Sobra-till, more apt to hunt in than méet for anie other commoditie that is to be reaped thereby.

Skie. After this we come to the Skie, the greatest Ile about all Scotland: for it is two and fortie miles long; and somewhere eight, & in some places twelue miles broad: it is moreouer verie hillie, which hilles are therevnto loaden with great store of wood, as the woods are with pasture, the fields with corne and cattell; and (besides all other commodities) with no small heards of mares, whereby they raise great aduantage and commoditie. It hath fiue riuers verie much abounding with salmons, and other fresh streams not altogither void of that prouision. It is inuironed also with manie baies, wherein great plentie of herrings is taken in time of the yéere. It hath also a noble pole of fresh water; fiue castels and sundrie townes; as Aie, S. Johns, Dunwegen, S. Nicholas, &c. The old Scots called it Skianacha, that is, Winged, but now named Skie. There lie certeine small Ilands about this also, as Rausa a bable soile for corne & gras; Conie Iland full of woods and conies; Paba a thæuish Iland, in whose woods théeues do lurke to rob such as passe by them. Scalpe Ile, which is full of dære; Crowling, wherein is verie good harbour for ships; Karsa, full of beechen woods and stags, being in length seuen miles, and two in breadth. The Ron, a woodie Ile and full of heath: yet hath it a good hauen, which hath a little Iland called Gerloch on the mouth thereof, and therein lurke manie théeues. There is not farre off from this Ron, to wit about six miles also, the Flad, the Tiulinen, Dransa, Buie the lesse, and Buie the more, and fiue other little trifling Iles, of whose names I haue no notice.

After these we come vnto the Ile, a prettie fertile Iland, to the Due, to the Askome, to the Lindill. And foure score miles from the Skie towards the west, to the Ling, the Gigarmen, the Berner, the Nagle, the Pable, the Flad, the Scarpe, the Sander, the Vateras, which later hath a noble hauen for great ships, beside sundrie other commodities: and these nine last rehearsed are vnder the dominion of the bishop of the Iles. After this we come to the Bar, an Iland seauen miles in length, not vnfruitfull for grasse and corne, but the chiefe commoditie thereof lieth by taking of herrings, which are there to be had abundantlie. In one baie of this Iland there lieth an Islet, and therein standeth a strong castell. In the north part hereof also is an hill which beareth good grasse from the foot to the top, and out of that riseth a spring, which running to the sea, doth carrie withall a kind of creature not yet perfectlie formed, which some do liken vnto cockels; and vpon the shore where the water falleth into the sea, they take vp a kind of shelfish, when the water is gone, which they suppose to be ingendred or increased after this manner. Betweene the Barre and the Uisse lie also

Bar.

these

these Ilands, Orbans, One, Hakerset, Warlang, Flad, the two Baies, Haie, Helsaie, Gigaie, Lingaie, Fraie, Fudaie, and Friskaie. The Ille is thirtie miles long and six miles broad; and therein are sundrie fresh waters, but one especiallie of three miles in length: neuertheless, the sea hath now of late found a waie into it, so that it cannot be kept off with a banke of three score foot, but now and then it will flowe into the same, and leaue sea-fish behind it in the lake. There is also a fish bred therein almost like vnto a salmon, sauing that it hath a white bellie, a blacke backe, and is altogither without scales: it is likewise a great harbour for theeues and pirats.

Eight miles beyond this lieth the Helscher, appertinent to the nuns of Iona: then haue we the Hasker, verie plentifullie benefited by seales, which are there taken in time of the yere. Three score miles from this also is the Hirth, whose inhabitants are rude in all good science and religion; yet is the Iland verie fruitfull in all things, and bringeth forth sheepe farre greater than are else-where to be found, for they are as big as our fallow deare, horned like bugles, and haue their tailes hanging to the ground. He that is owner of this Ile, sendeth ouer his baillie into the same at midsummer, to gather in his duties, and with him a preest to saie masse, and to baptise all the children borne since that time of the yere precedent: or if none will go ouer with him (because the voiage is dangerous) then doth each father take paine to baptise his owne at home. Their rents are paid commonlie in dried seales and sea foule. All the whole Ile is not aboue a mile euerie waie; and except three mounteines that lie vpon one part of the shore, such as dwell in the other Iles can see no part thereof.

Baptisme without preests.

Being past the Ille, we came after to Walaie, the Soa, the Strome, to Pabaie, to Barner, Ensaie, Killiger, the two Sagas, the Hermodraie, Scarse, Grie, Ling, Gilling, Heie, Hoie, Farlaie, great So, little So, Ise, Sein the more, Sein the lesse, Tarant, Slegan, Tuom, Scarpe, Hareie, and the seauen holie Ilands, which are desert and breed nothing but a kind of wild sheepe, which are often hunted, but seldome or neuer eaten. For in steed of flesh they haue nothing but tallow; and if anie flesh be, it is so vnsauorie, that few men care to eate of it, except great hunger compell them. I suppose, that these be the wild sheepe which will not be tamed; and because of the horrible grenning thereof, is taken for the bastard tiger. Their haire is betweene the wooll of a sheepe, and the haire of a goat, resembling both, shacked, and yet absolutelie like vnto neither of both: it maie be also the same beast which Capitolinus calleth Ouis fera, shewed in the time of Gordian the emperour; albeit that some take the same for the Camelopardalis: but hereof I make no warrantise.

Wild sheepe.

Tigers.

There is also not farre off the Garuell, the Lambe, the Flad, the Kellas, the two Bernars, the Kirt, the two Buies, the Uiraie, the Pabaie, the two Sigrams, and the Ile of Pigmeies (which is so called vpon some probable coniecture) for manie little sculs and bones are dailie there found deepe in the ground, perfectlie resembling the bodies of children; & not anie of greater quantities, wherby their coniecture (in their opinion) is the more likelie to be true. There is also the Fabill Ile, Adams Ile, the Ile of Lambes, Hulmes, Uiccoll, Haueraie, Car, Era, Columbes Ile, Tor Ile, Iffurd, Scalpe, Flad, and the Swet; on whose east side is a certeine vault or caue, arched ouer, a flight shot in length, whereunto meane ships do vse to runne for harbour with full saile when a tempest ouertaketh them, or the raging of the sea, in those parts do put them in danger of wrecke. Also

Ile of Pigmeies.

we passed by the old castell Ile, which is a pretie and verie commodious plat for fish, foule, egges, corne and pasture. There is also the Ile Cust or Eu, which is full of wood, and a notable harbour for theeues, as is also the Grinort; likewise the preests Ile, which is verie full of sea foule and good pasture. The Askull, the two Herberts, to wit, the greater and the lesse; and the Iles of Horses, and Hertaika: and these 8 lie ouer against the baie which is called the Lake Brian. After this, we go toward the north, and come to the Haraie, and the Lewis or the Leug, both which make (in truth) but one Iland of three score miles in length, and sirteene in breadth, being distinguished by no water, but by huge woods, bounds, and limits of the two owners that do possesse those parts. The south part is called Haraie, and the whole situate in the Deucalidon sea, ouer against the Rosse, & called Thule by Tacitus, wherein are manie lakes, and verie pretie villages, as lake Erwin, lake Unsalsago: but of townes, S. Clements, Stoie, Nois, S. Columbane, Radmach, &c. In like sort, there are two churches, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, an other to S. Clement, beside a monasterie called Roadill. The soile also of this Ile is indifferent fruitfull; but they reape more profit vnder the ground than aboue, by digging. There is neither woolfe, fox, nor serpent seene in this Iland; yet are there great woods therein, which also separate one part from the other. Likewise there be plentie of stags, but farre lesse in quantitie than ours: and in the north part of the Iland also is a riuer which greatlie aboundeth with salmons. That part also called Lewisa, which is the north half of the Ile is well inhabited toward the sea coasts, and hath riuers no lesse plentifull for salmon than the other halfe. There is also great store of herrings taken, whereof the fisher men do raise great gaine and commoditie; and no lesse plentie of sheepe, which they do not sheere, but plucke euerie yeere; yet is the ground of this part verie heathie, and full of mosse, and the face thereof verie swart and blacke, for the space of a foot in depth, through the corruption of such woods as in time past haue rotted on the same. And therefore in time of the yeere they conuert it into turffe to burne, as neede shall serue; and in the yeere after, hauing well donged it in the meane time with flawke of the sea, they sowe barleie in the selfe places where the turffes grew, and reape verie good corne, wherewith they liue and feed. Such plentie of whales also are taken in this coast, that the verie tithe hath beene knowne, in some one yeere, to amount vnto seauen and twentie whales of one greatnesse and other. This is notable also in this part of the Ile, that there is a great cauc two yards deepe of water when the sea is gone, and not aboue foure when it is at the highest; ouer which great numbers do sit of both sexes and ages, with hooks and lines, and catch at all times an infinite deale of fish, wherewith they liue, and which maketh them also the more idle.

Lewis called Thule by Tacitus, with no better authoritie than the Angleseie Mona.

Tithe whales.

Being past this about sirtie miles, we come vnto the Rona, or Ron, which some take for the last of the Hebrides, distant (as I said) about fortie miles from the Orchades, and one hundreth and thirtie from the promontorie of Dungisbe. The inhabitants of this Ile are verie rude and irreligious, the lord also of the soile doth limit their number of households, & hauing assigned vnto them what numbers of the greater and smaller sorts of cattell they shall spend and inioie for their owne prouision, they send the ouerplus yerlie vnto him to Lewis. Their cheefe paiments consist of a great quantitie of meale, which is verie plentifull among them, sowed vp in sheepes skins. Also of mutton and sea foule dried, that resteth ouer and aboue, which they themselues do spend. And if it happen

that there be more people in the Iland than the lords booke or rate doth come vnto, then they send also the ouerplus of them in like maner vnto him: by which meanes they liue alwaies in plentie. They receiue no vices from strange countries, neither know or heare of anie things done else-where than in their owne Iland. Manie whales are taken also vpon their coasts, which are likewise r ished with seale, and porpasse, and those which are either so tame, or so fierce, that they abash not at the sight of such as looke vpon them, neither make they anie hast to flie out of their presence.

Beyond this Ile, about 16 miles westward, there is another called Suilscraie, of a mile length, void of grasse, and without so much as heath growing vpon hir soile: yet are there manie cliffes and rocks therein, which are couered with blacke mosse, whereon innumerable sorts of foules do breed and laie their egs. Thither in like sort manie do saile from Lewissa, to take them yong in time of the yeare, before they be able to flie, which they also kill and drie in eight dates space, and then returne home againe with them, and great plentie of fethers gathered in this voiage. One thing is verie strange and to be noted in this Iland, of the Colke foule, which is little lesse than a gose; and this kind commeth thither but once in the yeare, to wit, in the spring, to laie hir egs and bring vp hir yong, till they be able to shift for themselues, & then they get them awaie togither to the sea, and come no more vntill that time of the yére which next insueth. At the same season also they cast their fethers there, as it were answering tribute to nature for the vse of hir mossie soile: wherein it is wonderfull to see, that those fethers haue no stalkes, neither anie thing that is hard in them, but are séene to couer their bodies as it were woll or downe, till breeding time (I saie) wherein they be left starke naked.

Suilscraie.

Colke foule.

Orchades.

The Orchades (whose first inhabitants were the Scithians, which came from those Iles where the Gothes did inhabit, as some sparks yet remaining among them of that language do declare) lie partlie in the Germaine, and partlie in the Caledon seas, ouer against the point of Dunghisbie (being in number eight and twentie, or as other saie thirtie & one, yet some saie thirtie three, as Orosius, but Plinie saith fortie) and now belonging to the crowne of Scotland, as are the rest whereof heretofore I haue made report, since we crossed ouer the mouth of the Solueie streame, to come into this countrie. Certes the people of these Iles retaine much of their old sparing diets, and thereunto they are of goodlie stature, tall, verie comelie, healthfull, of long life, great strength, whitish colour, as men that feed most vpon fish; sith the cold is so extreame in those parts, that the ground bringeth forth but small store of wheate, and in maner verie little or no fuell at all, wherewith to warme them in the winter, and yet it séemeth that (in times past) some of these Iles also haue béene well replenished with wood, but now they are without either tree or shrub, in steed whereof they haue plentie of heath, which is suffered to grow among them, rather thorough their negligence, than that the soile of it selfe will not yéeld to bring forth trées & bushes. For what store of such hath béene in times past, the roots yet found and digged out of the ground do yéeld sufficient triall. Otes they haue verie plentifullie, but greater store of barleie, wherof they make a nappie kind of drinke, and such indeed, as will verie readilie cause a stranger to ouershot himselfe. Howbeit this may be vnto vs in lieu of a miracle, that although their drinke be neuer so strong, & they themselues so vnmeasurable drinkers (as none are more) yet it shall not eastlie be séene (saith Hector) that there is anie drunkard among them, either frantike, or mad man, dolt, or naturall fole, meet to weare a cockescombe.

If he speake all in truth.

This vnmeasurable drinking of theirs is confessed also by Buchanan, who noteth, that whensoeuer anie wine is brought vnto them from other soiles, they take their parts thereof aboundantlie. He addeth moreouer, how they haue an old bole (which they call S. Magnus bole, who first preached Christ vnto them) of farre greater quantitie than common boles are, and so great, that it may séeme to be reserued since the Lapithane banket, onelie to quaffe and drinke in. And when anie bishop commeth vnto them, they offer him this bole full of drinke, which if he be able to drinke vp quite at one draught; then they assure themselues of good lucke, and plentie after it. Neuertheless this excesse is not often found in the common sort, whom penurie maketh to be more frugall; but in their priests, and such as are of the richer calling. They succour pirats also, and verie often exchange their vittels with their commodities, rather for feare and want of power to resist (their Ilands lieng so scattered) than for anie necessitie of such gains as they do get by those men: for in truth, they thinke themselues to haue little need of other furniture than their owne soiles do yéeld and offer vnto them. This is also to be read of the inhabitants of these Ilands, that ignorance of excesse is vnto the most part of them in stéed of physicke; and labour and trauell a medicine for such few diseases as they are molested and incombred withall.

In like sort they want venemous beasts, cheefelie such as do delight in hotter soile, and all kinds of ouglie creatures. Their ewes also are so full of increase, that some do vsuallie bring forth two, three, or foure lambes at once, whereby they account our anelings (which are such as bring forth but one at once) rather barren than to be kept for anie gaine. As for wild and tame foules, they haue such plentie of them, that the people there account them rather a burthen to their soile, than a benefit to their tables: they haue also neat and gotes, whereby they abound in white meat, as butter and cheese: wherein, next vnto fish, the cheefe part of their sustenance doth consist. There is also a bishop of the Orchades, who hath his see in Pomona the cheefe of all the Ilands, wherein also are two strong castels, and such hath béene the superstition of the people here, that there is almost no one of them, that hath not one church at the least dedicated to the mother of Christ. Finallie, there is little vse of physicke in these quarters, lesse store of eeles, and least of frogs. As for the horses that are bred amongst them, they are commonlie not much greater than asses, and yet to labour and trauell, a man shall find verie few else-where, able to come neere, much lesse to match with them, in holding out their iournies. The seas about these Ilands are verie tempestuous, not onelie through strong winds, and the influences of the heauens and stars; but by the contrarie méetings and workings of the west ocean, which rageth so vehementlie in the streicts, that no vessell is able to passe in safetie amongst them. Some of these Ilands also are so small and low, that all the commoditie which is to be reaped by anie of them, is scarselie sufficient to sustéine one or two men: and some of them so barren and full of rocks, that they are nothing else but mosse or bare shingle. Wherefore onelie thirteene of them are inhabited and made account of, the rest being left vnto their sheepe and cattell. Of all these Ilands also Pomona is the greatest, and therfore called the continent, which conteineth thirtie miles in length, and is well replenished with people: for it hath twelue parish churches, and one towne, which the Danes (sometime lords of that Iland) called Tracouia: but now it hight Kirkwa.

Kirkwa.

lwa. There are also two pzelie holds, one belonging to the king, the other to the bishop: and also a beautifull church, and much building betweene the two holds, and about this church, which being taken as it were for two townes, the one is called the kings and the other the bishops towne. All the whole Iland is full of cliffes and pzomontozics, whereby no small number of baies and some hauens are pzoducted.

There is also tin and lead to be found in sir of these Iles, so good and plentifullie as anie where else in Britaine. It lieth foure & twentie miles from Cathnesse, being separated from the same by the Pictish sea: wherein also lie certeine Ilands, as Stroma, foure miles from Cathnesse, which albeit that it be but foure miles from Cathnesse, is not reputed for anie of the Dzchades. Going therefore from hence northward, we come to the first Ile of the Dzchades, called south Rauals, which is sirteene miles from Dunghilsbie, *alias* Dunachilsbie, & that in two houres space, such is the swiftnesse of the sea in that tract. This Ile is fiue miles long, and hath a faire pozt called saint Margarets hauen. Then passe we by two desert Iles, which lie towards the east, wherein nothing is found but cattell: some call them the holmes, bicause they lie low, and are good for nothing but grasse. On the northside lieth the Bur, and two other holmes betweene the same Pomona. From Bur, toward the west lie three Iles, Snu, Flat, and Far: and beyond them Hoie and Wall, which some accompt for two, and other but for one; bicause that in March and September, the flats that lie betweene them, doo seeme to ioine them togither, after the tide is gone. This neuertheless is certeine, that in this single or double Ile, which is ten miles in length, the highest hilles are to be seene that are in all the Dzchades. And as they lie eight miles from Rauals, so are they two miles from Pomona, from saint Donats in Scotland full twentie miles. And on the north side of it lieth the Brainse, in a narrow streict, as Buchanan doth remember. And these are the Iles which lie betweene Pomona and Cathnesse. As for the west side of the continent, I find that it lieth open to the sea, without either shelues, Ilands, or rocks, appéering nére vnto it: but on the east side thereof Cobesa doth in maner ouershadow it. Siapinsa also an Ile of sir miles long, lieth within two miles of Cracouia. Toward the east, on the west side of Pomona lieth the Rouse, of sir miles in length: and by east of that, the Eglisa, wherin (as they saie) their patrone S. Magnus lieth interred. From hense southward lie the Vera Gersa, and not far off the Vester (which is fourescore miles from Hethland) Papa, & Stronza, which is also eightie miles from Hethland as the Vester. In the middest also of this tract lieth Far, or Fara, which is to saie, faire Ile, in old English, faire eie: and within sight so well of Hethland, as the Dzchades, by reason of three insuperable rocks which are apparant in the same: a verie pore Iland, and yet yeareiie robbed (of such commodities as it hath) by such Flemish and English fishermen as passe by the coasts thereof in time of the yeare, to catch fish for the pzouision of their countries.

Nert vnto this is the greatest of all the Hethlands, an Iland called the Maine, sirtie miles in length, and sirteene in bzedth, full of rocks, and whose coasts are onelie inhabited, the innermost parts being left vnto the foules of the aire, bicause of the barrennesse and vnfruitfulnesse of the soile: yet of late some haue indeuoured to impeople it, but with no successe correspondent to their desire. Wherefore they returned to their former trades, making their chéefe commoditie and yearelie gaine by fish, as aforetime. Ten miles from this toward the north, lieth the Zeale, twentie miles in length, eight in bzedth, and so wild that it will suffer no creature to liue thereof, that is not bzed therein. Betweene this Iland also and the Maine, are other smaller Ilands to be found, as the Ling, Dzne, Big, and Sanserre. And from hense nine miles northward Usta, twentie miles long, & sir in bzedth, plaine, pleasant, but inuironed with a swift and terrible sea. Betweene this also and the Zeale, are the Vie, the Vze, and the Ling: also towards the west, the two Skenes, Chalsie, Nozwade, Brase, and Wolse, on the west side lie the west Skenes, Rottia, Papa the lesse, Wunned, Papa the more, Malla, Tondza, Burra, Haura the more, Haura the lesse, & in maner so manie holmes dispersed here and there, whereof I haue no notice. Some call these the Shetland, and some the Shotland Iles. Buchanan nameth them in the third member of his diuision Zelandise, and toward the end of his first booke seemeth to auouch, that they liue in maner as doo the inhabitants of the Dzchades: although not in so ciuill wise, nor in such large measure and aboundance of diet in their houses. He addeth moreouer, that their apparell is after the Germaine cut, comelie, but not so chargeable and costlie, and how they raise their gaine by skins of beasts, as marterns, sheepe, oxen, and gotes skins, and thereunto a kind of cloth which they weaue, and sell to the merchants of Norwaie, togither with their butter, fish, either salted or dzied, and their traine oile, and exercise their trade of fishing also in their vncerteine skewes, which they fetch out of Norwaie.

Their speech is Gothish, and such of them as by their dealing with forren merchants doo gather anie wealth, that they will verie often bestow vpon the furniture of their houses. Their weights & measures are after the Germaine maner, their countrie is verie healthie, and so wholesome, that of late a man was found which had maried a wife at one hundzed yeares of age, and was able to go out a fishing with his bote at one hundzed and fortie, and of late yéeres died of méere age, without anie other disease. Dzonkennesse is not heard of among them, and yet they meet and make good chéere verie often. Neither doo I read of anie great vse of flesh or foule there, although that some of their Ilands haue plentie of each. Nor anie mention of corne growing in these parts, and therefore in steed of bread they dzie a kind of fish, which they beat in mozters to powder, & bake it in their ouens, vntill it be hard and dzie. Their fuell also is of such bones as the fish yéeldeth, that is taken on their coasts: and yet they liue as themselues suppose in much felicitie, thinking it a great péece of their happinesse to be so farre distant from the wicked auarice, and cruell dealings of the more rich and ciuill part of the world.

Herein also they are like vnto the Hirchiens, in that at one time of the yeare, there commeth a priest vnto them out of the Dzchades (vnto which iurisdiction they doo belong) who baptiseth all such childzen, as haue béene borne among them, since he last arriued, and hauing afterward remained there for a two daies, he taketh his tithes of them (which they pzouide and paie with great scrupulositie in fish, for of other commodities paie they none) and then returneth home againe, not without boast of his troublesome voiage, except he watch his time. In these Iles also is great plentie of fine Amber to be had (as Hector saith) which is pzoducted by the working of the sea vpon those coasts: but more of this elsewhere. This neuertheles is certeine, that these Ilands, with the Dzchades, were neuer perfectlie united to the crowne of Scotland, till the mariage was made betwéene king James and the ladie Marie daughter to Christierne king of Denmarke 1468; which Christierne at the birth of their sonne James (afterward Amber.

king of Scotland and called Iames the fourth) resigned all his right and title whatsoeuer either he or his ancestors either presently or hertofore had, might haue had, or herafter may or should haue, vnto the aforesaid peeres, as appéreth by the charter.

From these Shetland Iles, and vntill we come southwards to the Scarre, which lieth in Buquhamnesse, I find no mention of anie Ile situat vpon that coast, neither greatlie from thence, vntill we come at the Forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, neither thought we it safetie for vs to search so farre as Thule, whence the most excellent brimstone commeth, & thereto what store of Ilands lie vnder the more northerlie climats, whose secret situations though partlie seene in my time, haue not yet bin perfectlie reueled or discouered by anie, because of the great abundance of huge Ilands of ice that moueth to and fro vpon their shores, and sundrie perilous gulfes and indraughts of water, and for as much as their knowlege doth not concerne our purpose, wherfore casting about, we came at the last into the Firth or Forth, which some call the Scotish sea, wherein we passe by seuen or eight such as they be, of which the first called the Maie, the second Baas, and Garwie the third, do séeme to be inhabited. From these also holding on our course toward England, we passe by another Ile, wherein Faur castell standeth, and this (so far as my skill serueth) is the last Iland of the Scotish side, in compassing whereof I am not able to discerne, whether their flats and shallowes, number of Ilands without name, confusion of situation, lacke of true description, or mine owne ignorance hath troubled me most. No meruell therefore that I haue béene so oft on ground among them. But most ioifull am I that am come home againe: & although not by the Thames mouth into my natiue citie (which taketh his name of Troie) yet into the English dominion, where good interteinement is much more franke and copious, and better harborough wherein to rest my wearie bones, and refresh at ease our weatherbeaten carcasses.

The first Iland therefore which commeth to our sight, after we passed Berwike, is that which was somtime called Lindesfarne, but now Holie Iland, and conteineth eight miles; a place much honored among our monasticall writers, because diuerse monks and heremits did spend their times therein. There was also the bishops sée of Lindesfarne for a long season, which afterward was translated to Chester in the stréet, & finallie to Duresme, Dunelme, or Durham. It was first erected by Oswald, wherein he placed Aidanus the learned Scotish monke, who came hither out of the Ile called Hij, whereof Beda speaking in the third chapter of his third booke, noteth, that although the said Hij belong to the kings of Northumberland, by reason of situation & néerenesse to the coast; yet the Picts appointed the bishops of the same, and gaue the Ile with the sée it selfe to such Scotish monks as they liked, because that by their preaching they first receiued the faith. But to returne to Lindesfarne. After Aidan departed this life, Finanus finished and builded the whole church with sawed timber of oke, after the maner of his countrie, which when Theodorus the archbishop of Canturburie had dedicated, Edbert the bishop did couer ouer with lead.

Lindesfarne or Holie Iland.

Next vnto this is the Ile of Farne, and herein is a place of defense so far as I remember, and so great store of egs laid there by diuerse kinds of wildfoule in time of the yeare, that a man shall hardlie run for a wager on the plaine ground without the breach of manie, before his race be finished. About Farne also lie certeine Iles greater than Farne it selfe, but void of inhabitants; and in these also is great store of puffins, graie as duckes, and without coloured fethers, sauing that they haue a white ring round about their necks. There is moreouer another bird, which the people call saint Cuthberts foules, a verie tame and gentle creature, and easie to be taken. After this we came to the Cocket Iland; so called, because it lieth ouer against the fall of Cocket water. Herein is a veine of meane seacole, which the people dig out of the shore at the low water; and in this Iland dwelled one Henrie sometime a famous heremite, who (as his life declareth) came of the Danish race. And from thence vntill we came vnto the coast of Norfolke I saw no more Ilands.

Puffins.

Saint Cuthberts foules.

Being therfore past S. Edmunds point, we found a litle Ile ouer against the fall of the water that commeth from Holkham, & likewise another ouer against the Claie, before we came at Waburne hope: the third also in Yarmouth riuer ouer against Bradwell, a towne in low or little England, whereof also I must néeds saie somewhat, because it is in maner an Iland, and as I gesse either hath béene or may be one: for the brodest place of the strict land that leadeth to the same, is little aboue a quarter of a mile, which against the raging waues of the sea can make but small resistance. Little England or low England therefore is about eight miles in length and foure in bredth, verie well replenished with townes, as Fristan, Burgh castell, Olton, Flirton, Lestoft, Gunton, Blundston, Corton, Lownd, Ashebie, Horton, Belton, Bradwell, and Gorleston, and beside this it is verie fruitfull and indued with all commodities.

Little England.

Going forward from hence, by the Estonnesse (almost an Iland) I saw a small parcell cut from the maine in Orford hauen, the Langerstone in Orwell mouth, & two péces or Islets at Cattiwade bridge; and then casting about vnto the Colne, we beheld Merseie which is a prétie Iland, well furnished with wood. It was sometime a great receptacle for the Danes when they inuaded England; howbeit at this present it hath beside two decaied blockehouses, two parish churches, of which one is called east Merseie, the other west Merseie, and both vnder the archdeacon of Colchester, as parcell of his iurisdiction. Foulenesse is an Ile void of wood, and yet well replenished with verie good grasse for neat and sheepe, whereof the inhabitants haue great plentie: there is also a parish church, and albeit that it stand somewhat distant from the shore, yet at a dead low water a man may (as they saie) ride thereto if he be skilfull of the causie; it is vnder the iurisdiction of London. And at this present maister William Tabor bacheler of diuinitie and archdeacon of Essex hath it vnder his iurisdiction & regiment, by the surrender of maister John Walker doctor also of diuinitie, who liued at such time as I first attempted to commit this booke to the impression.

Merseie.

Foulnesse.

In Maldon water are in like sort three Ilands inuironed all with salt streames, as saint Osithes, Northeie, and another (after a mersh) that beareth no name so far as I remember. On the right hand also as we went toward the sea againe, we saw Ramseie Ile, or rather a Peninsula or Biland, & likewise the Reie, in which is a chappell of saint Peter. And then coasting vpon the mouth of the Bourne, we saw the Wallot Ile and his mates, whereof two lie by east Wallot, and the fourth is Foulnesse, except I be deceiued, for here my memorie faileth me on the one side, and information on the other, I meane concerning the placing of Foulenesse. But to proceed. After this, and being entered into the Thames mouth, I find no Iland of anie name, except you accompt Rochford hundred for one, whereof I haue no mind to intreat, more than of Crowland, Merland,

Osithe.

Northeie.

Ramseie.

Reie.

Elie,

Elie, and the reſt, that are framed by the ouze, Andredeſeie in Trent, ſo called of a church there dedicated to ſaint Andrew, and Auon (two noble riuers hereafter to be deſcribed) ſith I touch onelie thoſe that are inuironed with the ſea or ſalt water round about, as we may ſee in the Canwaie Iles, which ſome call marſhes onelie, and liken them to an ipocras bag, ſome to a vice, ſcrue, or wide ſléeue, becauſe they are verie ſmall at the eaſt end, and large at weſt. The ſalt rilles alſo that croſſe the ſame doo ſo ſeparat the one of them from the other, that they reſemble the ſlope courſe of the cutting part of a ſcrue or gimlet, in verie perfect maner, if a man doo imagine himſelfe to loke downe from the top of the maſt vpon them. Betweene theſe, moreouer and the Leigh towne lieth another litle Ile or Holme, whoſe name is to me vnknowne. Certes I would haue gone to land and viewed theſe parcels as they laie, or at the leaſt haue ſailed round about them by the whole hauen, which may eaſilie be done at an high water: but for as much as a perrie of wind (ſcarſe comparable to the makerell gale, whereof John Anele of Calis one of the beſt ſeamen that England euer bred for his ſkill in the narow ſeas was wont to talke) caught hold of our ſailes, & caried vs forth the right waie toward London, I could not tarie to ſee what things were hereabouts. Thus much therefore of our Ilands, & ſo much may well ſuffice where more cannot be had.

Canwaie.

## The deſcription of the Thames, and ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame.

Cap. 11.

HAuing (as you haue ſéene) attempted to ſet downe a full diſcourſe of all the Ilands, that are ſituat vpon the coaſt of Britaine, and finding the ſucceſſe not correſpondent to mine intent, it hath cauſed me ſomewhat to reſtreine my purpoſe in this deſcription alſo of our riuers. For whereas I intended at the firſt to haue written at large, of the number, ſituation, names, quantities, townes, villages, caſtels, mounteines, freſh waters, plaſhes or lakes, ſalt waters, and other commodities of the aforeſaid Iles, mine expectation of information from all parts of England, was ſo deceiued in the end, that I was faine at laſt onelie to leane to that which I knew my ſelfe either by reading, or ſuch other helpe as I had alreadie purchaſed and gotten of the ſame. And euen ſo it happeneth in this my tractation of waters, of whoſe heads, courſes, length, breadth, depth of chanell (for burden) ebs, flowings, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect deſcription vnder the report alſo of an imagined courſe taken by them all. But now for want of inſtruction, which hath béene largelie promiſed, & ſlacklie performed, and other ſudden and iniurious denials of helpe voluntarilie offered, without occaſion giuen on my part, I muſt néeds content my ſelfe with ſuch obſeruations as I haue either obteined by mine owne experience, or gathered from time to time out of other mens writings: whereby the full diſcourſe of the whole is vtterlie cut off, and in ſtéed of the ſame a mangled rehearſall of the reſidue ſet downe and left in memorie.

Wherefore I beſéech your honour to pardon this imperfection and rudeneſſe of my labour, which notwithſtanding is not altogither in vaine, ſith my errors maie proue a ſpurre vnto the better ſkilled, either to correct or inlarge where occaſion ſerueth; or at the leaſt wiſe to take in hand a more abſolute péece of worke, as better direction ſhall incourage them thereto. The entrance and beginning of euerie thing is the hardeſt; and he that beginneth well, hath atchiued halfe his purpoſe. The ice (my lord) is broken, and from henceforth it will be more eaſie for ſuch as ſhall come after to wade through with the reſt, ſith *Facile eſt inuentis addere*; and to continue and finiſh, is not ſo great a matter in building, as to attempt and laie the foundation or platforme of anie noble péece of workmanſhip, though it be but rudelie handled. But to my purpoſe. As I began at the Thames in my deſcription of Ilands, ſo will I now doo the like with that of famous riuers; making mine entrie at the ſaid riuer it ſelfe, of whoſe founteine ſome men make as much adoo, as in time paſt of the true head of Nilus, which, till of late (if it be yet deſcried) was neuer found: or the Tanais, whoſe originall was neuer knowne, nor ſhall be: for whileſt one placeth it here, another there; there are none at all that deale with it exactlie. Wherefore leaning to ſuch mens writings as haue of ſet purpoſe ſought out the ſpring of the Thames; I affirme, that this famous ſtreame hath his head or beginning out of the ſide of an hill, ſtanding in the plaines of Cotſwold, about one mile from Tetburie, néere vnto the Foſſe (an high waie ſo called of old) where it was ſometime named Iſis, or the Ouſe, although diuerſe doo ignorantlie call it the Thames euen there, rather of a fooliſh cuſtome than anie ſkill, becauſe they either neglect or vtterlie are ignorant how it was named at the firſt. From hence it runneth directlie toward the eaſt (as all good riuers ſhould) and méeteth with the Cirne or Churne, (a broke called in Latine Corinium) whereof Cirnceſter towne (by which it commeth) doth take the denomination.

Thameſis.

Corinium.

From hence it haſteth vnto Créekelade, *alias* Crekanford, Lechlade, Radcotebridge, Newbridge, and Coueſham, receiuing by the waie an infinit ſort of ſmall ſtreames, brookes, beckes, waters, and rundels: and here on this ſide of the towne diuideth it ſelfe into two courſes, of which the one goeth ſtraight to Botleie and Hinkſeie, the other by Godſtow, a village not farre off. This latter ſpreadeth it ſelfe alſo for a while into ſundrie ſmaller branches, which run not farre yer they be reunited, and then beclipping ſundrie pleaſant medowes, it paſſeth at length by Orford, of ſome ſuppoſed rather to be called Duſeford of this riuer, where it méeteth with the Charwell, and a litle from whence the originall branches doo ioine and go togither by Abbandune (*alias* Senſham or Abington as we call it) although no part of it at the firſt came ſo néere the towne as it doth now, till a branch thereof was led thither from the maine ſtreame, thorough the induſtrie of the monks, as (beſide the teſtimonie of old records thereof yet extant to be ſéene) by the decaie of Cair Dour now Dorcheſter it ſelfe, ſometime the thoroughfare from Wales and the weſt countrie to London, which inſued vpon this fact, is eaſie to be ſéene. From hence it goeth to Dorcheſter, and ſo to Thame, where ioining with a riuer of the ſame denomination, it loſeth the name of Iſis or Ouſe (whereof Duſeneie at Orford is produced) and from thenceforth is called Thameſis. From Thame it goeth to Wallingford, and ſo to Reding, which in time paſt, of the number of bridges there, was called Pontium; albeit that the Engliſh name doth rather proceed from Rhe, or Ræ, the Saxon word for a water-courſe or riuer, which maie be ſéene in Duerée, or Sutherée, for ouer the Ræ, or ſouth of the Rhee, as to the ſkilfull doth readilie appeere; yet ſome hold (and not altogither againſt probabilitie and likelihood) that the word Sutherée is ſo called of Sudriſe, to wit, the ſouth kingdome, wherunto

Charwell.

Some write, that the maine ſtreame was brought thither which ranne before betweene Andredeſeie and Culenham.

Pontium.

Saint Maries ouer Rhe.

thereunto in part the Thames is a bound. But that holdeth not in denomination, either of the said church or name of the foresaid countie. Other affirme likewise, that Reding is so called of the Greeke word (ῥέω) which is to ouerflowe. Certes, as neither of these coniectures are to be contemned, so the last cõmeth most neere to mine aid, who affirme, that not onelie the course of euerie water it selfe, but also his ouerflowing was in time past called Rhe, by such Sarons as inhabited in this Iland: and euen to this date in Esser I haue oft obserued, that when the lower grounds by rage of water haue beene ouerflowen, the people beholding the same, haue said; All is on a Rhe, as if they should haue said; All is now a riuer, albeit the word Riuer be deriued from the French, and borrowed by them from the Latins: but not without corruption, as it was brought vnto them. I will not here giue notice how farre they are deceiued, which call the aforesaid church by the name of S. Marie Auderies, or S. Marie ouer Isis, or Ise. But I will proceed with the course of this noble streame, which, howsoeuer these matters stand it hath passed by Reding, and there receiued the Kenet, which commeth from the hilles that lie west of Marleborough, & then the Thetis, commonlie called the Tide that commeth from Thetisford: it hieth to Sudlington otherwise called Maidenhead, and so to Windleshore (or Windsore) Eaton, and then to Chertseie, where Erkenwald bishop of London sometime builded a religious house or cell, as I do read.

Kenet.

Thetis.

From Chertseie it hasteth directlie vnto Stanes, and receiuing an other streame by the waie, called the Cole (whereupon Colbrooke standeth) it goeth by Kingstone, Shene, Sion, and Brentford or Bregentford, where it meeteth the Brane or the Brene, another breake descending from Edgworth, whose name signifieth a frog, in the Brittish speach. Upon this also sir John Thin had sometime a statelie house, with a maruellous prouision to inclose and reteine such fish as should come about the same. From Brentford it passeth by Portlach, Putneie, Fulham, Batterseie, Chelseie, Lambeth, and so to London. Finallie going from thence vnto the sea, it taketh the Lee with it by the waie vpon the coast of Esser, and the Darnt vpon Kent side, which riseth neere to Tanrige, and commeth by Shoreham, vnto Dertford, whereunto the Craie falleth. And last of all the Medwaie a notable riuer (in mine opinion) which watereth all the south and southwest part of Kent, and whose description is not to be omitted hereafter in this place.

Cole.

Brene.

Darwent.

Craie.

Hauing in this maner breefelie touched this noble riuer, and such brookes as fall into the same; I will now adde a particular description of each of these last by themselues, whereby their courses also shall be seuerallie described to the satisfaction of the studious. But yet I take the same in hand, I will insert a word or two of the commodities of the said riuer, which I will performe with so much breuitie as is possible; hereby also finding out his whole tract and course from the head to the fall thereof into the sea. It appeareth euidentlie that the length thereof is at the least, one hundreth and eightie miles, if it be measured by the iourneies of the land. And as it is in course, the longest of the three famous riuers of this Ile, so it is nothing inferiour vnto them in aboundance of all kind of fish, whereof it is hard to saie, which of the three haue either most plentie, or greatest varietie, if the circumstances be duelie weighed. What some other write of the riuers of their countries it skilleth not, neither will I (as diuerse do) inuent strange things of this noble streame, therewith to nobilitate and make it more honorable: but this will I in plaine termes affirme, that it neither swalloweth vp bastards of the Celtish brood, or casteth vp the right begotten that are throwne in without hurt into their mothers lap, as Politian fableth of the Rhene, *Epistolarum lib. 8. epi. 6.* nor yeeldeth clots of gold as the Tagus doth: but an infinit plentie of excellent, sweet and pleasant fish, wherewith such as inhabit neere vnto hir bankes are fed and fullie nourished.

What should I speake of the fat and sweet salmons, dailie taken in this streame, and that in such plentie (after the time of the smelt be past) as no riuer in Europa is able to exceed it. But what store also of barbels, trouts, cheuins, pearches, smelts, breames, roches, daces, gudgings, flounders, shrimps, &c: are commonlie to be had therein, I refer me to them that know by experience better than I, by reason of their dailie trade of fishing in the same. And albeit it seemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in sundrie wise of these hir large commodities, by the insatiable auarice of the fishermen, yet this famous riuer complaineth commonlie of no want, but the more it loseth at one time, the more it yeeldeth at another. Onelie in carps it seemeth to be scant, sith it is not long since that kind of fish was brought ouer into England, and but of late to speake of into this streame, by the violent rage of sundrie landflouds, that brake open the heads and dams of diuers gentlemens ponds, by which meanes it became somewhat partaker also of this said commoditie, whereof earst it had no portion that I could euer heare. Oh that this riuer might be spared but euen one yeare from nets, &c! But alas then should manie a poore man be vndone. In the meane time it is lamentable to see, how it is and hath beene choked of late with sands and shelues, through the penning and wresting of the course of the water for commodities sake. But as this is an inconuenience easilie remedied, if good order were taken for the redresse thereof: so now, the fine or pate set vpon the ballaffe sometime freelie giuen to the merchants by patent, euen vnto the lands end (*Insques au poinct*) will be another cause of harme vnto this noble streame, and all through an aduantage taken at the want of an (i) in the word *poinct*: which grew through an error committed by an English notarie vnskilfull in the French tong, wherein that patent was granted.

Salmons.

Carps a fish late brought into England and later into the Thames.

Furthermore, the said riuer floweth and filleth all his chanels twise in the daie and night, that is in euerie twelue houres once; and this ebbing & flowing, holdeth on for the space of seauentie miles, within the maine land: the streame or tide being alwaies highest at London, when the moone doth exactlie touch the northeast and south or west points of the heauens, of which one is visible, the other vnder the earth, and not subiect to our sight. These tides also differ in their times, each one comming latter than other, by so manie minuts as passe yer the reuolution and naturall course of the heauens do reduce, and bring about the said planet vnto those hir former places: whereby the common difference betweene one tide and another, is found to consist of twentie foure minuts, which wanteth but twelue of an whole houre in foure and twentie, as experience doth confirme. In like sort we see by dailie triall, that each tide is not of equall heigth and greatnesse. For at the full and change of the moone we haue the greatest flouds, and such is their ordinarie course, that as they diminish from their changes and fols, vnto the first and last quarters; so afterwards they increase againe, vntill they come to the full and change. Sometimes also they rise so high (if the wind be at the north or northeast, which bringeth in the water with more vehemencie, bicause the tide which filleth the chanell, commeth from Scotland ward) that the Thames ouer-

The iust distãce betweẽ one tide and another.

ouerflowech hir banks nére vnto London: which hapneth eſpecialtie in the fuls and changes of Januarie and Febꝛuarie, wherein the lower grounds are of cuſtome ſoneſt dꝛowned. This oꝛder of flowing in like ſoꝛt is perpetuall, ſo that when the mone is vpon the ſouthweſt and noꝛth of points, then is the water by London at the higheſt: neither dꝛo the tides alter, except ſome rough winds out of the weſt oꝛ southweſt dꝛo kéepe backe and checke the ſtreame in his entrance, as the eaſt and noꝛtheaſt dꝛo haſten the comming in thereof, oꝛ elſe ſome other extraoꝛdinarie occaſion, put by the oꝛdinarie courſe of the noꝛtherne ſeas, which fill the ſaid riuer by their naturall returne and flowing. And that both theſe dꝛo happen eſt among, I refer me to ſuch as haue not ſildome obſerued it, as alſo the ſenſible chopping in of thꝛée oꝛ foure tides in one naturall daie, wherof the vnſkilfull dꝛo deſcant manie things.

The ſtreame oft checked in hir entrance into the land.

But how ſo euer theſe ſmall matters dꝛo fall out, and how often ſoeuer this courſe of the ſtreame doth happen to be diſturbed; yet at two ſeuerall times of the age of the mone, the waters returne to their naturall courſe and limits of time exactlie. Polydore ſaith, that this riuer is ſeldome increaſed oꝛ rather neuer ouerflowеth hir banks by landflouds: but he is herein verie much deceiued, as it ſhalbe moꝛe apparantlie ſéene hereafter. Foꝛ the moꝛe that this riuer is put by of hir right courſe, the moꝛe the water muſt of neceſſitie ſwell with the white waters which run dowꝛne from the land: bicauſe the paſſage cannot be ſo ſwift and readie in the winding as in the ſtreight courſe. Theſe landflouds alſo dꝛo greatlie ſtraine the fineſſe of the ſtreame, in ſo much that after a great landfloud, you ſhall take haddocks with your hands beneath the bꝛidge, as they flote aloft vpon the water, whoſe eies are ſo blinded with the thicknеſſe of that element, that they cannot ſee where to become, and make ſhift to ſaue themſelues beforе death take hold of them. Otherwiſe the water of it ſelfe is very cléere, and in compariſon nert vnto that of the ſea, which is moſt ſubtile and pure of all other; as that of great riuers is moſt excellent, in compariſon of ſmaller bꝛookes: although Ariſtotle will haue the ſalt water to be moſt groſſe, bicauſe a ſhip will beare a greater burden on the ſea than on the freſh water; and an eg ſinke in this that ſwimmeth on the other. But he may eaſilie be anſwered by the quantitie of rome and aboundance of waters in the ſea; whereby it becommeth of moꝛe foꝛce to ſuſteine ſuch veſſels as are committed to the ſame, and whervnto the greateſt riuers (God wot) are nothing comparable. I would here make mention of ſundꝛie bꝛidges placed ouer this noble ſtreame, of which that of London is moſt chieflie to be commended, foꝛ it is in maner a cõtinuall ſtreet, well repleniſhed with large and ſtatelie houſes on both ſides, and ſituat vpon twentie arches, whereof ech one is made of excellent fræ ſquared ſtone, euerie of them being thrée ſcoꝛe fot in heigth, and full twentie in diſtance one from another, as I haue often viewed.

London bꝛidge.

In like maner I could intreat of the infinit number of ſwans dailie to be ſéene vpon this riuer; the two thouſand wherries and ſmall boats, wherby thrée thouſand poꝛe watermen are mainteined, through the cariage and recariage of ſuch perſons as paſſe oꝛ repaſſe, from time to time vpon the ſame: beſide thoſe huge tideboats, tiltbotes, and barges, which either carrie paſſengers, oꝛ bꝛing neceſſarie pꝛouiſion from all quarters of Oꝛfoꝛdſhire, Barkeſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Bedfoꝛdſhire, Herfoꝛdſhire, Middleſex, Eſſex, Surrie, and Kent, vnto the citie of London. But foꝛ ſomuch as theſe things are to be repeated againe in the particular deſcription of London, annexed to his card; I ſurceaſſe at this time to ſpeake anie moꝛe of them here, as not lingering but haſting to perfoꝛme my pꝛomiſe made euen now, not yet foꝛgotten, and in perfoꝛmance whereof I thinke it beſt to reſume the deſcription of this noble riuer againe into my hands, and in adding whatſoeuer is beforе omitted, to deliuer a full and perfect demonſtration of his courſe. How and where the ſaid ſtreame ariſeth, is alreadie ſufficiencie ſet dowꝛne, noting the place to be within a mile of Tetburie, whereof ſome dꝛo vtterlie miſlike, bicauſe that rill in ſummer dꝛouths is oft ſo dꝛie, that there is little oꝛ no water at all ſéene running aboue ground in the ſame. Foꝛ this cauſe therefoꝛe manie affirme the verie head of Iſis to come from the poole aboue Kemble. Other confound it with the head of the Cirne oꝛ Chirne, called in Latine Corinium that riſeth aboue Coberleie. Foꝛ my part I follow Leland, as he dooth the monke of Malmesburie, which wꝛote the hiſtoꝛie intituled Eulogium hiſtoriarum, who ſearched the ſame of ſet purpoſe, and pꝛonounced with Leland, although at this pꝛeſent that courſe be verie ſmall, and choked vp (as I heare) with grauell and ſand. Pꝛocéeding therefoꝛe from the head, it firſt of all receiueth the Kemble water called the Coue, which riſeth aboue Kemble towne, goeth by Kemble it ſelfe vnto Poole and Somerfoꝛd, and then (accompanieth the Thames) vnto Canes, Aſhton, Canes, and Howſton, holding on in one chanell vntill they méet with the Chirne, the next of all to be deſcribed.

Iſis.

Coꝛinius.

The Chirne is a faire water ariſing out of the ground aboue Coberleie, from whence it runneth to Cowleie, Cowlesburne, Randcome, and ſo into the Iſis on the left ſide aboue Crekelade. Theſe thrée waters being thus vnited and bꝛought into one chanell, within a little ſpace of the head of Iſis, it runneth on by Crekelade, beneath which towne it receiueth the Rhe, deſcending from Elcombe, Eſcot, Redburne, Wildhill, & at the fall into Iſis, oꝛ not far off ioineth with another that runneth weſt of Purton by Bꝛaden foꝛeſt, &c. Next of all our Iſis méeteth with the Amneie on the left hand, which comming from aboue Holie rode Amneie, runneth by Dowꝛne Amneie, and finallie into the Iſis a little aboue Iſeie. In like ſoꝛt I read of another that méeteth withall on the right hand aboue Iſeie alſo, which ſo far as I can call to remembꝛance, commeth from about Dꝛifield and falleth ſo into our Iſis, that they run as one vntill they come at the Colne, although not ſo nakedlie and without helpe, but that in this voiage, the maine ſtreame doth croſſe one water that deſcendeth from Swindon, and going alſo by Stratton toward Seuingham, is it ſelfe increaſed with two rils by the waie, whereof one commeth from Liddenton by Wambꝛeie, as I haue bёene inforꝛmed.

Rhe.

Amneie.

The Colne is a faire riuer riſing by noꝛth nære to Witchington, & from thence goeth to Shiptons, Compton Abdale, Wittenton, Parnewoꝛth, Colne Deanes, and Colne Rogers, Winſton, Biberie, Colne Alens, Quenington, Faireford, and weſt of Lachelade into the riuer Iſis, which hereabout on the ſouthſide alſo taketh in another, whereof I find this remembꝛance. The Iſis being once paſt Seuingham, croſſeth a bꝛoke from ſouthеſt that mounteth about Alhbirie, and receiuing a rill from byweſt (that commeth from Hinton) beneath Shꝛineham, it afterward ſo diuideth it ſelfe, that the armes therof include Inglesham, and by reaſon that it falleth into the Iſis at two ſeuerall places, there is a pleſant Iland pꝛoduced, whereof let this ſuffice.

Colneius, Colineus, oꝛ Colunus.

Being paſt Lechelade a mile, it runneth to ſaint Johns bꝛidge, & thereabout méeteth with the Leche on the left hand. This bꝛoke, whereof Lechlade taketh

Lecus oꝛ Leche.

2000 boates vpon the Thames and 3000 poꝛemẽ maunteined by the ſame whoſe gaines come in moſt plentifullie in the tearme time.

keth the name (a towne whereunto one peece of an old vniuersitie is ascribed, which it did neuer possesse, more than Crekelade did the other) riseth east of Hampnet, frō whence it goeth to north Lech, Elsenton, Anleswoorth, east Lech, south Thorpe, Farendon, & so into the Isis. From hence this famous water goeth by Kenskot toward Radcote bridge (taking in the rill that riseth in an old peece of Barkeshire, and runneth by Langford) and being past the said bridge (now notable through a conspiracie made there sometimes by sundrie barons against the estate) it is not long yer it crosse two other waters, both of them descending from another old parcell of the said countie, whereof I haue this note giuen me for my further information. There are two fals of water into Isis beneath Radcote bridge, wherof the one commeth from Shilton in Barkeshire by Arescote, blacke Burton and Clarrefield. The other also riseth in the same peece, and runneth by Brisenorton vnto Bampton, and there receiuing an armelet from the first that breake off at blacke Burton, it is not long yer they fall into Isis, and leaue a pretie Iland. After these confluences, the maine course of the streame hasteth by Shifford to Newbridge, where it ioineth with the Winrush. The Winrush riseth aboue Shieburne in Glocestershire, from whence it goeth to Winrush, & cōming by Barrington, Burford, Widbrooke, Swinbecke castell, Witnesie, Duckington, Cockthorpe, Stanlake, it meeteth with the Isis west by south of Northmore. From hence it goeth beneath Stanton, Hartingcourt and Ensham, betweene which and Callinton, it receiueth (as Leland calleth it) the Bruerne water.

Winrush.

Bruwerus.

It riseth aboue Limington, and going to Norton in the Marsh, and through a patch of Worcestershire vnto Euenlode, betweene it and the foure shiresstones, it taketh in a rill called Come, comming by the long and the little Comptons. After this also it goeth by Bradwell, Odington, and so to Bleddenton, aboue which towne it taketh in the Rolrich water that issueth at two heads, in the hils that lie by west of little Rolrich, and ioine aboue Kenkeham, and Church hill. From thence also it goeth vnto Bruerne, Shipton vnderwood, Ascot, Shorthamton, Chorleburie, Corneburie parke, Stonfield, Longcombe, and southeast of Woodstocke parke, taketh in the Enis, that riseth abone Emstone, and goeth to Ciddington, Glimton, Mottron (where it is increased with a rill that runneth thither from steeple Barton, by the Beechin tree) Woodstocke, Blaidon, so that after this confluence, the said Enis runneth to Callinton, and so into the Isis, which goeth from hence to Orford, and there receiueth the Charwell, now presentlie to be described.

Come.

Rolrich.

Enis.

Charwell.

The head of Charwell is in Northamptonshire, where it riseth out of a little pole, by Charleton village, seuen miles aboue Banberie northeast, and there it issueth so fast at the verie surge, that it groweth into a pretie streame, in maner out of hand. Sone after also it taketh in a rillet called the Bure, which falleth into it, about Otmere side: but forasmuch as it riseth by Bincester, the whole course therof is not aboue foure miles, and therefore cannot be great. A friend of mine prosecuting the rest of this description reporteth thereof as followeth. Before the Charwell commeth into Orfordshire, it receiueth the Culen, which falleth into the same, a little aboue Edgcote, and so descending toward Wardington, it meeteth with another comming from by north west, betweene Wardington and Cropreadie. At Banberie also it meeteth with the Come (which falleth from fennie Conton by Farnebore, and afterwards going by kings Sutton, not far from Aine, it receiueth the discharge of diuerse rillets, in one bottome before it come at Clifton. The said water therfore ingendred of so manie brookelets, consisteth chiefelie of two, whereof the most southerlie called Oke, commeth from Oke Norton, by Witchington or Wiggington, and the Berfords; and carieng a few blind rils withall, doth meet with the other that falleth from by northwest into the same, within a mile of Charwell.

Bure.

Culen.

Ocus.

That other (as I coniecture) is increased of three waters, whereof each one hath his seuerall name. The first of them therefore hight Tudo, which comming betweene Epwell and the Lee by Toddington, ioineth about Broughton with the second that runneth from Horneton, named Ornus, as I gesse. The last falleth into the Tude or Tudelake, beneath Broughton; and for that it riseth not far from Sotteswell in Warwikeshire, some are of the opinion, that it is to be called Sotbrooke. The next water that meeteth without Charwell beneath Clifton commeth from about Croughton, and after this is the Sowar or Swere, that riseth north of Michaell Tew, and runneth by nether Wotton. The last of all is the Reie *aliàs* Bure, whose head is not far aboue Burcester, *aliàs* Bincester, and Burncester: and from whence it goeth by Burcester to Merton, Charleton, Fencote, Addington, Noke, Islip, and so into Charwell, that holdeth on his course after this augmentation of the waters, betweene Wood and Water Eton, to Marston, and the east bridge of Orford by Magdalene college, and so beneath the south bridge into our aforesaid Isis.

Tudo.

Sotbrooke.

Souarus.

Sowar.

Burus.

In describing this riuer, this one thing (right honorable) is come vnto my mind, touching the center and nauill as it were of England. Certes there is an hillie plot of ground in Helledon parish, not far from Danberie, where a man maie stand and behold the heads of three notable riuers, whose waters, and those of such as fall into them, do abundantlie serue the greatest part of England on this side of the Humber. The first of these waters is the Charwell, alreadie described. The second is the Leme that goeth westward into the fourth Auon. And the third is the head of the Nene or fift Auon it selfe, of whose courses there is no card but doth make sufficient mention; and therefore your honour maie behold in the same how they do coast the countrie, and also measure by compasses how this plot lieth in respect of all the rest, contrarie to common iudgement, which maketh Northampton to be the middest and center of our countrie.

Middest of England whereabouts.

But to go forward with my description of the Muse, which being past Orford goeth to Islie, Kennington, Sanford, Rodleie, Newnham, and so to Abington, somtime called Sensham, without increase, where it receiueth the Oche, otherwise called the Coche, a little beneath S. Helens, which runneth thither of two brooklets, as I take it, whereof one commeth from Compton, out of the vale and west of the hill of the White horsse, the other from Kings Letcombe, and Wantage in Barkshire, and in one chanell, entreth into the same, vpon the right side of his course. From Abington likewise (taking the Arun withall southwest of Sutton Courtneie) it goeth by Appleford, long Wittenham, Clifton, Wittenham the lesse, & beneath Dorchester, taketh in the Thame water, from whence the Isis loseth the prehemineence of the whole denomination of this riuer, and is contented to impart the same with the Thame, so that by the coniunction of these two waters Thamesis is produced, and that name continued euen vnto the sea.

Ocus.

Arun.

Thame riuer riseth in the easterlie parts of Chilterne hils, towards Penleie parke, at a towne called Tring west of the said parke, which is seauen miles from

Thame.

from the stone bridge, that is betweene Querendon and Ailsburie (after the course of the water) as Leland hath set downe. Running therefore by long Perston, and Puttenham, Hucket, and Bearton, it receiueth soone after a rill that commeth by Querendon from Hardwike, and yet long an other on the other side that riseth aboue Windouer in the Chilterne, and passing by Halton, Weston, Turrill, Broughton, and Ailsburie, it falleth into the Tame west of the said towne (except my memorie do faile me. From this confluence the Tame goeth by Ethorpe, the Winchingtons, Coddington, Chersleie, Notleie abbeie: and comming almost to Tame, it receiueth one water from southeast aboue the said towne, and another also from the same quarter beneath the towne; so that Tame standeth inuironed vpon three sides with three seuerall waters, as maie be easilie seene. The first of these commeth from the Chiltern east of Below or Bledlow, from whence it goeth to Hinton, Horsenden, Kingsleie, Towsleie, and so into the Tame. The other descendeth also from the Chilterne, and going by Chinner, Crowell, Siddenham, and Tame parke, it falleth in the end into Tame water, and then they proceed togither as one by Shabbington, Ricot parke, Dracot, Waterstoke, Milton, Cuddesdon, and Chiselton. Here also it taketh in another water from by-east, whose head commeth from Chilterne hils, not farre from Stocking church, in the waie from Orford to London. From whence it runneth to Weston (and meeting beneath Curham with Watlington rill) it goeth on to Chalgraue, Stadham, and so into the Tame. From hence our streame of Thame runneth to Newenton, Draton, Dorchester (sometime a bishops see, and a noble citie) and so into the Thames, which hasteth in like sort to Bensington, Crowmarsh, or Wallingford, where it receiueth the Blaue, descending from Blaueburg, now Blewberie, as I learne.

Blaius.

Thus haue I brought the Thames vnto Wallingford, situate in the vale of White horse that runneth a long therby. From hence it goeth by Newenham, north Stoke, south Stoke, Goring, Basildon, Pangburne, where it meeteth with a water that commeth from about Hamsted Norris, runneth by Frizelham, Buckelburie, Stanford, Bradfeld, Tidmarsh and Pangburne. After which confluence it goeth on betweene Mapledorham and Purleie, to Cauersham, and Cauersham manour, and a little beneath receiueth the Kenet that commeth thereinto from Reading.

Cenethus.

The Kenet riseth aboue Duerton 5 or 6 miles west of Marleborow, or Marlingsborow, as some call it; & then going by Fifeld, Clatford, Haulon, & Preshute, vnto Marleburie: it holdeth on in like order to Ramsburie, and northwest of little Cote, taketh in a water by north descending from the hilles aboue Alburne chase west of Alburne town. Thence it runneth to little Cote, Charnhamstreet, & beneth Charnhamstreet it crosseth the Bedwin, which (taking the Chalkburne rill withall) commeth from great Bedwyne, & at Hungerford also two other in one botom somewhat beneath the towne. From hence it goeth to Auington, Kinburie, Hamsted marshall, Euburne, Newberie; and beneath this towne, taketh in the Lamburne water that commeth by Isberie, Egerston, the Sheffords, Westford, Borford, Donington castell, and Shaw. From Newberie it goeth to Thatcham, Wolhampton, Aldermaston, a little aboue which village it receiueth the Alburne, another broke increased with sundrie rils: and thus going on to Padworth, Olston, and Michaell, it commeth at last to Reading, where (as I said) it ioineth with the Thames, and so they go forward as one by Sonning to Shiplake, and there on the east side receiue the Loddon that commeth downe thither from the south, as by his course appeereth.

Bedwine.
Chalkeburne.
Lamburne.
Alburnus.

The Loddon riseth in Hamshire betweene west Shirburne and Woton toward the southwest, afterward directing his course toward the northwest, thorough the Vine, it passeth at the last by Bramlie, and thorough a peece of Wiltshire, to Stradfield, Swallowfield, Arberfield, Loddon bridge, leauing a patch of Wiltshire on the right hand (as I haue beene informed.) This Loddon not far from Turges towne receiueth two waters in one bottome, whereof the westerlie called Basing water, commeth from Basingstoke, and thorough a parke vnto the aforesaid place. Lodunus.

The other descendeth of two heads from Mapledour well, and goeth by Shewes, Newenham, Rotherwise, and yet it come at Hartlie, ioineth with the Basing water, from whence they go togither to Turges, where they meet with the Loddon (as I haue said alreadie.) The nert streame toward the south is called Ditford broke. It riseth not farre from Upton, goeth by Gruell, and beneath Wharnborow castell receiueth the Ikell (comming from a parke of the same denomination) from whence they go togither by Waddingleie vnto Swalowfield, and so into the Loddon. In this voiage also the Loddon meeteth with the Elwie or Elueie that commeth from Aldershare, not farre by west of Euersleie: and about Eluesham likewise with another running from Dogmansfield named the Douke: and also the third not inferior to the rest comming from Erin, whose head is in Surreie, and going by Ash becommeth a limit, first betweene Surreie and Hamshire; then betweene Hamshire and Barkeshire, and passing by Ash, Erinleie, Blacke water, Yerleie, and Finchamsted; it ioineth at last with the Ditford, before it come at Swalowfield. To conclude therefore with our Loddon, hauing receiued all these waters; and after the last confluence with them now being come to Loddon bridge, it passeth on by a part of Wiltshire to Twiford bridge, then to Wargraue, and so into the Thames that now is maruellouslie increased and growen vnto triple greatnesse (to that it was at Orford.)

Ditis vadum.
Ikenus.
Elueius.
Ducus.
Erin.

Being therefore past Shiplake and Wargraue, it runneth by Horsependon, or Harding: then to Henleie vpon Thames, where sometime a great rill voideth it selfe in the same. Then to Remenham, Greneland (going all this waie from Shiplake iust north, and now turning eastwards againe) by Medenham, Hurleie, Bisham, Marlow the greater, Marlow the lesse, it meeteth with a broke soone after that consisteth of the water of two rilles, whereof the one called the Vse, riseth about west Wickham, out of one of the Chilterne hilles, and goeth from thence to east Wickham or high Wickham, a prettie market towne. The other named Higden, descendeth also from those mounteines but a mile beneath west Wickham, and ioining both in one at the last, in the west end of east Wickham towne, they go togither to Wooburne, Hedsor, & so into the Thames. Some call it the Tide; and that word do I vse in my former treatise: but to proceed. After this confluence our Thames goeth on by Cowkham, Topleie, Maidenhead, *alias* Sudlington, Braie, Dorneie, Clure, new Windsore (taking in neuertheles, at Eaton by the waie, the Burne which riseth out of a Mere, & commeth thither by Burnham) old Windsor, Wraisborow, and a little by east therof doth crosse the Cole, whereof I find this short description insuing. Vsa.
Higden.

The Cole riseth neere vnto Flamsted, from whence it goeth to Redburn, S. Michaels, S. Albons, Aldenham, Watford, and so by More to Richmansworth, where there is a confluence of three waters, of which Colus, alias Vere and Wertume.

Gadus. which this Cole is the first. The second called Gadus riseth not farre from Ashridge, an house or palace belonging to the prince: from whence it runneth to great Gaddesdin, Hemsted, betweene Kings Langleie, and Abbots Langleie, then to Hunters, and Cashew bridges, and so to Richmansworth, receiuing by the waie a rill comming from Alburie by northwest, to Northchurch, Barkehamsted, and beneath Hemsted ioining with the same. The last commeth in at northwest from aboue Chesham, by Chesham it selfe, then by Chesham Bois, Latimers, Mawdens, Cheinies, Sarret and Richmansworth, and so going on all in one chanell vnder the name of Cole, it runneth to Vrbridge, where it taketh in the Missenden water, from northwest, which rising aboue Missenden the greater goeth by Missenden the lesse, Hagmondesham (now Hammersham) the Vach, Chalkhunt Giles, Chalkhunt S. Peters, Denham, and then into the Cole aboue Vrbridge (as I haue said.) Sone after this our Cole doth part it selfe into two branches, neuer to ioine againe before they come at the Thames, for the greater of them goeth thorough the goodlie medows straight to Colebrooke, the other vnto two milles, a mile and a halfe east of Colebrooke, in the waie to London, leauing an Iland betweene them of no small size and quantitie.

Vindeles. Being past the Cole, we come to the fall of the Vindeles, which riseth by northwest neere vnto Bagshot, from whence it goeth to Windlesham, Chobham, and meeting with a brooklet comming westward from Bisleie, they run togither toward Cherteseie, where when they haue met with a small rill rising north of Sonning hill in Windlesoure great parke, it falleth into the Thames on the northeast side of Cherteseie. When we were come beyond this water, it was not long yer we came vnto another on the same side, that fell into the Thames betweene Shepperton on the one side, and Oteland on the other, and is called the Waie. The Weie or the Waie rising by west, commeth from Olsted, & sone after taking the Hedleie broke withall (which riseth in Wulmere forrest, and goeth by Hedleie and Frensham) hasteth by Bentleie, Farnham, Alton, Waiberleie, Elsted, and so to Pepper harrow, where it

Veius.

Thuresbie. ioineth with the Thuresbie water, which commeth not farre off from a village of the same denomination. From hence also it goeth to Godalming, and then toward Shalford, but yer it come there, it crosseth Craulie becke, which rising somewhere about the edge of Suller short of Ridgewie, goeth by Wacherie parke, Knoll, Craulie, Bramleie, Wonarsh, and so into the Waie. From hence then our riuer goeth to Shalford, and sone after (meeting with the Abbinger water that commeth by Shere, Albirie, and the chappell on the hill) it proceedeth to Guldeford, thence to Stoke, Sutton in the parke, Send, Woking, and at Newarke parke side taketh in a broke that riseth of two heads, whereof one doth spring betweene two hils north of Pepper harrow, and so runneth through Henleie parke, the other aboue Purbright, and afterward ioining in one, they go forth vnto Newarke, and being there vnited, after the confluence it goeth to Purford court, to Bisier, Walfred, Oteland, and so into the Thames.

Crawleie.

Abbinger.

Wolis. From Oteland the Thames goeth by Walton, Sunburie, west Moulseie, Hampton, and yer it come at Hampton court on the northside, and east Moulseie on the other, it taketh in the Moule water, which giueth name vnto the two townes that stand on each side of the place, where it falleth into our streame. It riseth in Wood forrest, and going by Burstow, it meeteth afterward with another gullet, conteining a small course from two seuerall heads, whereof one is also in the forrest aforenamed, the other runneth from Lebush wood, and comming by Isseld, meeteth with the first aboue Horleie, and so run on in one chanell, I saie, till they ioine with the Moule water, whereof I spake before.

After this confluence in like sort, it is not long yer the Moule take in another from by north, which commeth from about Nesham on the one side, and another on the other side, running by Ockleie and Capell, and whereinto also a branch or rill commeth from a wood on the northwest part. Finallie, being thus increased with these manie rilles, it goeth by east Bechewoorth, west Bechewoorth, and ouer against the Swalow on the side of Drake hill, taking in another that cōmeth thither from Wotton by Darking and Milton, it runneth to Mickleham, Letherhed, Stoke, Cobham, Ashire parke, east Moulseie, and so into the Thames, which after this coniunction goeth on to Kingston, and there also meeteth with another becke, rising at Ewell south of Nonsuch. Certes, this rill goeth from Ewell by the old parke, then to Mauldon, & so to Kingston towne. The Thames in like maner being past Kingston, goeth to Tuddington, Petersham, Twickenham, Richmond, and Shene, where it receiueth a water on the northwest side, which comming from about Harrow on the hill, and by west of the same, goeth by Hales, Harlington, Felthan, and Thistlewoorth into the Thames.

Brane. The nert fall of water is at Sion, neere vnto new Brainford, so that it issueth into the Thames betweē them both. This water is called Brane, that is in the Brittish tong (as Leland saith) a frog. It riseth about Edgewoorth, and commeth from thence by Kingesburie, Twiford, Perluall, Hanwell, and Austerleie. Thence we followed our riuer to old Brentford, Mortlach, Cheswic, Barnelmes, Fulham, and Putneie, beneath which townes it crossed a becke from Wandleworth, that riseth at Woodmans turne, and going by Eastbalton, meeteth another comming from Croidon by Bedington, and so going on to Mitcham, Parton abbeie, and Wandleworth, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. Nert vnto this

Mariburne. is Mariburne rill on the other side, which commeth in by S. James, so that by this time we haue either brought the Thames, or the Thames conueied vs to London, where we rested for a season to take view of the seuerall tides there, of which each one differeth from other, by foure & twentie minuts, that is fortie eight in a whole daie, as I haue noted before, except the wether alter them. Being past London, and in the waie toward the sea: the first water that it meeteth withall, is the Bromc on Kent side, west of Greenewich, whose head is Bromis in Bromleie parish, and going from thence to Lewsham, it taketh in a water from by east, and so directeth his course forth right vnto the Thames.

Bromis.

The nert water that it meeteth withall, is on Esser side, almost against Woolwich, and that is the Lee or Luie, whose head riseth short of Kempton in Hertfordshire, foure miles southeast of Luton, sometime called Logodunum or Logrodunum, & going through a peece of Brokehall parke (leauing Woodhall parke on the north, and Hatfield on the south, with another parke adioining) it goeth toward Hartford towne. But yer it come there, it receiueth a water (peraduenture the Marran) rising at northwest in Brodewater hundred, from aboue Welwin, northeast of Digeswell, and going to Hartingfeld burie, where the said confluence is within one mile of the towne.

Lee.

Logus.

Marran.

Beane. Beneath Hatfield also it receiueth the Beane (as I gesse) comming from Borwood by Benington, Aston, Watton, and Stapleford, and a little lower, the third arme of increase from aboue Ware, which descendeth from two heads: whereof the greatest commeth

meth from Barkewaie in Edwinſter hundred, the other Sandon in Oddeſey hundred, and after they be met beneath little Hornemeade, they go togither by Pulcherchurch, or Puckrich, Stonden, Thunderidge Wadeſmill, Benghow, and ſo into the Lée, which from hence runneth on till it come at Ware, which was drowned by the rage of the ſame 1408, and ſo to Amwell, where on the north ſide it receiueth the water that commeth from little Hadham, through a péece of Singleſhall parke, then by great Hadham, and ſo from Widford to the aforeſaid towne. From hence alſo they go as one to old Stanſted called Le Veil, branching in ſuch wiſe yer it come there, that it runneth through the towne in ſundrie places. Thence it goeth forth to Abbats Stanſted, beneath which it méeteth with the Stoure, weſt (as I remember) of Roidon. This Sture riſeth at Wenden lotes, from whence it goeth to Langleie, Clauering, Berden, Manhuden, & Birchanger (where it taketh a rill comming from Elſingham, & Stanſted Mountfitchet.) Thence it hieth on to Biſhops Stourford, Sabrichford, and beneath this towne croſſeth with another from the eaſt ſide of Elſingham, that goeth to Hatfield, Brodocke, Shiring, Harlo, & ſo into the Stoure, and from whence they go togither to Eaſtwic, Parmedon, and nert into the Lée. Theſe things being thus performed, the Lée runneth on beneath Hoddeſdon, Brorburne, and Wormleie, where a water breaketh out by weſt of the maine ſtreame, a mile lower than Wormeleie it ſelfe, but yet within the paroch, and is called Wormeleie locke.

It runneth alſo by Cheſton nunrie, and out of this a little beneath the ſaid houſe, breaketh an arme called the Shirelake, becauſe it diuideth Eaſſex and Hartford ſhire in ſunder, and in the length of one medow called Fritheie. This lake runneth not but at great flouds, and méeteth againe with a ſuccor of ditchwater, at a place called Hockeſdich, halfe a mile from his firſt breaking out, and halfe a mile lower at Marſh point ioineth againe with the ſtreame from whence it came before. Thence commeth the firſt arme to S. Paulie bridge (the firſt bridge weſtward vpon that riuer) vpon Waltham cauſie, & halfe a mile lower than Paulie bridge, at the corner of Kamnie mead, it méeteth with the kings ſtreame & principall courſe of Luy, or Lée, as it is commonlie called. The ſecond arme breaketh out of the kings ſtreame at Halifield halfe a mile lower than Cheſton nunrie, and ſo to the fulling mill, and two bridges by weſt of the kings ſtreame, wherinto it falleth about a ſtones caſt lower at a place called Walkins ſhelfe, except I was wrong informed. Cheſton & Hartfordſhire men do ſaie, that the kings ſtreame at Waltham doth part Hartfordſhire and Eſſex, but the Eſſex men by forreſt charter do plead their liberties to hold vnto S. Paulies bridge. On the eaſt ſide alſo of the kings ſtreame breaketh out but one principall arme at Halifield, three quarters of a mile aboue Waltham, & ſo goeth to the corne mill in Waltham, and then to the B. ſtreame againe a little beneath the kings bridge.

From hence the Lée runneth on by ſouth on Waltonſtow till it come to Stretford Langthorne, where it brancheth partlie of it ſelfe, and partlie by mans induſtrie for mils. Howbeit herein the dealing of Alfred (ſometimes king of England) was not of ſmalleſt force, who vnderſtanding the Danes to be gotten vp with their ſhips into the countrie, there to kill and ſlaie his ſubiects, in the yeere of grace 896, by the conduct of this riuer: he in the meane time before they could returne, did ſo mightilie weaken the maine chanell, by drawing great numbers of trenches from the ſame; that when they purpoſed to come backe, there was nothing ſo much water left as the ſhips did draw: wherefore being ſet on ground, they were ſone fired, & the aduerſaries ouercome. By this policie alſo much medow ground was wone, & made firme land, whereby the countrie about was not a little inriched, as was alſo a part of Aſſyria by the like practiſe of Cyrus with the Ganges, at ſuch time as he came againſt Babylon, which riuer before time was in maner equall with Euphrates. For he was ſo offended, that one of his knights whom he loued déerlie, was drowned and borne awaie with the water in his paſſage ouer the ſame, that he ſware a déepe oth yer long to make it ſo ſhallow that it ſhould not wet a woman to the knées. Which came to paſſe, for he cauſed all his armie to dig 46 new draines frō the ſame, wherby the vow that he had made was at the full performed. *Senec. de Tra. li. 3.* But to conclude with the Lée that ſomtime ouerflowed all thoſe medowes, through which it paſſeth (as for a great waie not inferior to the Thames) and I find that being paſt Weſtham, it is not long yer it fall into that ſtreame. One thing I read more of this riuer before the conqueſt, that is, how Edward the firſt, & ſonne of Alfred, in the yeare of grace 912, builded Hartford towne: at which time alſo he had Wittham a towne in Eſſex in hand, as his ſiſter called Aelfled repaired Orford & London, and all this foure yeares before the building of Maldon, of ſome called Hertford or Herudford betweene three waters, that is, the Lée, the Beneſuth, and Pemmarran, or rather Penmarran: but how theſe waters are diſtinguiſhed in theſe daies, as yet I cannot tell. It is poſſible, that the Bene may be the ſame which commeth by Benington, and Benghow: which if it be ſo, then muſt the Pemmarran be the ſame that deſcendeth from Whitwell, for not farre from thence is Branfield, which might in time paſt right well be called Parranfield, for of like inuerſion of names I could ſhew manie examples.

Being paſt the Lée (whoſe chanell is begun to be purged 1576, with further hope to bring the ſame to the north ſide of London) we come vnto the Rodon, vpon Eſſex ſide in like maner, and not verie farre (for foure miles is the moſt) from the fall of the Lée. This water riſeth at little Canfield, from whence it goeth to great Canfield, high Roding, Eſthorpe Roding, Ledon Roding, White Roding, Beauchampe Roding, Fifeld, Shelleie, high Ongar, and Cheping Ongar, where the Lauer falleth into it, that ariſeth betwixt Matching and high Lauer; and taking another rill withall comming from aboue Northweld at Cheping Ongar, they ioine (I ſaie) with the Rodon, after which confluence Leland coniectureth that the ſtreame is called Iuell: for my part, I wot not what to ſay of it. But héerof I am ſure, that the whole courſe being paſt Ongar, it goeth to Stanſted riuers, Theidon mount, Heibridge, Chigwell, Wlwdford bridge, Ilford bridge, Barking, & ſo into the Thames.

The Darwent méeteth with our ſaid Thames vpon Kents ſide, two miles and more beneath Erith. It riſeth at Tanridge, or there abouts, as I haue béene informed by Chriſtopher Saxtons card late made of the ſame, and the like (I hope) he will do in all the ſeuerall ſhires of England at the infinit charges of ſir Thomas Sackford knight, & maiſter of the requeſts, whoſe zeale vnto his countrie héerin I cannot but remember, & ſo much the rather, for that he meaneth to imitate Ortelius, & ſomewhat beſide this hath holpen me in the names of the townes, by which theſe riuers for the Kentiſh part do run. Would to God his plats were once finiſhed for the reſt! But to proceéd. The Darwent therefore, riſing at Tanridge, goeth on by Titſeie toward Braſted, and receiuing on ech ſide of that towne (& ſeuerall bankes) a riuer or rill, it goeth on to Rockhold, Shorham, Kinſford, Horton, Darnhith, Dartford or Derwentford, & there taking in the Craie on the left hand that coms from Orpington by

Sturus.

Alfred.

Rodon or Rodunus.

Lauer.

Iuelus.

Darwent.

Craie.

Marie Crate, Paules Crate, North Crais, and Crailford, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. But after I had once passed the fall of the broke, it is a world to see what plentie of Serephium groweth vpon the Kentish shore, in whose description Fuichsius hath not a little halted; whilest he giueth forth the hearbe Argentaria for Serephium, betweene which there is no maner of likelihood. This neuertheless is notable in the said hearbe, that being translated into the garden, it receiueth another forme cleane different from the first, which it yéelded when it grew vpon the shore, and therevnto appeareth of more fat & foggie substance. Which maketh me to thinke that our physicians do take it for a distinct kind of wormewood, whereof controuersie ariseth among them. The next water that falleth into the Thames, is west of the Maule Iles, a rill of no great fame, neither long course, for rising about Cozingham, it runneth not manie miles east and by south, yet it fall into the mouth of this riuer, which I do now describe.

I would haue spoken of one créeke that commeth in at Cliffe, and another that runneth downe from Haltslo by S. Maries: but sith I vnderstand not with what backewaters they be serued, I let them passe as not skilfull of their courses. And thus much of the riuers that fall into the Thames, wherein I haue done what I maie, but not what I would for mine owne satisfaction, till I came from the head to Lechlade, vnto which, as in lieu of a farewell, I will ascribe that distichon which Apollonius Rhodius writeth of the Thermodon:

*Hunc non est aliud flumen par, nec tot in agros*
*vllum dimittit riuos quot fundit vtrinque.*

Midwaie. Next vnto the Thames we haue the Midwaie water, whereof I find two descriptions, the first beginneth thus. The Midwaie water is called in Latine Medeuia (as some write) bicause the course therof is midwaie in a manner betweene London and Dorobernia, or (as we now call it) Canturburie. In British it hight Dourbrée: and thereof Rochester was sometime called Durobrenum. But in an old charter which I haue séene (conteining a donation sometime made to the monasterie of saint Andrews there by Ceadwalla) I find that the Saxons called this riuer Wedring; and also a towne standing betweene Malling and east Farleie, Wedrington; and finallie, a forrest also of the same denomination, Wedrington, now Waterdon, wherby the originall name appeareth to be fetched from this streame. It ariseth in Waterdon forrest east of Whetlin or Wedring, and ioineth with another broke that descendeth from Ward forrest in Suller: and after this confluence they go on togither, as one by Ashhirst, where hauing receiued also the second broke, it hasteth to Pensherst, and there carrieth withall the Eden, that commeth from Lingfield parke. After this it goeth to the southeast part of Kent, and taketh with it the Frith or Firth, on the northwest side, and an other little streame that commeth from the hilles, betweene Penenburie and Horsemon on the southeast. From thence also, and not farre from Malling it receiueth the Theise (a prettie streame that ariseth about Theise Hirst) afterward the Gran or Crane, which hauing his head not farre from Cranbrooke, and méeting with sundrie other riuelets by the waie, whereof one branch of Theise is the last, for it parteth at the Twist, and including a prettie Iland, doth ioine with the said Midwaie, a little aboue Malding, and then with the Lowse. Finallie at Maidstone it méeteth with another broke, whose name I know not, and then passeth by Allington, Dutton, Newhide, Halling, Cuckestane, Rochester, Chattham, Gillingham, Upchurch, Kingsferrie, and falleth into the maine sea betweene Shepeie and the Grane.

Frethus.

Theise.

Grane *alias* Cranus.

And thus much out of the first author, who commendeth it also, for that in time past it did yéeld such plentie of sturgeon, as beside the kings portion, and a due vnto the archbishop of Canturburie out of the same, the deane and chapter of Rochester had no small allowance also of that commoditie: likewise for the shrimps that are taken therein, which are no lesse estéemed of in their kind, than the westerne smelts or flounders taken in the Thames, &c. The second author describeth it after this manner, and more copiouslie than the other.

The cheefe head of this streame riseth in Waterdon forrest, from whence after it hath runne a prettie waie still within the same, east of Whetlin, it méeteth with a broke, whose head is in Ward forrest, southwest of Grænested, which goeth to Hartfield, and so to Whetlin, and yer long ioineth with the Midwaie. After this confluence it is not long yer it take in another by-west from Cowdenward, and the third aboue Pensherst, growing from two heads, whereof one is in Lingfield parke, the other west of Crawherst; and ioining aboue Edinbridge, it doth fall into the midwaie beneath Heuer towne, and Chiddingston. From Pensherst our maine streame hasteth to Ligh, Tunbridge, and Twidleie, and beneath the towne, it crosseth a water from North, whereof one head is at the Mote, another at Wrotham, the third at west Peckham, & likewise another from southest, that runneth east of Capell. Next after this it receiueth the Theise, whose forked head is at Theise Hirst, which descending downe toward the north, taketh in not farre from Scotnie a broke out of the northside of Waterden forrest, whose name I find not, except it be the Dour. After this confluence our riuer goeth to Goldhirst, and comming to the Twist, it brancheth in such wise, that one part of it runneth into Midwaie, another into the Garan, or rather Cranebrooke (if my coniecture be ante thing.) The Garan (as Leland calleth it) or the Crane (as I do take it) riseth néere to Cranebrooke, and going by Sillingbirst, it receiueth yer long one water that commeth by Fretingdon, and another that runneth from great Chard by Smerdon, and Hedcorne, crossing two rilles by the waie from by north, Hedcorne it selfe standing betweene them both. Finallie, the Garan or Crane méeting with Midwaie south of Malling, they on the one side, and the Theise on the other, leaue a prettie Iland in the middest, of foure miles in length, and two in breadth, wherein is some hillie soile, but neither towne nor village, so farre as I remember.

Garunus, Cranus.

From Malling forward, the Midwaie goeth to west Farlegh, east Farlegh: and yer it come at Maidstone, it interteineth a rill that riseth short of Ienham, and goeth by Ledes and Otteringden, which is verie beneficiall to clothiers in drie yéeres: for thither they conueie their clothes to be thicked at the fulling milles, sometimes ten miles for the same: there is also at Ledes great plentie of fulling earth, which is a necessarie commoditie.

Being past Maidstone, it runneth by Allington, Snodland, Halling, Cuckstane, and Rochester, where it passeth vnder a faire bridge of stone, with a verie swift course, which bridge was begun 1388 by the lord John Cobham, the ladie Margaret his wife, and the valiant sir Robert Knolles, who gaue the first onset vpon that péece of worke, and therevnto builded a chapell of the Trinitie at the end therof, in testimonie of his pietie. In processe of time also one John Warner of Rochester made the new coping thereof; and archbishop Warham of Canturburie the iron barres: the bishops also of that see were not slacke in their benevolence and furtherances toward that

that worke, eſpeciallie Walter Merton founder of Merton colledge in Oxford, who by miſfortune periſhed by falling from the ſame, as he rode to ſurueie the workemen. Being paſt Rocheſter, this noble riuer goeth to Chatham, Gillingham, Upchurin, and ſone after branching, it imbraceth the Græne at his fall, as his two heads do Aſhdon forreſt, that lieth betweene them both.

## Of ſuch ſtreames as fall into the ſea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of the Sauerne.

## Chap. 12.

Stoure.

After the Midwaie we haue the Stoure that riſeth at Ringeſwood, which is fourteene or fiftæne miles from Canturburie. This riuer paſſeth by Aſhford, Wie, Nackington, Canturburie, Fordiſh, Standiſh, and Sturemouth, where it receiueth another riuer growing of three branches. After our Stoure or Sture parteth it ſelf in twaine, & in ſuch wiſe, that one arme therof goeth toward the north, and is called (when it commeth at the ſea) the north mouth of Stoure; the other runneth ſoutheaſtward vp to Richborow, and ſo to Sandwich, from whence it goeth northeaſt againe and falleth into the ſea. The iſſue of this later tract is called the hauen of Sandwich. And peraduenture the ſtreame that commeth downe thither, after the diuiſion of the Stoure, maie be the ſame which Beda calleth Wantſome; but as I cannot vndo this knot at will, ſo this is certeine, that the Stoure on the one ſide, and peraduenture, the Wantſome on the other, parteth and cutteth the Tenet from the maine land of Kent, whereby it is left for an Iland.

Nailburne water alſo (as I heare) neer to Cantwarbirie, but I wote not whereabouts: ſee Marianus Scotus.

Wantſome.

There are other little brookes which fall into the Stoure, whereof Leland ſpeaketh, as Fiſhpoole becke that ariſeth in Stonehirſt wood, and meeteth with it foure miles from Canturburie: another beginneth at Chiſlet, and goeth into the Stoure gut, which ſometime incloſed Thanet, as Leland ſaith: the third iſſueth out of the ground at Northburne (where Eadbert of Kent ſometime paſt held his palace) and runneth to Sandwich hauen, as the ſaid authour reporteth: and the fourth called Bridgewater that riſeth by S. Marie Burne church, and going by Biſhops Burne, meeteth with Canturburie water at Stourmouth: alſo Witham that riſeth aboue Witham ſhort of Adſam, and falleth into Bridgewater at Dudmill, or Wenderton: and the third nameleſſe, which riſeth ſhort of Wodenſburgh (a towne wherein Hengiſt & the Saxons honored their grand idoll Woden, or Odhine) and goeth by Staple to Wingam: but ſith they are obſcure I will not touch them here. From hence paſſing by the Godwine, a plot verie perilous for ſea-faring men (ſometime firme land, that is, vntill the tenth of the conquerours ſonne, whoſe name was William Rufus, and wherein a great part of the inheritance of erle Godwine in time paſt was knowne to lie) but eſcaping it with eaſe, we came at length to Douer. In all which voiage we found no ſtreame, by reaſon of the cliffes that inuiron the ſaid coaſt. Howbeit vpon the ſouth ſide of Douer, there is a prettie freſh riuer, whoſe head ariſeth at Erwell, not paſſing foure miles from the ſea, and of ſome is called Dour, which in the Britiſh tong is a common name for waters, as is alſo the old Britiſh word Auon for the greateſt riuers, into whoſe mouthes or falles chippes might find ſafe entrance; and therefore ſuch are in my time called hauens, a new word growen by an aſpiration added to the old: the Scots call it Auen. But more of this elſe-where, ſith I am now onelie to ſpeake of Dour, wherof it is likelie that the towne & caſtell of Douer did ſometime take the name. From hence we go toward the Camber (omitting peraduenture here and there ſundrie ſmall creeks void of backwater by the waie) whereabouts the Rother a noble riuer falleth into the ſea. This Rother ſeparateth Suſſex from Kent, and hath his head in Suſſex, not farre from Argas hill neere to Waterden forreſt, and from thence directeth his courſe vnto Rotherfield. After this it goeth to Ethlingham or Hitchingham, and ſo forth by Newendon vnto Mattham ferrie, where it diuideth it ſelfe in ſuch wiſe, that one branch thereof goeth to Appledoure (where is a caſtell ſometime builded by the Danes, in the time of Alfred, as they did erect another at Middleton, and the third at Beamflete) and at this towne, where it meeteth the Bilie that riſeth about Bilſington, the other by Iden, ſo that it includeth a fine parcell of ground called Orneie, which in time paſt was reputed as a parcell of Suſſex; but now vpon ſome occaſion or other (to me vnknowne) annexed vnto Kent. From hence alſo growing into ſome greatneſſe, it runneth to Rie, where it meeteth finallie with the Becke, which commeth from Beckleie: ſo that the plot wherein Rie ſtandeth, is in manner a by-land or peninſula, as experience doth confirme. Leland and moſt men are of the likelieſt opinion, that this riuer ſhould be called the Limen, which (as Peter of Cornhull ſaith) doth iſſue out of Andredeſwald, where the head thereof is knowne to be. Certes, I am of the opinion, that it is called the Rother vnto Appledoure, & from thence the Limen, becauſe the Danes are noted to enter into theſe parts by the Limen; and ſailing on the ſame to Appledoure, did there begin to fortifie, as I haue noted alreadie. Howbeit, in our time it is knowne by none other name than the Rother or Appledoure water, whereof let this ſuffice.

Rother.

Bilie.

Becke.

Limenus.

Being thus croſſed ouer to the weſt ſide of Rie hauen, & in viewing the iſſues that fall into the ſame, I meet firſt of all with a water that groweth of two brookes, which come downe by one chanell into the eaſt ſide of the mouth of the ſaid port. The firſt therfore that falleth into it deſcendeth from Beckleie or thereabouts (as I take it) the next runneth along by Peſemarſh, & ſone after ioining with all, they hold on as one, till they fall into the ſame at the weſterlie ſide of Rie: the third ſtreame commeth from the north, and as it mounteth vp not farre from Hunfield, ſo it runneth betweene Seſcambe and Wacklinton neere vnto Bread, taking another rill withall that riſeth (as I heare) not verie far from Weſtfield. There is likewiſe a fourth that groweth of two heads betweene Jelingham and Pet, and going by Winchelſeie it meeteth with all about Rie hauen, ſo that Winchelſeie ſtandeth inuironed on three parts with water, and the ſtreames of theſe two that I haue laſt rehearſed.

The water that falleth into the Ocean, a mile by ſouthweſt of Haſtings, or therabouts, is called Æſtus or Aſten: perhaps of Haſten or Haſting the Dane, (who in time paſt was a plague to France and England) & riſing not far from Penhirſt, it meeteth with the ſea (as I heare) by eaſt of Hollington. Bulnerhith is but a creeke (as I remember) ſerued with no backewater; and ſo I heare of Codding or Old hauen, wherefore I meane not to touch them.

Aeſtus.

Bulnerhithe.

Into Pevenſeie hauen diuerſe waters do reſort, and of theſe, that which entereth into the ſame on the eaſt ſide riſeth out from two heads, whereof the moſt eaſterlie is called Aſh, the nert vnto the Burne, and vniting themſelues not farre from Aſhburne, they continue their courſe vnder the name and title of Aſhburne water, as I read. The ſecond that commeth thereinto iſſueth alſo of two heads, whereof the one is ſo manie miles from Boreham, the other not

Pevenſeie.

Aſh.
Burne.

far from the Parke east of Hellingstowne, and both of them concurring southwest of Hirstmowsen, they direct their course toward Peuensete (beneath which they méet with another rising at Foington) and thence go in one chanell for a mile or more, till they fall togither into Peuensete hauen. The Cuckmer issueth out at seuerall places, and hereof the more easterlie branch commeth from Warbleton ward, the other from Bishops wood, and méeting beneth Halling, they run in one bottome by Wicham Arlington, Wellington, old Frithstan, and so into the sea.

Cucomarus.

Unto the water that commeth out at Newhauen, sundrie brookes and riuerets do resort, but the chiefe head riseth toward the west, somewhat betwéene Etchinford and Shepleie, as I heare. The first water therefore that falleth into the same on the east side, issueth out of the ground about Uertwood, and running from thence by Langhton and Ripe, on the west side: it falleth into the aforesaid riuer beneath Forle and Glime, or three miles lower than Lewis, if the other buttall like you not. The nert herevnto hath his head in Argas hill, the third descendeth from Ashedon forrest, and ioining with the last mentioned, they crosse the maine riuer a little beneath Isefield. The fourth water commeth from Ashedon forrest by Horsted Caines (or Duseftate Caines) and falleth into the same, likewise east of Linfield. Certes I am deceiued if this riuer be not called Isis, after it is past Isefield. The fift riseth about Storuelgate, and meeteth also with the maine streame aboue Linfield, and these are knowen to lie vpon the right hand as we rowed vp the riuer. On the other side are onelie two, whereof the first hath his originall nære vnto Wenefield, and holding on his course toward the east, it meeteth with his master betwæne Newicke and Isefield (or Ifield) as some read it. The last of all commeth from Plimodune or Plumpton, and hauing met in like sort with the maine riuer about Barcham, it runneth forth with it, & they rest in one chanell by Barcham, Hamsete, Walling, Lewis, Piddingburne, and so forth into the maine.

Isis, *ni fallor.*

Sturewell.

Plinus.

The nert riuer that we came vnto west of Brighthemston is the Soze, which notwithstanding I find to be called Brember water, in the ancient map of Parton colledge in Oxford: but in such sort (as I take it) as the Rother or Limen is called Appledoure streame, bicause of the said towne that standeth thervpon. But to proceed, it is a pleasant water, & thereto if you consider the situation of his armes, and branches from the higher grounds, verie much resembling a foure stringed whip. Whereabout the head of this riuer is, or which of these branches may safelie be called Soza from the rising, in good soth I cannot say. For after we had passed nine or ten mils thereon vp into the land, suddenlie the crosse waters stopped vs, so that we were inforced to turne either east or west, for directlie forth-right we had no waie to go. The first arme on the right hand as we went, riseth out of a parke by south of Alborne, and going on for a certeine space toward the northwest, it turneth southward betwéene Shermonburie and Twinham, and soone after méeteth with the Bimar, not much south from Shermonburie, whence they run togither almost two miles, till they fall into the Soze. That on the west side descendeth from about Bilingeshirst, & going toward the east, it crosseth with the fourth (which riseth a litle by west of Thacam) east from Pulborow, and so they run as one into the Soze, that after this confluence hasteth it selfe southward by Brember, Burleis, the Combes, and yer long into the Ocean.

Bimarus.

Arunus.

The Arun (of which beside Arundell towne the castell and the vallie wherin it runneth is called Vallis Aruntina, or Arundale in English) is a goodlie water, and thereto increased with no small number of excellent & pleasant brookes. It springeth vp of two heads, whereof one descendeth from the north not far from Gretham, and going by Lis, méeteth with the nert streame (as I gesse) about Dourford house. The second riseth by west from the hils that lie toward the rising of the sunne from East maine, and runneth by Peterfield. The third commeth from Berton ward, and ioineth with the second betwéene Peterfield and Dourford, after which confluence they go togither in one chanell still toward the east (taking a rill with them that cõmmeth betwéene Fernehirst and S. Lukes chapell, southwest of Linchmere, and meeting with it east of Loddesworth (as I do read, and likewise sundrie other in one chanell beneath Stopham) to Waltham, Burie, Houghton, Stoke, Arundell, Tortington ford, Climping (all on the west side) and so into the sea.

Hauing thus described the west side of Arun, let vs do the like with the other in such sort as we best may. The first riuer that we come vnto therfore on the east side, and also the second, rise of sundrie places in S. Leonards forrest, & ioining a little aboue Horsham, they méet with the third, which commeth from Ifield parke, not verie farre from Slinfeld. The fourth hath two heads, whereof one riseth in Witleie parke, the other by west, nære vnto Heselméere chappell, and meeting by west of Dourfeld, they vnite themselues with the chanell, growing by the confluence that I spake of beneath Slinfeld, a little aboue Billingshirst. The last water commeth from the hils aboue Linchemere, and runneth west and south, and passing betwéene Billingthirst and Stopham, it commeth vnto the chanell last mentioned, and so into the Arun beneath Stopham, without anie further increase, at the least that I do heare of.

Burne hath his issue in a parke néere Aldingburrie (or rather a little aboue the same toward the north, as I haue since bæne informed) and running by the bottomes toward the south, it falleth betwéene north Berflete and Flesham. Erin riseth of sundrie heads, by east of Erinleie, and directing his course toward the sunne rising, it peninsulateth Seleseie towne on the southwest and Pagham at northwest. Decl springeth about Benderton, and thence running betwéene middle Lauant and east Lauant, it goeth by west of west Hampnet, by east of Chichester, or west of Rumbaldesdowne, and afterward by Fishburne, where it meeteth with a rill comming north west from Funtingdon (a little beneath the towne) & then running thus in one streame toward the sea, it méeteth with another rillet comming by north of Bosham, and so into Auant gulfe by east of Thorneie Iland.

Burne.

Elin.

Delus.

The Racon riseth by east of Racton or Racodunum (as Leland calleth it) and comming by Chidham, it falleth into the sea, northeast of Thorneie aforesaid. The Emill commeth first betwéene Racton and Stanfted, then downe to Emilsworth or Emnesworth, & so vnto the Ocean, separating Sulser from Hampshire almost from the very head. Hauing in this maner passed along the coasts of Sulser, the nert water that I remember, riseth by east of the forrest of Estbirie, from whence it goeth by Southwike, west Burhunt, Farham, and so into the gulfe almost full south. Then come we to Bedenham creke (so called of a village standing thereby) the mouth whereof lieth almost directlie against Porchester castell, which is situat about three miles by water from Portesmouth towne, as Leland doth report. Then go we within halfe a mile further to Forten creke, which either giueth or taketh name of

Racunus.

Emill.

Badunus forte.

Forten or Fordon.

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Olterpoole. a village hard by. After this we come to Olterpoole lake, a great creke, that goeth vp by west into the land, and lieth not far from a round turret of stone, from whence also there goeth a chaine to another tower on the east side directlie ouer against it, the like whereof is to be seene in diuerse other hauens of the west countrie, whereby the entrance of great vessels into that part may be at pleasure restreined.

From hence we go further to Tichefeld water, that riseth about Eastmaine parke, ten or twelue miles by northeast or there abouts from Tichefeld. Tichefield. From Eastmaine it goeth (parting the forrests of Waltham, and Eastberie by the way) to Witham or Witcombe, a pretie market towne & large throughfare, where also the water separateth it selfe into two armelets, and going vnder two bridges of wood commeth yet long againe vnto one chanell. From hence it goeth three or foure miles further, to a bridge of timber by maister Writhoseleies house (leauing Tichfeld towne on the right side) and a little beneath runneth vnder Ware bridge, whither the sea floweth as his naturall course inforceth. Finallie, within a mile of this bridge it goeth into the water of Hampton hauen, whervnto diuerse streames resort, as you shall heare hereafter.

Hamelrish. After this we come to Hamble hauen, or Hamelrish creke, whose fall is betweene saint Andrewes castell, and Yoke. It riseth about Shidford in Waltham forrest, & when it is past Croke bridge, it meeteth with another broke, which issueth not farre from Bishops Waltham, out of sundrie springs in the high waie on Winchester, from whence it passeth (as I said) by Bishops Waltham, then to Budeleie or Botleie, and then ioining with the Hamble, they run togither by Prowlingsworth, Upton, Brusill, Hamble towne, and so into the sea.

Southhampton. Now come we to the hauen of Southhampton, by Ptolomie called Magnus portus, which I will briefelie describe so neere as I can possiblie. The bredth or entrie of the mouth hereof (as I take it) is by estimation two miles from shore to shore. At the west point therof also is a strong castell latelie builded, which is rightlie named Caldshore, but now Calshot, I wote not by what occasion. On the east side thereof also is a place called Yoke (afore mentioned) or Hamell hoke; wherein are not aboue three or foure fisher houses, not worthie to be remembred. This hauen floweth vp on the west side by the space of seuen miles, vntill it come to Hampton towne, standing on the other side, where it is by estimation a mile from land to land. Thence it goeth vp further about three miles to Redbridge, still ebbing and flowing thither, and one mile further, so farre as my memorie doth serue mee. Now it resteth that I describe the Alresford streame, which some do call the Arre or Arle, and I will proceed withall in this order following.

Alresford. The Alresford beginneth of diuerse faire springs, about a mile or more frō Alresford, or Alford as it is now called, and some after resorting to one bottome, they become a broad lake, which for the most part is called Alford pond. Afterward returning againe to a narrow chanell, it goeth through a stone bridge at the end of Alford towne (leauing the towne it selfe on the left hand) toward Hichingstocke three miles off, but yet it commeth there, it receiueth two rils in one bottome, whereof one commeth from the Forrest in maner at hand, and by northwest of old Alresford, the other frō Browne Candiuer, that goeth by Northenton, Swarewotton, Aberstone, &c: vntill we meet with the said water beneath Alford towne. Being past Hichinstocke, it commeth by Anington to Elton village, and to Worthie, where it beginneth to branch, and ech arme to part it selfe into other that resort to Hide and the lower soiles by east of Winchester, there seruing the streets, the close of S. Maries, Wolueseie, and the new college verie plentifullie with their water. But in this meane while, the great streame commeth from Worthie to the east bridge, and so to saint Elizabeth college, where it doth also part in twaine, enuironing the said house in most delectable maner. After this it goeth toward S. Crosses, leauing it a quarter of a mile on the right hand: then to Twiford (a mile lower) where it gathereth againe into one bottome, and goeth six miles further to Woodmill, taking the Otter broke withall on the east side, and so into the salt creke that leadeth downe to the hauen. Otter.

On the other side of Southhampton, there resorteth into this hauen also both the Test & the Stockbridge water in one bottome, whereof I find this large description insuing. The verie head of the Stockewater, is supposed to be somewhere about Basing stoke, or church Hockleie, and going from thence betweene Duerton and Steuenton, it commeth at last by Lauerstocke & Whitchurch, and some after receiuing a broke by northwest, called the Bourne (descending from S. Marie Bourne, southeast from Horseburne) it procedeth by Long paroch and the wood, till it meet with the Cranburne, on the east side (a pretie riuelet rising about Michelneie, and going by Fullington, Barton, and to Cramburne) thence to Horwell in one bottome, beneath which it meeteth with the Andeuer water, that is increased yer it come there by an other broke, whose name I do not know. This Andeuer streame riseth in Culhamshire forrest, not far by north from Andeuer towne, and going to vpper Clatford, yer it touch there it receiueth the rill of which I spake before, which rising also neer vnto Anport, goeth to Wonketon, to Abbatesham, the Andeuer, and both (as I said) vnto the Test beneath Horwell, whereof I spake euen now. Stocke. Bourne.

These streames being thus brought into one bottome, it runneth toward the south vnder Stockbridge, and some after diuiding it selfe in twaine, one branch thereof goeth by Houghton, & a little beneath meeteth with a rill, that commeth from bywest of S. Ans hill, and goeth by east of vpper Wallop, west of nether Wallop, by Bucholt forrest, Broughton, and called (as I haue beene informed) the Gallop, but now it is named Wallop. The other arme runneth through the parke, by north west of kings Somburne, and vniting themselues againe, they go forth by Motteshunt, and then receiue the Test, a pretie water rising in Clarendun parke, that goeth by west Deane, and east Deane, so to Motteshunt, and finallie to the aforesaid water, which from thencefoorth is called the Test, euen vnto the sea. But to proceed. After this confluence, it taketh the gate to Kimbebridge, then to Rumseie, Longbridge, and beneath the same receiueth a concourse of two rilles whereof the one commeth from Sherefield, the other from the new Forrest, and ioining in Wadeleie parke, they beat vpon the Test, not verie farre from Purseling. From thence the Test goeth vnder a pretie bridge, before it come at Redbridge, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the hauen. Walopius. Test.

The next riuer that runneth into this port, springeth in the new Forrest, and commeth thereinto about Eling, not passing one mile by west of the fall of Test. From hence casting about againe into the maine sea, and leauing Calde shore castell on the right hand, we directed our course toward the southwest, vnto Beaulieu hauen, whereinto the Mineie descendeth. The Mineie riseth not far from Mineiestéed, a village in the north part of the new Forrest; and going by Beaulieu, it falleth into the sea southwest, Eling. Mineie,

west (as I take it) of Erburie, a village standing vpon the shore.

Limen. Being past the Mincie, we crossed the Limen as it is now called, whose head is in the verie hart of the new Forrest (sometime conuerted into a place of nourishment for deere by William Rufus, buteng his pleasure with the ruine of manie townes and villages, as diuerse haue inclosed or inlarged their parks by the spoile of better occupiengs) & running southwest of Lindhirst & the parke, it goeth by east of Brokenhirst, west of Bulder, & finallie into the sea south and by east of Lemington. I take this not to be the proper name of the water, but of the hauen, for Limen in Greeke is an hauen: so that Limendune is nothing else, but a downe or higher plot of ground lieng on the hauen: neuertheless, sith this denomination of the riuer hath now hir free passage, I think it not conuenient to seeke out any other name that should be giuen vnto it. The next fall that we passed by is nameless, except it be called Bure, & as it descendeth from new Forrest, so the next vnto it bight Wile, as I haue heard in English. Certes the head thereof is also in the southwest part of the said Forrest, & the fall not far from Milford bridge, beyond the which I find a narrow going or strictland leading fro the point to Hirst castell which standeth into the sea, as if it hong by a thred, from the maine of the Iland, readie to be washed awaie by the continuall working and dailie beating of the waues.

Bure.

Wilis.

The next riuer that we came vnto of anie name is the Auon, which (as Leland saith) riseth by northeast, and not far from Woolfehall in Wiltshire, supposed to be the same which Ptolomie called Halenus. The first notable bridge that it runneth vnto, is at Uphauen, thence foure miles further it goeth to little Ambresburie, and there is another bridge, from thence to Wodford village, standing at the right hand banke, and Newton village on the left. The bishops of Sarum had a proper manor place at Wodford, which bishop Sharton pulled downe altogither, because it was somewhat in ruine. Thence it goeth to Fisherton bridge, to Cranebridge, old Salisburie, new Salisburie, and finallie to Harnham, which is a statelie bridge of stone, of six arches at the least. There is at the west end of the said bridge, a little Iland, that lieth betwixt this and another bridge, of foure pretie arches, and vnder this later runneth a good round streame, which (as I take it) is a branch of Auon, that breaketh out a little aboue, & soone after it reuniteth it selfe againe: or else that Wilton water hath there his entrie into the Auon, which I cannot yet determine. From Harneham bridge it goeth to Dounton, that is about foure miles, and so much in like sort from thence to Fordingbridge, to Ringwood bridge fiue miles, to Christes church Twinham fiue miles, and streight into the sea; and hitherto Leland of this streame, which for the worthinesse thereof (in mine opinion) is not sufficientlie described. Wherefore I thinke good to deliuer a second receiued of another, which in more particular maner doth exhibit his course vnto vs.

Auon.

Certes this Auon is a goodlie riuer, rising (as I said before neere) vnto Woolfe hall; although he that will seeke more scrupulouslie for the head in deed, must looke for the same about the borders of the forrest of Sauernake (that is Soure oke) which lieth as if it were imbraced betweene the first armes thereof, as I haue beene informed. These heads also do make a confluence by east of Martinshall hill, and west of Wotton. From whence it goeth to Milton, Powsete, Manningfield abbeie, Manningfield crosse, and beneath Newington taketh in one rill west from Rodborow, and another a little lower that riseth also west of Alcanninges, and runneth into the same by Patneie, Perden, Wilford, Charleton, and Russisall. Being therefore past Newington, it goeth to Uphauen (whereof Leland speaketh) to Chesilburie, Compton, Ablington, little Almsburie, Darnford, Wodford, old Salisburie, and so to new Salisburie, where it receiueth one notable riuer from by northwest, & another from north east, which two I will first describe, leauing the Auon at Salisburie for a while.

The first of these is called the Wilugh, whereof the whole shire doth take hir name, and not of the great plentie of willowes growing therein, as some fantasticall heads do imagine: whereof also there is more plentie in that countrie than is to be found in other places. It riseth among the Deuerels, and running thence by hill Deuerell, & Deuerell long bridge, it goeth toward Bishops straw, taking in one rill by west & another from Upton by Werminster at northwest. From Bishops straw it goeth to Norton, Upton, Badhampton, Steplinford, and Stapleford, where it meeteth with the Winterburie water from by north, descending from Waddenton by Winterburne. From Stapleford it hasteth to Wilsford, Newton, Chilhampton, Wilton: and thither commeth a water vnto it from southwest, which riseth of two heads aboue Querdonet. After this it goeth by Woodcastell, to Tisburie, and there receiueth a water on ech side, whereof one commeth from Funthill, the other from two issues (of which one riseth at Austie, the other at Swalodise) and so keeping on still with his course, our Wilugh runneth nert of all by Sutton. Thence it goeth to Fouant, Boberstocke, Southburcombe, Wilton (where it taketh in the Fomington or Nader water) Westharnam, Salisburie, and Eastharnam: and this is the race of Wilugh. Wilugh.

Nader becke.

The other is a naked arme or streame without anie branches. It riseth aboue Colingburne Kingston in the hils, and thence it goeth to Colingburne, the Tidworths (whereof the more southerlie is in Wiltshire) Shipton, Cholterton, Newton, Toneie, Idmerson, Porton, the Winterburns, Lauerstocke, and so into Auon east of Salisburie. And thus is the confluence made of the aforesaid waters, with this our second Auon, whereinto another water falleth (called Becquithes broke) a mile beneath Harneham bridge, whose head is fiue miles from Sarum, and three miles aboue Becquithes bridge, as Leland doth remember, who noteth the Chalkeburne water to haue his due recourse also at this place into the aforesaid riuer. Certes it is a pretie broke, and riseth sir miles from Shaftesburie, and in the waie toward Salisburie in a bottome on the right hand, whence it commeth by Knighton and Fennistratford, to Honington, that is about twelue miles from the head, and about two miles and an halfe from Honington beneath Odstocke, goeth into the Auon, a mile lower than Harnham bridge, except he forget himselfe. This Harnham, whereof I now intreat, was sometime a pretie village before the erection of new Salisburie, and had a church of S. Martine belonging vnto it, but now in stead of this church, there is onelie a barne standing in a verie low mead on the northside of S. Michaels hospitall. The cause of the relinquishing of it was the moistnesse of the soile, verie oft ouerflowne. And whereas the kings high waie laie sometime through Wilton, licence was obteined of the king and Richard bishop of Salisburie, to remoue that passage vnto new Salisburie in like maner, and vpon this occasion was the maine bridge made ouer Auon at Harneham. By this exchange of the waie also old Salisburie fell into vtter decaie, & Wilton which was before the head towne of the shire, and furnished with twelue parish churches, grew to be but a poore village, and of small reputation. Howbeit, this was not the onelie cause of the

Wecquith broke.

Chalkeburne.

Three townes decaied by changing one waie.

the ruins of old Salisburie, sith I read of two other, whereof the first was a salue vnto the latter, as I take it. For whereas it was giuen out, that the townesmen wanted water in old Salisburie, it is flat otherwise; sith that hill is verie plentifullie serued with springs and wels of verie sweet water. The truth of the matter therefore is this.

In the time of ciuill warres, the souldiors of the castell and chanons of old Sarum fell at ods, insomuch that after often bralles, they fell at last to sad blowes. It happened therefore in a rogation weeke that the cleargie going in solemne procession, a controuersie fell betweene them about certeine walkes and limits, which the one side claimed and the other denied. Such also was the hot intertainment on each part, that at the last the Castellanes espieng their time, gate betweene the cleargie and the towne, and so coled them as they returned homeward, that they feared anie more to garg about their bounds for the yeare. Hereupon the people missing their bellie cheare (for they were wont to haue banketing at euerie station, a thing commonlie practised by the religious in old time, wherewith to linke in the commons vnto them, whom anie man may lead whither he will by the bellie, or as Latimer said, with beefe, bread and beere) they conceiued forthwith a deadlie hatred against the Castellans. But not being able to cope with them by force of armes, they consulted with Richard Poore their bishop, and he with them so effectuallie, that it was not long yer they, I meane the chanons, began a new church vpon a peece of their owne ground called Mirifield, pretending to serue God there in better safetie, and with far more quietnesse than they could do before. This church was begun 1219, the nine and twentith of Aprill, and finished with the expenses of 42000 marks, in the yeare 1260, and fiue & twentith of March, whereby it appeareth that it was aboue fortie yéers in hand, although the clearks were translated to the new towne 1220, or the third yeare after the fraie. The people also seeing the diligence of the chanons, and reputing their harmes for their owne inconuenience, were as earnest on the other side to be neere vnto these prelats, and therefore euerie man brought his house vnto that place, & thus became old Sarum in few yeeres vtterlie desolate, and new Salisburie raised vp in stéd thereof, to the great decaie also of Harnham and Wilton, whereof I spake of late. Neuertheless it should séeme to me that this new citie is not altogither void of some great hinderances now and then by water: for in the second of Edward the second (who held a parlement there) there was a sudden thaw after a great frost, which caused the waters so fast to arise, that euen at high masse time the water came into the minster, and not onelie ouerflowed the nether part of the same, but came vp all to the kings pauase where he sate, whereby he became wetshod, and in the end inforced to leaue the church, as the executour did his masse, least they should all haue béene drowned: and this rage indured there for the space of two daies, whereupon no seruice could be said in the said minster.

In holie conflict.

New Salisburie begun.

Now to returne againe from whence I thus digressed. Our Auon therefore departing from Salisburie, goeth by Burtford, Longford, and taking in the waters afore mentioned by the waie, it goeth by Stanleie, Dunketon, Crailford, Burgate, Fording bridge, Ringwood, Auon, Christes church; and finallie into the sea. But yer it come all there & a litle beneth Christes church, it crosseth the Stoure or Sture, a verie faire streame, whose course is such as may not be left vntouched. It riseth of six heads, whereof three lie on the north side of the parke at Sturton within the pale, the other rise without the parke; & of this riuer the towne and baronie of Sturton doth take his name as I gesse, for except my memorie do too much faile me, the lord Sturton giueth the six heads of the said water in his armes. But to proceed. After these branches are conioined in one bottome, it goeth to long Laine mill, Stilton, Milton, and beneath Gillingham receiueth a water that descendeth from Mere. Thence the Sture goeth to Bugleie, Stoure, Westouer bridge, Stoure prouost, and yer long it taketh in the Cale water, from Pen that commeth downe by Wickhampton to Moreland, & so to Stapleford, feuen miles from Wickhampton, passing in the said voiage, by Wine Caunton, and the fiue bridges. After this confluence, it runneth to Hinton Parles, and sone after crosseth the Lidden and Deuilis waters all in one chanell, whereof the first riseth in Blackemore vale, and goeth to the bishops Caundell: the second in the hils south of Pulham, and so runneth to Lidlinch; the third water issueth néere Ibberton, and going by Fifehed to Lidlington, and there méeting with the Lidden, they receiue the Blackewater aboue Bagburne, and so go into the Stoure.

Sturns.

Cale.

Lidden.

Deuilis.

Iber.

Blackewater.

After this the Stoure runneth on to Stoureton minster, Fitleford, Yammond, and sone after taking in one water that commeth from Hargraue by west Orchard, and a second from Funtmill, it goeth on to Chele, Ankeford, Yandford, Durweston, Knighton, Brainston, Blandford, Charleton: and crossing yer long a rill that riseth about Tarrent, and goeth to Launston, Munketon, Caunston, Tarrant, it proceedeth forth by Shepwtie, and by and by receiuing another broke on the right hand, that riseth about Strickland, and goeth by Quarleston, Whitchurch, Anderston, and Winterburne, it hasteth forward to Stoureminster, Berford lake, Alen bridge, Winburne, *alias* Twinburne minster, whither commeth a water called Alen (from Knolton, Wilkehampton, Essambridge, Hinton, Barnsleie) which hath two heads, whereof one riseth short of Woodcotes, and east of Farneham, named Terig, the other at Munketon aboue S. Giles Winburne, and going thence to S. Giles Ashleie, it taketh in the Horton becke, as the Horton doth the Cranburne. Finallie, méeting with the Terig aboue Knolton, they run on vnder the name of Alen to the Stoure, which goeth to the Canfords, Preston, Kingston, Perleie, and Yolnest: but yer it come at Yolnest it taketh in two brookes in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Woodland parke by Holt parke, and Holt, another from aboue vpper Winburne, by Edmondesham, Uertwod, and Pannington, and ioining about S. Leonards, they go to Hornebridge, and so into Stoure. After which confluence, the said Stoure runneth by Iuor bridge, and so into Auon, leauing Christs church aboue the méeting of the said waters (as I haue said before.)

This Stoure aboundeth with pike, perch, roch, dace, gudgeon and eels.

Hauing in this maner passed Christes church head we come to the fall of the Burne, which is a little broke running from Stourefield heath, without branches; from whence we proceeded: & the next fall that we come vnto is Poole, from whose mouth vpon the shore, by southwest in a baie of three miles off, is a poore fisher towne called Sandwich, where we saw a péere and a little fresh broke. The verie vtter part of saint Adelmes point, is fiue miles from Sandwich. In another baie lieth west Lillewoorth, where (as I heare) is some profitable harborough for ships. The towne of Poole is from Winburne about foure miles, and it standeth almost as an Ile in the hauen. The hauen it selfe also, if a man should measure it by the circuit, wanteth little of twentie miles, as I did gesse by the view.

Burne.

Poole.

Going therefore into the same, betweene the north

and

and the south points, to sée what waters were there, we left Brunkesele Iland, and the castell on the left hand within the said points; and passing about by Pole, and leauing that créeke, bicause it hath no fresh, we came by Holton and Keswoorth, where we beheld two falles, of which one was called the north, the other the south waters. The north streame hight Piddle as I heare. It riseth about Alton, and goeth from thence to Piddle trench head, Piddle hinton, Walterslow, and yer it come at Birsam, receiueth Deuils brooke that commeth thither from Brugham and Melcombe by Deuilish towne. Thence it goeth to Tow piddle, Ashe piddle, Turners piddle (taking in yer it come there, a water that runneth from Yelton by Middleton, Milburne & Biere) then to Hide, and so into Pole hauen, and of this water Marianus Scotus speaketh, except I be deceiued. The south water is properlie called Frome for Frame. It riseth néere vnto Euershot, and going downe by Fromequitaine, Chelmington, and Catstocke, it receiueth there a rill from beside Rowsham, and Wrarehall. After this it goeth on to Chilfrome, and thence to Maden Newton, where it méeteth with the Dwke, that riseth either two miles aboue Yoke parke at Benford, or in the great pond within Yoke parke, and going by the Tollards, falleth into the Frome about Maden Newton, & so go as one from thence to Fromevauchirch, Crokewaie, Frampton, and Muckilford, and receiueth néere vnto the same a rill from aboue Upsidling by S. Nicholas Sidling, and Grimston. From hence it goeth on by Stratton and Bradford Peuerell, and beneath this Bradford, it crosseth the Silleie *alias* Winterne and Cherne brooks both in one chanell: whereof the first riseth in vpper Cherne parish, the other at Winterne, and méeting aboue middle Cherne, they go by nether Cherne, Forston, Godmanston, and aboue Charneminster into Frome. In the meane time also our Frome brancheth and leaueth an Iland aboue Charneminster, and ioining againe néere Dorchester, it goeth by Dorchester, and Forthington; but yer it come at Beckington, it méeteth with another Becke that runneth thereinto from Winterburne, Stapleton, Martinstow, Yeringstow, Caine and Stafford, and from thence goeth without anie further increase as yet to Beckington, Knighton, Tinkleton, Morton, Woll, Bindon, Stoke, & beneath Stoke receiueth the issue of the Luckeford lake, from whence also it passeth by Eastholme, Warham, and so into the Baie. From this fall we went about the arme point by Slepe, where we saw a litle créeke, then by Owre, where we beheld an other, & then comming againe toward the entrance by saint Helens, and Furleie castell, we went abroad into the maine, and found our selues at libertie.

When we were past Pole hauen, we left the Handfast point, the Peuerell point, S. Adelmes chappell, and came at last to Lughport hauen, whereby and also the Luckeford lake, all this portion of ground last remembred, is left in maner of a byland or peninsula, and called the Ile of Burbecke, wherein is good store of alum and hard stone. In like sort going still westerlie, we came to Sutton points, where is a créeke. Then vnto Wlaie or Wilemouth, by kings Welcombe, which is twentie miles from Pole, and whose head is not full foure miles aboue the hauen by northwest at Uphill in the side of a great hill. Hereinto when we were entred, we saw three falles, whereof the first and greatest commeth from Upweie by Bradweie, and Radipole, receiuing afterward the second that ran from east Chekerell, and likewise the third that maketh the ground betweéne Weimouth and Smalmouth passage almost an Iland. There is a little barre of sand at the hauen mouth, and a great arme of the sea runneth vp by the right hand; and scant a mile aboue the hauen mouth on the shore, is a right goodlie and warlike castell made, which hath one open barbicane. This arme runneth vp also further by a mile as in a baie, to a point of land where a passage is into Portland, by a little course of pibble sand. It goeth vp also from the said passage vnto Abbatsburie about seauen miles off, where a litle fresh rondell resorteth to the sea. And somewhat aboue this, is the head or point of the Chesill lieng northwest, which stretcheth vp from thence about seauen miles, as a maine narrow banke, by a right line vnto the southeast, and there abutteth vpon Portland scant a quarter of a mile aboue the Newcastle there. The nature of this banke is such, that so often as the wind bloweth vehementlie at southeast, so often the sea beateth in, and losing the banke soketh through it: so that if this wind should blow from that corner anie long time togither, Portland should be left an Iland as it hath béene before. But as the southwest wind doth appaire this banke, so a northwest doth barre it vp againe. It is pretie to note of the Townelet of Wlaimouth, which lieth streight against Milton on the other side, and of this place where the water of the hauen is but of small breadth, that a rope is commonlie tied from one side of the shore to another, whereby the ferrie men do guide their botes without anie helpe of Oares. But to proceed with our purpose. Into the mouth of this riuer do ships often come for succour.

Piddle.
Deuils.
Frome.
Ocus.
Silleie.
Winterne.
Cherne.
Luckford.
Sée moze for wilie brooke that goeth by westburie to Pole hauen.
Chesill.

Going by Portland and the point thereof called the Rase, we sailed along by the Shingle, till we came by saint Katharins chappell, where we saw the fall of a water that came downe from Blackdéene Beaconward, by Portham and Abbatsburie. Thence we went to another that fell into the sea, néere Birton, and descended from Litton by Chilcombe, then vnto the Bride or Brute port, a pretie hauen, and the riuer it selfe serued with sundrie waters. It riseth halfe a mile or more aboue Bemister, and so goeth from Bemister to Netherburie by Parneham, then to Melplash, and so to Briteport, where it taketh in two waters from by east in one chanell, of which one riseth east of Nettlecourt, and goeth by Porestoke and Milton, the other at Askerwell, and runneth by Longlether. From hence also our Bride going toward the sea, taketh the Simen on the west that commeth by Simensburge into the same, the whole streame some after falling into the sea, and leauing a pretie hauenet.

Bride.
Nature hath set the mouth of this riuer in maner betwixt two hils, so that a little cost would make an haue there.
Simen.

The nert port is the Chare, serued with two rills in one confluence, beneath Charemouth. The chefe head of this riuer is (as Leland saith) in Marshwood parke, and commeth downe by Whitechurch: the other runneth by west of Wotton, and méeting beneath Charemouth towne (as I said) doth fall into the sea. Then came we to the Cobbe, and beheld the Lime water, which the townesmen call the Buddle, which commeth about three miles by north of Lime, from the hils, fleting vpon Rockie soile, and so falleth into the sea. Certes, there is no hauen here that I could sée, but a quarter of a mile by west southwest of the towne, is a great and costlie iuttie in the sea for succour of ships. The towne is distant from Colton, about fiue miles. And here we ended our voiage from the Auon, which conteineth the whole coast of Dorcester, or Dorcetshire, so that nert we must enter into Summersetcountie, and sée what waters are there.

Chare.
Buddle.

The first water that we méet withall in Summersetshire is the Are, which riseth in a place called Are knoll, longing to sir Giles Strangwaie, néere vnto Cheddington in Dorsetshire, from whence it runneth to Mosterne, Feborow, Clarton, Welford

Are.

bridge,

bridge, Wilsham ford, and receiuing one rill from the east by Hawkechurch, and sone after another comming from northwest by Churchstoke, from Wainbroke, it goeth to Areminster, beneath which it crosseth the Pare, that commeth from about Buckland, by Whitstaunton, Parecombe, Long bridge, Stockeland, Kilmington bridge (where it receiueth a broke from by south, that runneth by Dalwood) and so into the Are. From hence our Are goeth to Drake, Musburie, Cullisord: but yer it come altogither at Cullisord, it méeteth with a water that riseth aboue Cotleie, and goeth from thence by Widworthie, Culliton, and there receiuing a rill also, procéedeth on after the confluence aboue Cullisord bridge, into the Are, and from thence hold on togither into the maine sea, whereinto they fall vnder the roots of the winter cliffes, the points of them being almost a mile in sunder. The most westerlie of them called Berelwood, lieth within halfe a mile of Seton.

Pare alias Arte.

But the other toward the east is named Whitecliffe, of which I saie no more, but that in the time of Athelstane, the greatest nauie that euer aduentured into this Iland, arriued at Seton in Deuonshire, being replenished with aliens that sought the conquest of this Iland, but Athelstane met and incountered with them in the field, where he ouerthrew six thousand of his aforesaid enimies. Not one of them also that remained aliue, escaped from the battell without some deadlie or verie grieuous wound. In this conflict moreouer were slaine fiue kings, which were interred in the churchyard of Are minster, and of the part of the king of England were killed eight earles of the chéefe of his nobilitie, and they also buried in the churchyard aforesaid. Hérvnto it addeth how the bishop of Shireburne was in like sort slaine in this battell, that began at Brunedune nere to Coliton, and indured euen to Are minster, which then was called Brunberte or Brunburg. The same daie that this thing happened the sunne lost his light, and so continued without anie brightnesse, vntill the setting of that planet, though otherwise the season was cléere and nothing cloudie.

As for the hauen which in times past as I haue heard, hath béene at Sidmouth (so called of Sidde a rillet that runneth thereto) and likewise at Seton, I passe it ouer, sith now there is none at all. Yet hath there béene sometime a notable one, albeit, that at this present betweene the two points of the old hauen, there lieth a mightie bar of pibble stones, in the verie mouth of it, and the riuer Are is driuen to the verie east point of the hauen called White cliffe. Thereat also a verie little gull goeth into the sea, whither small fisherbotes do oft resort for succour. The men of Seton began of late to stake and make a maine wall within the hauen to haue changed the course of the Are, and (almost in the middle of the old hauen) to haue trenched through the Chesill, thereby to haue let out the Are, & to haue taken in the maine sea, but I heare of none effect that this attempt did come vnto. From Seton westward lieth Coliton, about two miles by west northwest, whereof riseth the riuer Colie, which going by the aforesaid towne, passeth by Colecombe parke, and afterward falleth betweene Are bridge and Are mouth towne into the Are riuer.

Sidde. Seton. Colie.

By west of Bereworth point lieth a créeke, serued (so farre as I remember) with a fresh water that commeth from the hilles south of Southleie or Brancombe. Sidmouth hauen is the next, and thither commeth a fresh water by S. Paries from the said hils, that goeth from S. Paries aforesaid to Sidburie, & betweene Saltcombe & Sidmouth into the maine sea. By west of Anterton point also lieth another hauen, and thither commeth a prettie riueret, whose head is in the Hackpendon hilles, and commeth downe first by Upauter, then by a parke side to Pohuns Auter, Punketon, Yonniton, Buckewell, and north of Autrie receiueth a rill called Tale, that riseth northwest of Brodemburie in a wood, and from whence it commeth by Pehemburie, Umniton, and making a confluence with the other, they go as one betwéene Cadde and Autrie, to Yerford, Luton, Collaton, Auterton, Budeleie, and so into the sea.

Sid. Autrie alias Otterie.

On the west side of this hauen is Budeleie almost directly against Otterton. It is easie to be séene also, that within lesse space than one hundred yeers, ships did vse this hauen, but now it is barred vp. Some call it Budeleie hauen of Budeleie towne, others Salterne port, of a little créeke commig out of the maine hauen vnto Salterne village, that hath in time past béene a towne of great estimation.

Tale.

The Exe riseth in Exemore in Summersetshire, nére vnto Exe crosse, and goeth from thence vnto Exeford, Winsford, and Exton, where it receiueth a water comming from Cutcombe, by north. After this confluence it goeth on toward the south, till it méet with a prétie broke rising northeast of Whettell (going by Brunton Regis) increased at the least with three rilles which come all from by north. These being once met, this water runneth on by west of the beacon that beareth the name of Haddon, & sone after taketh in the Barleie, that receiueth in like sort the Done at Hawkbridge, and from hence goeth by Dauerton, and Combe, and then doth méet with the Exe, almost in the verie confines betwéene Dorset & Summerset shires. Being past this coniunction, our Exe palleth betwéene Bushford and Burbath, and then to Exe bridge, where it taketh in (as I heare) a water by west from east Austie: and after this likewise another on ech side, whereof one commeth from Dirford, and Baunton, the other called Woodburne, somewhat by east of Okeford. From these mætings it goeth to Caue and through the forrest and woods to Hatherland and Washfields, vntill it come to Tiuerton, and here it receiueth the Lomund water that riseth aboue Ashbrittle, & commeth downe by Hockworthie, vpper Loman, and so to Tiuerton that standeth almost euen in the verie confluence. Some call this Lomund the Simming broke or Sunnings bath. After this our Exe goeth to Bickleie, Theuerten (taking in a rill by west) nether Exe, Bramford, beneath which it ioineth with the Columbe that riseth of one head northeast of Clarie Haidon, and of another south of Shildon, and méeting beneath Columbe stocke, goeth by Columbe and Bradfeld, and there crossing a rill that commeth by Ashford, it runneth south to Wood, Poze haies, Columbton, Brandnicke, Beare, Columbe John, Horham, and ioining (as I said) with the Exe at Bramford, passing vnder but one bridge, yer it meet with another water by west, growing of the Forten and Cride waters (except it be so that I do iudge amisse.) The Cride riseth aboue Wolleswothie, and néere vnto Upton: after it is past Dewrish, crosseth a rill from betweene Puggill and Stockelele by Stocke English, &c. From hence it goeth to Fulford, where it méeteth with the Forten, wherof one branch commeth by Caldbroke, the other from S. Marie Tedburne, and ioining aboue Crediton, the chanell goeth on to the Cride, (which yer long also receiueth another from by north, comming by Stockelele and Combe) then betwéene Haine and Newton Sires, to Pines, and so into the Exe, which staieth not vntill it come to Exceter. From Exceter (whither the burgesses in time past laboured to bring the same, but in vaine) it runneth to Were, there taking in a rill from by west, and another lower by Erminster, next of all vnto Toppesham; beneath which towne the Cliue entreth thereinto,

Exe. Barleie. Done alias Done stroke. Woodburne. Lomund or Simming. Columbe. Cride. Forten. Cliuus.

into, which riſing about Plumtree, goeth by Cliſt Haidon, Cliſt Laurence, Brode Cliſt, Honiton, Souton, Biſhops Cliſt, S. Marie Cliſt, Cliſt ſaint George, and then into the Ere, that runneth forward by Notwell court, Limſton and Ponderham caſtell.

Ken. Here (as I heare) it taketh in the Ken, or Kenton broke (as Leland calleth it) comming from Holcombe parke, by Dunſdike, Shillingford, Kenford, Ken, Kenton, and ſo into Ere hauen, at whoſe mouth lie certeine rocks which they call the Checkſtones, except I be deceiued. The nert fall, whereof Leland ſaith nothing at all, commeth by Aſhcombe and Duliſh, and hath his head in the hilles thereby.

Teigne. The Teigne mouth is the nert fall that we came to, & it is a godlie port foure miles from Eremouth. The head of this water is twentie miles from the ſea at Teigne head in Dartmore among the Gidleie hilles. From whence it goeth to Gidleie towne, Teignton drue, where it receiueth the Crokerne comming from by north, and likewiſe another weſt of Fulford parke. Then it goeth to Dufford, Bridford, Kirſlowe, Chidleie, Knighton, and beneath the bridge there receiueth the Bonie, whoſe courſe is to north Bonie, Lilleie, and Bouttracie. Thence it runneth to kings Teignton, taking in Eidis, a broke beneath Preſton that commeth from Edeford by the waie. And when it is paſt this confluence, at kings Teignton, it croſſeth the Leman, which commeth from Saddleton rocke by Beckington, and Newton Buſhels: and ſoone after the Aller that riſeth betweene Danburie and Warog well, afterward falling into the ſea by Biſhops Teignton, ſouth of Teignmouth towne.

Crokerne. Bonie. Eidis. Leman. Aller.

The verie vtter weſt point of the land, at the mouth of Teigne is called the Neſſe, and is a verie high red cliffe. The eaſt part of the hauen is named the Poles, a low ſandie ground, either caſt vp by the ſpuing of the ſand out of the Teigne, or elſe throwne vp from the ſhore by the rage of wind and water. This ſand occupieth now a great quantitie of the ground betweene the hauen where the ſand riſeth, and Teignmouth towne, which towne (ſurnamed Regis) hath in time paſt bèn ſore defaced by the Danes, and of late time by the French.

From Teignemouth we came to Tor baie, whereof the weſt point is called Birie, and the eaſt Perritorie, betweene which is little aboue foure miles. From Tor baie alſo to Dartmouth is ſir miles, where (ſaith Leland) I marked diuerſe things. Firſt of all vpon the eaſt ſide of the hauen a great hillie point called Downeſend, and betwixt Downeſend, and a pointlet named Wereford is a little baie. Were it ſelfe, in like ſort, is not full a mile from Downeſend vpward into the hauen. Kingſwere towne ſtandeth out as another pointlet, and betwixt it & Wereford is the ſecond baie. Somewhat moreouer aboue Kingſwere towne goeth a little creke vp into the land from the maine ſtreame of the hauen called Waterhead, and this is a verie fit place for veſſels to be made in. In like ſort halfe a mile beyond this into the landward goeth another longer creke, and aboue that alſo a greater than either of theſe called Gawnſton, whoſe head is here not halfe a mile from the maine ſea, by the compaſſing thereof, as it runneth in Tor baie.

Dart. The riuer of Dart or Darent (for I read Derenta muth for Dartmouth) commeth out of Dartmore fifteene miles aboue Totneſſe, in a verie large plot, and ſuch another wild moriſh & forreſtie ground as Ermore is. Of it ſelfe moreouer this water is verie ſwift, and thorough occaſion of tin-workes whereby it paſſeth, it carrieth much ſand to Totneſſe bridge, and ſo choketh the depth of the riuer downeward, that the hauen it ſelfe is almoſt ſpoiled by the ſame. The mariners of Dartmouth accompt this to be about a kenning from Plimmouth. The Darent therefore proceeding from the place of his vprising, goeth on to Buckland, from whence it goeth to Buckland hole; and ſoone after taking in the Aſhburne water on the one ſide that runneth from Saddleton rocke by north, and the Buckfaſtlich that commeth from north weſt, it runneth to Staunton, Darington, Hemſton, and there alſo croſſing a rill on ech ſide paſſeth forth to Totneſſe, Bowden, and aboue Gabriell Stoke meeteth with the Hartburne that runneth vnder Roſt bridge, two miles aboue Totnes, or (as another ſaith) by Ratter, Harberton, Painesford, and Aſprempton into Darent, which yer long alſo commeth to Cornewoorthie, Grenewaie, Ditſham, Darntmouth towne (whervnto king John gaue ſometimes a maior, as he did vnto Totneſſe) from thence betweene the caſtelles, and finallie into ſea.

Aſhburne. Buckeaſtlich. Hartburne.

From hence we went by Stokeflemming to another water, which commeth from blacke Auton, then to the ſecond that falleth in eaſt of Slapton, and ſo coaſting out of this baie by the Start point, we ſaile almoſt directlie weſt, till we come to Saltcombe hauen. Certes this port hath verie little freſh water comming to it, and therefore no meruell though it be barred; yet the head of it (ſuch as it is) riſeth neere Buckland, and goeth to Dodbroke, which ſtandeth betweene two creekes. Thence it bieth to Charleton, where it taketh in a rill, whoſe head commeth from ſouth and north of Shereford. Finallie, it hath another creke that runneth vp by Ilton: and the laſt of all that falleth in north of Portlemouth, whoſe head is ſo neere the baie laſt afore remembred, that it maketh it a ſorie peninſula (as I haue heard it ſaid.)

Then come we to the Awne, whoſe head is in the hils farre aboue Brent towne, from whence it goeth to Dirford wood, Loddewell, Hache, Aunton, Thorleſton, and ſo into the ſea ouer againſt a rocke called S. Michaels burrow. Arme riſeth aboue Harford, thence to Stoford, Iuie bridge, Armington bridge, Fleet, Orchardton, Owne well, and ſo vnto the ſea, which is full of flats and rocks, ſo that no ſhip commeth thither in anie tempeſt, except it be forced thereto, through the vttermoſt extremitie and deſperat hazard of the fearefull mariners. King Philip of Caſtile loſt two ſhips here in the daies of king Henrie the ſeuenth, when he was driuen to land in the weſt countrie by the rage of weather. Palme goeth by Cornewood, Slade, Stratleie, Palmeton, Collaton, Newton ferrie, and ſo into the ſea, about foure miles by ſouth eaſt from the maine ſtreame of Plimmouth. Being paſt theſe portlets, then nert of all we come to Plimmouth hauen, a verie buſie peece to deſcribe, becauſe of the numbers of waters that reſort vnto it, & ſmall helpe that I haue for the knowledge of their courſes; yet will I do what I may in this, as in the reſt, and ſo much I hope by Gods grace to performe, as ſhall ſuffice my purpoſe in this behalfe.

Awne. Arme. See Hen. 7. pag. 792, 793, 794. Palme. Plim.

The Plimme or Plim, is the verie ſame water that giueth name to Plimpton towne. The mouth of this gulfe, wherein the ſhips do ride, is walled on ech ſide and chained ouer in time of neceſſitie, and on the ſouth ſide of the hauen is a blocke houſe vpon a rockie hill: but as touching the riuer it ſelfe, it riſeth in the hils weſt of Cornewood, and commeth downe a ſhort courſe of three miles to Newenham after it be iſſued out of the ground. From Newenham alſo it runneth to Plimpton, and ſoone after into the Stoure, which Stoure ariſeth northweſt of Shepſtour, & goeth frō thence to Bemchurch, Yele, Shane, Bickleie, and ſo to Eford, where taking in the Plim, it runneth downe as one vnder the name of Plim, vntill

Plim. Stoure alias Catwater.

vntill it go past Plimmouth, and fall into the hauen south east of Plimmouth aforesaid. I haue oftentimes trauelled to find out the cause whie so manie riuers in England are called by this name Stoure, and at the first supposing that it was growne by the corruption of Dour, the Brittish word for a streame, I rested therupon as resolued for a season: but afterward finding the word to be meere Saxon, and that Stouremare is a prouince subiect to the duke of Saxonie, I yelded to another opinion: whereby I conceiue that the said name was first deriued from the Saxons. But to returne to our purpose.

Plimmouth it selfe standeth betweene two creeks, not serued with anie backewater, therefore passing ouer these two, we enter into the Thamar that dischargeth it selfe into, the aforsaid hauen. Going therfore vp that streame which for the most part parteth Deuonshire from Cornewall, the first riuret that I met withall on the east side is called Taxie, the head whereof is among the mounteins foure miles aboue Peters Taxie, beneath which it meeteth with another water from by west, so that these two waters include Marie Taxie betweene them, though nothing neere the confluence. From hence the Taxe or Taxie runneth to Taxistocke, aboue which it taketh in a rill from by west, and another aboue north Buckland, whose head is in Dartmore, and commeth thereunto by Sandford and Yarrow bridge. From hence it goeth into Thamar, by north Buckland, monks Buckland, Beare, and Tamerton folie. Hauing thus dispatched the Taxis, the next that falleth in on the east side vpwards is the Lidde, which rising in the hils aboue Lidford, runneth downe by Curriton and Siddenham, and so to Lidstone, aboue which it receiueth the Trushell brooke, which rising north east of Bredicton, goeth by Trusholton to Ibaine, where it receiueth a rill that commeth by Bradwood from Germanswike, and after the confluence runneth to Liston, and from thence into the Thamar. The next aboue this is the Corewater, this ariseth somewhere about Elwell or Yelwell, and going by Virginston, runneth on by saint Giles without anie increase vntill it come to Thamar. Next of all it taketh in two brookes not much distant in sunder, whereof the one commeth in by Glanton, the other from Holsworthie, and both east of Tamerton, which standeth on the further banke, & other side of the Thamar, and west northwest of Tedcote, except the quarter deceiue me.

Taxe or Taxie.

Lidde.

Trushell.

Core.

Thamar.

Certes, the Thamar it selfe riseth in Summersetshire, about three miles northeast of Hartland, and in maner so crosseth ouer the whole west countrie betweene sea and sea, that it leaueth Cornewall, a byland or peninsula. Being therefore descended from the head, by a tract of six miles, it commeth to Denborow, Pancrase well, Bridge Reuell, Tamerton, Tetcote, Luffencote, Boiton, and Wirrington, where it meeteth with a water on the west side called Arteie, that riseth short of Jacobstow. Two miles in like sort frō this confluence, we met with the Kenseie, whose head is short of Warpeston by south east: from whence it goeth by Treneglos, Tremone, Tresmure, Trewen, Lanston, and so into the Thamar, that runneth from hence by Lowwhitton vnto Bradston, and going on toward Dunterton, taketh in a rill from south Pitherwic, and by Lesant; beneath Dunterton also it crosseth the Enian. This riuer riseth at Dauidston, and directeth his race by saint Clethir, Lancast, and Trelaske first; and then vnder sundrie bridges, vntill it meet with the Thamar. From hence also the Thamar goeth by Siddenham to Calstocke bridge, Calstocke towne, Clifton, Cargreue (there abouts taking in a creeke aboue Landilip) and running on from thence, hasteth toward Saltash, where it receiueth the Liuer water. The head of Liuer is about Brownwellie hill, from whence it goeth on to North hill, Lekenhorne, South hill, and taking in a rill by east (from aboue Kellington) it runneth on to Newton, Pillaton, Wotton, Blossleming, saint Erne, and beneath this village crosseth a rillet that runneth thither from Bicton by Nuthiocke, saint Germans, and Sheuiocke. But to proceed. After the confluence, it goeth betweene Erlie and Fro Martine castell, and sone after taking in a rill from by north, that passeth west of saint Steuens, it is not long yer it fall into the Thamar, which after this (receiuing the Milbroke creeke) goeth on by Edgecombe, and betweene saint Michaels Ile and Ridden point into the maine sea. And thus haue I finished the description of Plimmouth water, and all such falles as are betweene Newsson rocke on the east side, and the Ram head on the other.

Liuer.

After this we proceeded on with our iournie toward the west, and passing by Longstone, we came sone after to Sothan baie, where we crossed the Seton water, whose head is about Liscard, & his course by Pinheniet, Chasrench, Tregowike, Sutton, and so into the sea. Then came we to Low, and going in betweene it and Mount Ile, we find that it had a branched course, and thereto the confluence aboue Low. The chiefe head riseth in the hils, as it were two miles aboue Gaine, and going by that towne, it ceaseth not to continue his course east of Dulo, till it come a little aboue Low, where it crosseth and ioineth with the Brodoke water that runneth from Brodokes by Trewargo, and so into the sea. Next vnto these are two other rils, of which one is called Polpir, before we come at Foy, or Fawy.

Sutton.

Low.

Polpir.

Foy or Fawy riuer riseth in Fawy more, on the side of an hill in Fawy more, from whence it runneth by certeine bridges, till it meet with the Glin water west of Glin towne, which rising aboue Temple, & meeting with a rill that commeth in from S. Neotes, doth fall into Fawy a mile and more aboue Respin from by east. After this confluence then, it goeth to Respin bridge, Lesermen castell, Lostwithiell bridge, Pill, saint Kingtons, saint Winnow, and Golant, and here also receiueth the Lerine water out of a parke, that taketh his waie into the maine streame by Biconke, Tethe, and the Fining house. Being thus vnited, it procedeth vnto Fawy towne, taking in a rill or creeke from aboue it on the one side, and another beneath it south of Halling on the other: of which two this latter is the longest of course, sith it runneth three good miles before it come at the Foy. Leland writing of this riuer addeth verie largelie vnto it after this maner. The Fawy riseth in Fawy more (about two miles from Camilford by south, and sirteene miles from Fawy towne) in a verie quaue mire on the side of an hill. From hence it goeth to Drainesbridge, to Clobham bridge, Lergen bridge, New bridge, Respin bridge, and Lostwithiell bridge, where it meeteth with a little brooke, and neere thereunto parteth it selfe in twaine. Of these two armes therefore one goeth to a bridge of stone, the other to another of timber, and sone after ioining againe, the maine riuer goeth to saint Gwinnowes, from thence also to the point of saint Gwinnowes wood, which is about halfe a mile from thence, except my memorie doth faile me. Here goeth in a salt creeke halfe a mile on the east side of the hauen, and at the head of it is a bridge called Lerine bridge; the creeke it selfe in like maner bearing the same denomination.

Glin.

Lerinus.

Faw.

From Lerine creeke, to S. Caracs pill or creeke, is about halfe a mile, and Lower on the east side of the said hauen: it goeth vp also not aboue a mile and an

In the middle of this creeke was a cell of S. Cl-

ret in an Iſlet longing ſometime to Mountegew a pꝛioꝛie.

an halfe into the land. From Caracs créeke to Poulmoꝛland a mile, and this likewiſe goeth vp ſcant a quarter of a mile into the land, yet at the head it parteth it ſelfe in twaine. From Poulmoꝛland weto Bodnecke village halfe a mile, where the paſſage and repaſſage is commonlie to Fawy. From Bodnecke to Pelene point (where a créeke goeth vp not fullie a thouſand paces into the land) a mile, thence to Poulruan a quarter of a mile, and at this Poulruan is a towꝛer of foꝛce, marching againſt the towꝛer on Fawy ſide, betweéne which (as I doo heare) a chaine hath ſometime beene ſtretched, and likelie inough; foꝛ the hauen there is hardly two bow ſhot ouer. The veꝛie point of land at the eaſt ſide of the mouth of this hauen, is called Pontus croſſe, but now Panuche croſſe. It ſhall not be amiſſe in this place ſomewhat to intreat of the towne of Fawy, which is called in Coꝛniſh Comwhath, and being ſituat on the noꝛth ſide of the hauen, is ſet hanging on a maine rockie hill, being in length about one-quarter of a mile, except my memoꝛie deceiue me.

Comwhath.

The renowme of Fawy roſe by the wars vnder king Edward the firſt, Edward the third, and Henꝛie the fift, partlie by feats of armes, and partlie by plaine piraſie. Finallie, the towneſmen feéling themſelues ſomwhat at eaſe and ſtrong in their purſes, they fell to merchandize, and ſo they pꝛoſpered in this their new deuiſe, that as they trauelled into all places, ſo merchants from all countries made reſoꝛt to them, whereby within a while they grew to be exceeding rich. The ſhips of Fawy ſailing on a time by Rhie and Winchelſeie in the time of king Edward the third, refuſed ſtoutlie to vale anie bonet there, although warning was giuen them ſo to doo by the poꝛtgreues oꝛ rulers of thoſe townes. Herevpon the Rhie and Winchelſeie men made out vpon them with cut and long taile: but ſo hardlie were they interteined by the Fawy pirates (I ſhould ſaie aduenturers) that they were dꝛiuen home againe with no ſmall loſſe and hinderance. Such fauour found the Fawy men alſo immediatlie vpon this bickering, that in token of their victoꝛie ouer their winching aduerſaries, and riding ripiers (as they called them in mockerie) they altered their armes and compounded foꝛ new, wherein the ſcutchion of Rhie and Winchelſeie is quartered with theirs, and beſide this the Foyens were called the gallants of Fawy oꝛ Foy, whereof they not a little reioiſed, and moꝛe peraduenture than foꝛ ſome greater bootie. And thus much of Fawy towne, wherein we ſée what great ſucceſſe often commeth of witleſſe and raſh aduentures. But to returne againe to our purpoſe from whence we haue digreſſed, and as hauing ſome deſire to finiſh vp this our voiage, we will leaue the Fawmouth & go foꝛward on our iournie.

Gallants of Foy oꝛ Fawy.

Being theꝛefoꝛe paſt this hauen, we come into Trewardith baie, which lieth into the land betweéne Cannaſſe and the Blacke head point, and hereabout Leland placeth *Vrctoum promontorium*. In this we ſaw the fall of two ſmall bꝛookes, not one verie far diſtant from another. The firſt of them entring weſt of Trewardith, the other eaſt of ſaint Blaies, and both directlie againſt Curwarder rocke, except I miſtake my compaſſe. Neither of them are of anie great courſe, and the longeſt not full thꝛée miles and an halfe. Wherfoꝛe ſith they are neither bꝛanched noꝛ of anie great quantitie, what ſhould I make long harueſt of a little coꝛne, and ſpend moꝛe time than may well be ſpared about them?

When we were paſt the Blacke head, we came to Auſtell bꝛooke, which is increaſed with a water that commeth from aboue Pewan, and within a mile after the confluence, they fall into the ſea at Pentoꝛen, from whence we went by the Blacke rocke, and about the Dudman point, till we came to Chare haies, where falleth in a pꝛetie water, whoſe head is two miles aboue ſaint Tues. Thence we went by here and there a méere ſalt créeke, till we paſſed the Graie rocke, in Gwindꝛaith baie, and S. Anthonies point, where Leland maketh his accompt to enter into Falamouth hauen. Chare.

Auſtell.

The Fala riſeth a little by noꝛth of Penuenton towne, and going weſtward till it come dowtwards toward ſaint Dioniſe, it goeth from thence to Melader, ſaint Steuens Grampont, Goldon, Crede, Coꝛnelete, Tregue, Moꝛan, Tregunnan, it falleth into the hauen with a good indifferent foꝛce: and this is the courſe of Fala. But leaſt I ſhould ſéeme to omit thoſe créekes that are betweéne this and S. Anthonies point, I will go a little backe againe, and fetch in ſo manie of them, as come now to my remembꝛance. Entring theꝛefoꝛe into the poꝛt, we haue a créeke that runneth vp by ſaint Anthonies toward ſaint Gereus, then another that goeth into the land by eaſt of ſaint Maries caſtell, with a foꝛked head, paſſing in the meane time by a great rocke that lieth in the verie midſt of the hauen, in maner of the third point of a triangle, betweéne ſaint Maries caſtell and Pendinant. Fala.

Thence we caſt about by the ſaid caſtell, and came by another créeke that falleth in by eaſt, then the ſecond aboue ſaint Juſtus, the third at Ardenoꝛa, the fourth at Kilan. And hauing as it were viſited all theſe in oꝛder, we come backe againe about by Tregonnian, and then going vpward betweene it and Taluerne, till we came to Fentangolan, we found the confluence of two great créekes beneath ſaint Clements, whereof one hath a freſh water comming downe by S. Werther, the other another from Truro, increaſed with ſundꝛie bꝛanches, though not one of them of anie greatneſſe, and theꝛefoꝛe vnwoꝛthie to be handled. Pole hole ſtandeth vpon the head almoſt of the moſt eaſterlie of them. S. Kenwen and Truro ſtand aboue the confluence of other two. The fourth falleth in by weſt from certeine hils: as foꝛ the firſt and firt, as they be little créeks and no freſh, ſo haue I leſſe language and talke to ſpend about them.

Of ſaint Cate, and ſaint Feokes créeke, whoſe iſſue is betweéne Keſtronget and créeke of Truric, I ſée no cauſe to make any long ſpéech; yet I remember that the towne of S. Feoke ſtandeth betweéne them both. That alſo called after this ſaint, riſing aboue Perannarwothill, and comming thence by Kirklo, falleth into Falamouth, noꝛtheaſt of Miloꝛ, which ſtandeth vpon the point betweéne it and Miloꝛ créeke. Miloꝛ créeke is next Keſtronget: ſome call it Miloꝛ pole, from whence we went by Trefuſis point, and there found an other great fall from Perin, which being bꝛanched in the top, hath Perin towne almoſt in the verie confluence. And thus much by my collection of the fall. But foꝛ ſomuch as Leland hath taken ſome paines in the deſcription of this riuer, I will not ſuffer it to periſh, ſith there is other matter conteined therein woꝛthie remembꝛance, although not deliuered in ſuch oꝛder as the thing it ſelfe requireth. S. Cate. S. Feoks. Miloꝛ.

The verie point (ſaith he) of the hauen mouth (being an hill whereon the king hath builded a caſtell) is called Pendinant. It is about a mile in compaſſe, almoſt inuironed with the ſea: and where the ſea couereth not, the ground is ſo low that it were a ſmall maſtrie to make Pendinant an Iland. Furthermoꝛe, there lieth a cape oꝛ foꝛeland within the hauen a mile and a halfe, and betwixt this and maiſter Killigrewes houſe one great arme of the hauen runneth vp to Penrine towne, which is thꝛée miles from the verie entrie of Falamouth hauen, and two good Fala.

miles

Leuine. miles from Penkuſis. Moreouer, there is Leuine, Priſelo, betwixt ſaint Budocus and Pendinas, which were a good hauen but for the barre of ſand. But to proceed.

The firſt creke or arme that caſteth on the north-weſt ſide of Falemouth hauen, goeth vp to Perin, and at the end it breaketh into two armes, whereof the leſſe runneth to Glaſcuith, *viridis nidus*, the greene neſt, or Wagmere at Penrine: the other to ſaint Gluntas the pariſh church of Penrine. In like ſort out of each ſide of Penrine creke, breaketh an arme yer it come to Penrine. This I vnderſtand alſo that ſtakes and foundations of ſtone haue bene ſet in the creke at Penrine a litle lower than the wharfe, where it breaketh into armes: but howſoeuer this ſtandeth, betwixt the point of Trekuſis and
Miloz. the point of Reſtronget is Miloz creke, which goeth vp a mile into the land, and by the church is a good rode for ſhips. The next creke beyond the point of Reſtronget wood, is called Reſtronget, which going
Reſtronget. two miles vp into the maine, breaketh into two armes. In like order betwixt Reſtronget and the creke of Trurie be two crekes; one called ſaint
S. Feoks. Feokes, the other ſaint Caie, next vnto which is
S. Caie. Trurie creke that goeth vp about two miles creking from the principall ſtreame, and breaketh within halfe a mile of Trurie, caſting in a branch weſtward euen hard by Newham wood.

Trurie creke This creke of Trurie is diuided into two parts before the towne of Trurie, and each of them hauing a broke comming downe and a bridge, the towne of Trurie ſtandeth betwixt them both. In like ſort Kenwen ſtreet is ſeuered from the ſaid towne with this arme, and Clements ſtreet by eaſt with the other. Out of the bodie alſo of Trurie creke breaketh another eaſtward a mile from Crurie, and goeth vp a mile and a halfe to Treſilian bridge of ſtone. At the verie entrie and mouth of this creke is a rode of ſhips called Maples rode: and here fought not long ſince eightene ſhips of Spaniſh merchants, with foure ſhips of warre of Deepe, but the Spaniards draue the Frenchmen all into this harborow. A mile and an halfe aboue the mouth of Crurie creke, is another named Lhan Morgan of S. Morgans church
Morgan. at hand. This creke goeth vp a quarter of a mile from the maine ſtreame into the hauen, as the maine ſtreame goeth vp two miles aboue Morgan creke ebbing and flowing: and a quarter of a mile higher, is the towne of Cregowie, where we found a bridge of ſtone vpon the Fala riuer. Fala it ſelfe riſeth a mile or more weſt of Roche hill, and goeth by Graund pont, where I ſaw a bridge of ſtone.

Graund pont. This Graund pont is foure miles from Roche hill, and two little miles from Cregowie, betwixt which the Fala taketh his courſe. From Cregowie to paſſe downe by the bodie of the hauen of Falamouth to the mouth of Lanie horne pill or creke, on the ſouth ſide of the hauen is a mile, and (as I remember) it goeth vp halfe a mile from the principall ſtreame of the hauen. From Lanihorne pill alſo is a place or point of ſand about a mile waſe of fortie acres or thereabout (as a peninſula) called Ardeuerauter. As for the water or creke that runneth into the ſouth ſoutheaſt part, it is but a little thing of halfe a mile vp into the land, and the creke that hemmeth in this peninſula, of both doth ſeeme to be the greater. From the mouth of the weſt creke of this peninſula, vnto ſaint Juſtes creke, is foure miles or more.

S. Iuſtus. S. Mawes. In like maner from ſaint Juſtes pill or creke (for both ſignifie one thing) to ſaint Mawes creke is a mile and a halfe, and the point betweene them both is called Pendinas. The creke of ſaint Mawes goeth vp a two miles by eaſt northeaſt into the land, and beſide that it ebbeth and floweth ſo farre, there is a mill driuen with a freſh creke that reſorteth to the ſame. Halfe a mile from the head of this downeward to the hauen, is a creke in maner of a pole, whereon is a mill alſo that grindeth with the tide. And a mile beneath that on the ſouth ſide entereth a creke (about halfe a mile into the countrie) which is barred from the maine ſea by a ſmall ſandie banke, and another mile yet lower, is an other little crekelet. But how ſo euer theſe crekes do run, certeine it is that the bankes of them that belong to Fala are meruellouſlie well wooded. And hitherto Leland, whoſe words I dare not alter, for feare of corruption and alteration of his iudgement. Being paſt Falmouth hauen therefore (as it were a quarter of a mile beyond Arwennach, maiſter Killegrewes place which ſtandeth on the brimme or ſhore within Falmouth) we came to a little hauen which ran vp betweene two hilles, but it was barred: wherefore we could not learne whether it were ſerued with anie backe freſh water or not.

Polwitherall. From thence we went by Polwitherall creke (parted into two armes) then to the Polpenrith, Polpenrith. wherevnto a riueret falleth that riſeth not farre from thence, and ſo goeth to the maine ſtreame of the hauen at the laſt, whither the creke reſorteth about three miles and more from the mouth of the hauen, and into which the water that goeth vnder Gare and Wike. Mogun bridges, do fall in one bottome (as Leland Gare. hath reported.) Vnto this hauen alſo repaireth the Mogun. Penkeſtell, the Callous, the Cheilow, and the Gil- Penkeſtell. ling, although this latter lieth againſt ſaint Mawnons on the hither ſide hard without the hauen mouth Callous. (if I haue done aright.) For ſo motheaten, mouldie, Cheilow. & rotten are thoſe bookes of Leland which I haue, Gilling. beſide that, his annotations are ſuch and ſo confounded, as no man can (in a maner) picke out anie ſenſe from them by a leaſe togither. Wherefore I ſuppoſe that he diſperſed and made his notes intricate of set purpoſe: or elſe he was loth that anie man ſhould eaſilie come to that knowledge by reading, which he with his great charge & no leſſe trauell atteined vnto by experience. Thus leauing Fala hauen, as more troubleſome for me to deſcribe, than profitable for ſeafaring men, without good aduiſe to enter into, we left the rocke on our left hand, and came ſtraight ſouthweſt to Helford hauen, whoſe water commeth downe from Wreke (where is a confluence of two Hale. ſmall rilles whereof that rill conſiſteth) by Pawgan and Trelawarren, and then it receiueth a rill on the north ripe from Conſtantine, after whoſe confluence it goeth a maine vntill it come to the Ocean, where the mouth is ſpoiled by ſand comming from the tinworks. See Leland in the life of S. Breaca. Beneath this alſo is another rill comming from S. Partyns, by whoſe courſe, and another ouer againſt it on the weſt ſide that falleth into the ſea by Winniton, all Penage is left almoſt in maner of an Iland. From hence we go ſouth to the Manacle point, then ſouthweſt to Liſard, and ſo north and by weſt to Predannocke points, beyond which we meet with the fall of the ſaid water, that riſeth in the edge of Penag, and goeth into the ſea by Pelien on the north, and Winniton on the ſouth. By north alſo of Winniton is the Curie water that runneth ſhort of Pagan, and toucheth with the Ocean ſouth of Pengwenian point. Curie.

From hence we ſailed to the Low mouth, which ſome Low. call Lopole, becauſe it is narrower at the fall into the ſea, than it is betweene the ſea and Hailſton. It riſeth aboue S. Sethians, and comming downe by Wendron, it haſteth to Hailſton or Helſton, from whence onelie it is called Low: but betweene Helſton and the head, men call it commonlie Cohor. Of this riuer Leland ſaith thus: The Lopole is two miles in

length, and betwixt it and the maine Ocean is but a barre of sand that once in three or foure yeeres, what by weight of the fresh water, and working of the sea breaketh out, at which time it maketh a wonderfull noise: but sone after the mouth of it is barred vp againe. At all other times the superfluitie of the water of Lopole (which is full of trout and eele) drayneth out through the sandie barre into the open sea: certes if this barre could alwaies be kept open, it would make a goodlie hauen vp vnto Paileston towne, where coinage of tin is also vsed, as at Truric and Lostwithiell, for the queenes aduantage.

Being passed the Lo, I came to another water that descendeth without anie increase from Crowan by Simneie, whose whole course is not aboue three miles in all. Then going by the Cuddan point, we entered the mounts Bate, and going streight north (leauing S. Michaels mount a little vpon the left hand) we came to the Lid, which rising short of Tewidnacke, descendeth by Lidgenan, and so into the sea. Certes the course of these waters cannot be long, sith in this verie place the breadth of land is not aboue foure miles, and not more than fiue at the verie lands end. There is also a rill east of Borugie, and Gulual, and another west of the same hard at hand, and likewise the third east of Pensants: and not a full quarter of a mile from the second, southwest of Pensants also lieth the fourth that commeth from Sancrete ward by Newlin, from whence going southwest out of the bate by Mousholc Ile, that lieth south of Mousholc towne, we come to a water that entreth into the Ocean betwixt Remels & Lamorleie point. Trulie the one head thereof commeth from by west of Sancrete, the other from by west of an hill that standeth betweene them both, and ioining aboue Remels, it is not long yer they salute their grandame. After this, and before we come at Rosecastell, there are two other crekes, whereof one is called Boskennie, that riseth south of saint Buriens, and another somewhat longer than the first, that issueth by west of the aforesaid towne, wherein is to be noted, that our cards made heretofore do appoint S. Buriens to be at the very lands end of Cornewall, but experience now teacheth vs, that it commeth not neere the lands end by three miles. This latter rill also is the last that I do reade of on the south side, and likewise on the west and north, till we haue sailed to S. Jes baie, which is full ten miles from the lands end, or Bresan Ile eastward, & rather more, if you reckon to the fall of the Haile, which lieth in the very middest and highest part of the baie of the same. The soile also is verie hillie here, as for saint Jes towne, it is almost (as I said) a byland, and yet is it well watered with sundrie rilles that come from those hilles vnto the same.

Simneie.

Lid.

Bresan Ile.

Haile.

The Haile riseth in such maner, and from so manie heads, as I haue before said: howbeit I will adde somewhat more vnto it, for the benefit of my readers. Certes the chefe head of Haile riseth by west of Godalfin hilles, and going downe toward saint Erthes, it receiueth the second, and best of the other three rilles from Godalfin towne: finallie, comming to saint Erthes, and so vnto the maine baie, it taketh in the Clowart water from Guimer, south of Phelacke, which hath two heads, the said village standing directlie betwixt them both.

Clowart.

Caine.

The Caine riseth southeast of Caineburne towne a mile and more, from whence it goeth without increase by west of Gwethian, and so into the sea west of Mara Darwate. From hence we coasted about the point, & left the baie till we came to a water that riseth of two heads from those hilles that lie by south of the same: one of them also runneth by saint Anti, another by Redreuth, and meeting within a mile, they fall into the Ocean beneath Luggam or Tuggan. A mile and a halfe from this fall we come vnto another small rill, and likewise two other crekes, betwixt which the towne of saint Agnes standeth; and likewise the fourth halfe a mile beyond the most easterlie of these, whose head is almost three miles within the land in a towne called saint Alin. Thence going by the Manrocke, and west of saint Piran in the sand, we find a course of three miles and more from the head, and hauing a forked branch, the parts do meet at west aboue saint Kibbard, and so go into the sea. I take this to be saint Pirans creeke, for the next is Carantocke pill or creeke, whose head is at Guswarth, from whence it goeth vnto Trerise, and sone after taking in a rill from by west, it runneth into the sea coast of saint Carantakes. Beyond this is another creeke that riseth aboue little saint Colan, and goeth by lesse saint Columbe: and east and by north hereof commeth downe one more whose head is almost south of the Nine stones, & going from thence to great saint Columbes, it passeth by Lamberne, and so into the sea. S. Merous creeke is but a little one, rising west of Padstow, and falling in almost ouer against the Gull rocke. Then turning betweene the point and the blacke rocke, we entred into Padstow hauen three miles lower than port Isiec, and a mile from port Gwin, whose waters remaine next of all to be described.

Luggam.

S. Pirans creeke.

Carantocke.

Padstow.

Locus bufonis.

The Alan ariseth flat east from the hauen mouth of Padstow, well neere eight or nine miles about Dauidstone, neere vnto which the Eniam also issueth, that runneth into the Thamar. Going therefore from hence it passeth to Camelford, saint Aduen, saint Bernard (both Cornish saints) and sone after receiueth a rill at northeast, descending from Rowters hill. Thence it goeth to Blisland, and Helham, the first bridge of name that standeth vpon Alin. Yer long also it taketh in one rill by south from Bodman, another from saint Laurence, the third by west of this, and the fourth that commeth by Wethiell, no one of them exceeding the course of three miles, and all by south. From hence it goeth toward Iglesaleward, and there receiueth a water on the east side, which commeth about two miles from saint Teath, by Michelston, saint Tuchoe, saint Maben (mo Cornish patrons) and finallie south of Iglesall, meeteth with the Alen that goeth from thence by S. Breaca to Wodbridge. Hereabout I find, that into our Alein or Alen, there should fall two riuerets, whereof the one is called Carneseie, the other Laine, and comming in the end to full notice of the matter, I see them to issue on seuerall sides beneath Wodbridge almost directlie the one against the other. That which descendeth from northwest, and riseth about saint Kew, is named Carneseie, as I heare: the other that commeth in on the southwest banke hight Laine, and noted by Leland to rise two miles aboue S. Elle. But howsoeuer this matter standeth, there are two other crekes on ech side also, beneath these, as Pethrike creeke, and Winner creeke (so called of the Cornish saints) for that soile bred manie, wherewith I finish the description of Alen, or (as some call it) Dunmere, and other Padstow water.

Eniam.

Carneseie.

Laine.

Pethrike.

Winner.

Dunmere.

From Padstow hauen also they saile out full west to Waterford in Ireland. There are likewise two rockes, which lie in the east side of the hauen, secretlie hidden at full sea, as two pads in the straw, whereof I thinke it taketh the name. Yet I remember how I haue read that Padstow is a corrupted word for Adlestow, and should signifie so much as *Athelstani locus*, as it may well be. For it is euident that they had in time past sundrie charters of priuilege from Athelstane, although at this present it be well stored with Irishmen. But to our purpose. Leland

land supposeth this riuer to be the same Camblan, where Arthur fought his last and fatall conflict: for to this daie men that dw eare the ground there, dw oft plow vp bones of a large size, and great store of armour, or else it may be (as I rather coniecture) that the Romans had some field (or Castra) thereabout, for not long since (and in the remembrance of man) a brasse pot full of Romane coine was found there, as I haue often heard. Being thus passed Padstow hauen, and after we had gone three miles from hence, we came to Portgwin a poore fisher towne, where I find a broke and a pére. Then I came to Portillec *aliàs* Cunilus two miles further, and found there a broke, a pére, and some succor for fisher boats. Nert of all vnto a broke that ran from south east, directlie north into the Sauerne sea, and within halfe a mile of the same laie a great blacke rocke like an Iland. From this water to Treuenni is about a mile, where the paroch church is dedicated to saint Simphorian, and in which paroch also Tintagell or Dundagie castell standeth, which is a thing inexpugnable for the situation, and would be made with little reparations one of the strongest things in England. For it standeth on a great high terrible crag inuironed with the sea. There is a chappell yet standing in the dungeon thereof, dedicated to saint Hilet. Tintagell towne and Treuenni are not a mile in sunder.

The nert creke is called Bosinni, which is a mile from Tintagell, and to the same Tredwie water resorteth, and so they go to the sea betwixt two hils, whereof that on the one side lieth out like an arme or cape, and maketh the fashion of an hauenet or poare, whither shiplets sometime dw resort for succour. A frier of late daies toke vpon him to make an hauen at this place, but in vaine. There lie also two blacke rocks as Ilets, at the west northwest point, or side of this creke, the one (sauing that a little gut doth part them) ioining with the other, and in these by all likelihood is great store of gulles. I can not tell whether this be the water that runneth by Boscastell or not, but if it be not, then haue I this description of the latter. Boscastell creke that lieth east of Tintagell, is but a small thing, running at the most not aboue two miles into the land, yet it passeth by foure townes, whereof the first is called Lesneth, the second saint Juliet, the third Pinsker, and the fourth Boscastell or Bushcastell, as some men dw pronounce it.

In Bede baie I find the Bedewater, whose chiefe head is not farre from Norton. Thence running to Stratton, it receiueth the Lancels rill before it come at Norham. And here also it crosseth another whose head is east of saint Marie Wyke, from whence it runneth by Wolfton and Whalesborow, and thence into the sea betweene Efford and Plough hill. And thus much of the waters that lie betweene the point of Cornewall, and the Hartland head vpon the north side of Cornewall. Now let vs dw the like with those that remaine of Deuonshire, whereof the said Hartland is the verie first point in this our poeticall voiage. Hauing therefore brought Hartland point on our backs, we come nert of all to Barstable bar, and so into the hauen, whereinto two principall streams do perpetuallie vnburden their chanels.

The first and more westerlie of these is called Ocus, whose head is not farre west of the head of Darut, and both in Darntmore. Rising therefore in the aforesaid place, it runneth northwest to Snorton, and so to Okehampton, beneath which towne it méeteth with an other water comming from southeast, & riseth not much west from the head of Tawe. From hence it goeth to Stow Erborne, Monke Okington, & Iddesleie, where it taketh in the Tamridge a verie prettie streamelet, whose issue is not full a mile by east from the head of Thamar, three miles by north east from Hartland. Comming therefore by west and east Putford, Bulworthie, Bockington, Newton, and Shebbor, it receiueth a forked rill that runneth from ech side of Bradworthie by Sutcombe, Treborow, Milton, & so to Thornebirie, where méeting with an other forked water (whereof one head comming from Dunland, ioineth with the other north of Cockbirie) it goeth with speed into the Tanridge water. After this confluence it runneth on to Shépewash (by west whereof falleth in the Buckland water from by north) thence to high Hainton, and so to Haicherlaie, north wherof it taketh in a rill from by south, and endeth his race at Iddesleie, by ioining with the Oke. Hence then the Ocus hasteth to Dowland, and betwéene it and Doulton, receiueth one rill from by east, as it doth an other betwéene Doulton and Parton from by west, and so procéeding on with his course, it commeth east of Torrington the lesse, and taking in a water at east, that runneth from three heads (by Wollie parke) betweene which Combe and Roughborow are situat, it descendeth to Torington the more, and meeting with the Langtrée water on the one side, and the Ware broke on the other, it procéedeth to Bedford, crossing a rill by the waie that commeth vnto it betwéene Annarie & Littham. From Bedford bridge it goeth without anie increase to Westleie, Norham, Appledoure, and so into the hauen.

The Taw of both is the more noble water, notwithstanding that his hauen be barred with sand; and thereby dangerous, and hath most rils descending into his chanell. Howbeit, by these two is all the hart of Deuonshire well watered on the northside of the mores. The Tawy riseth directlie at south west of Throwleie, and north of the head of Darnt, or (as Leland saith) in Ermore south east from Barstable. From thence also it runneth to Sele, South Tauerton, Cockatre, Bath, Northtaueton, Ashridge, Colridge, and some after receiueth the Bowmill creke, whereof one head riseth at Bow, the other at Mill, and meeting beneth Bishops Orchard, they fall into the Taw north of Nimeth Rowland, as I haue béene informed. From hence then it runneth by Edgeforth, to Chimligh, by south whereof it méeteth with a rill comming downe of two heads from about Rakenford, by Wetheridge and Chawleie. Thence it goeth to Burrington, and Chiltenholtwood, and there taketh in the Poulebraie water consisting of two in one chanell, wherof the Poll doth rise aboue north Poulton, and comming to Poulton receiueth another rill running from Polland, and some after the second that growing by two brokes (the head of one being at Knawston, and of the other west of Crokeham, and both vniting themselues beneath Parisson) doth fall into the same yer long also, and so go togither till it crosse the Braie, which (being the second of the two that maketh the Poulbraie) riseth at Braie, commeth by Buckland, and south of Holtwood doth make his confluence with Taw. Being past the wood, it goeth on to Brightleie hall, Tauerton, Tauestocke, & Barstable, sometime a prettie walled towne with foure gates, but now a little thing; and such in déed, as that the suburbes thereof are greater than it selfe. I suppose that the name of this towne in the British speach was Abertaw, because it stood toward the mouth of Taw, and Berdnesse pronounced short (as I gesse) for Abernesse. As for Staple, it is an addition for a market, & therefore hath nothing to dw in the proper name of the towne. King Athelstane is taken here for the chiefe priuileger of the towne. This is also worthie to be noted hereof, that the houses there are

Tredwie.

Bolcastell.

Bede.

Lancels.

Ocus.

Tamridge.
Torrege.

Buckland.

Langtrée.

were or ware.

Poulebraie.

Taw.

Bowmill.

Braie.

of stone, as most are in all the good townes thereabout.

But to proceed with our purpose. Beneath this towne there falleth in a water that hath one head neere about Challacombe, & another at east Downe, whereof this descending by Stoke riuer, and the other by Sherwell, they vnite themselues within three miles of Barstaple. Soone after also it taketh in another that descendeth from Bitenden by Ashford, and the last of all east of saint Anthonies chappell, named the Doneham, bicause one head is at west Done, and the other at Ham, both of them meeting west of Ash. And thus is Taue described, which is no great water nor quicke streame, as may appeere in Low water marke at Barstable, and yet is it a prettie riueret. This also is worthie to be noted thereof, that it receiueth no broke from by west, whereof I would somewhat maruell, if Taurige were not at hand.

Doneham.

Being past the Taue, Cride baie and Bugpoint alias Bagpoint, we go by More baie, Morstone alias Mortstone, and then toward the northeast, till we come by a creekelet to Ilfare combe, & so to Combe Marton, whereat (I meane ech of them) are sundrie creekes of salt water, but not serued with anie fresh that I as yet do heare of. Marrie there is betweene Martinbow & Trenslow, a creeke that hath a backewater, which descendeth from Parracombe (so farre as I call to mind named Parradine becke) but the greatest of all is betweene Linton and Conisberie called Oze, which riseth in Summersetshire in Exmore (east of Hore oke, more than a mile) and going by Dwre, falleth into the sea betweene Linton and Conisberie, so that the whole race thereof amounteth in and out to an eight miles, as I haue heard reported. Thus haue I finished the discourse of the waters of Deuonshire, whose breadth in this place from hence ouerthwart to the Checkstones in the mouth of Ex, on the south side of the Ile, is eight and thirtie miles or vnder fortie, and so much likewise is it from Plimmouth to Hartland point, but the broadest part there commeth to six and thirtie miles, whereas the broadest part of Cornewall doth want two miles of fortie.

Paradine.

Orus.

The breadth of Deuonshire & Cornewall.

Being past the aforesaid limits of the counties we came to Portloch baie, whither commeth a water named Loch that descendeth from Stokepero, Lucham and Portloch without increase. Thence to Dunsleir broke, which runneth from about Wootton, and Courtneie by Tunbercombe and Dunsleir, then to another that commeth west of Old Cliffe, leauing a parke on the west side, next of all to Watchet water, whereof one head commeth from the Quantocke hils south of Bickualer by Westquantocke head, and almost at Donisford, receiueth the Williton becke, then to east Quantocke broke (omitting a creeket) & next of all to Doddington water, that goeth by Holford, Alforton, and afterward into the sea. From hence we go by Bottesall point, to Stert point, where two noble riuers do make their confluence, which I will seuerallie describe, as to my purpose apperteineth.

Loch.

Durus.

Vacetus.

Williton.

Doddington.

The first of these is called the Iuell, or (as I find it in an ancient writer) Pow, who saith that the riuer Pow doth runne from Ilchester to Bridgewater, and so into the sea. It riseth aboue Oburne, and at Shirburne receiueth a water, whereof Leland saith thus. There are seuen springs in an hill called the seuen sisters, north east from Shireburne, which gather into one bottome, & come into the Mere. Another broke likewise commeth by Yeldon from Puscandell, three miles from thence by flat east, betwixt the parke and the Mere full so great as the streame of the Mere, and ioining at the lower mill of Shireburne, with the Mere water, it is not long yer it fall into the Euill. Thence our Euill goeth on towards Glasen Bradford, and yer it come there taketh in a forked rill from by south, descending from about west Chelburie and Chetnall in Dorsetshire, beneath which towne the other head falleth into the same, so that they run forth by Bearhaggard and Thorneford (till they meet with the Iuell) and so to Clifton, Euill a proper market towne, Trent, Mutford, Ashinton, and east of Limminton it meeteth with the Cade that runneth from Parlington, by north Cadbirie, and sone after crossing a rill also from by east, that commeth from Blackeford by Compton, it hasteth to south Cadbirie, Sparkeford, Quenes Camell, west Camell, and so into Iuell, which runneth on to Kimmington, Ilchester, Ilbridge, long Sutton, and yer it come at Langport, taketh in two famous waters in one chanell, next of all to be remembred before I go anie further. The first of all these riseth southeast betweene the Parrets (where it is called Parret water) and goeth to Crokehorne, and at Merlot taketh in a broke from the east, which consisteth of two courses vnited at Bowbridge, whereof the one descendeth from Pen by Hasilburie, the other from aboue the three Chenocks, as I do vnderstand.

Cade.

Parret.

From hence also they go as one with the Parret water, toward south Pederton (taking in at east a becke comming from Hamden hill) thence to Pederton, Lambroke, Thorneie bridge, and Puchelneie where it meeteth with the second called Ill or Ilus, whose head is aboue Chellington, & comming downe from thence by Cadworth, before it come at Dunniet, it taketh in a rill that runneth by Chalcombe and Knoll. Thence leauing Ilmister on the east side, it meeteth with another from by east, descending from about Whitlakington. Then it goeth to Pokington (where it crosseth the Ilton water by west) next to Ilbruers, and there it ioineth with a rillet that riseth by west at Staple, and runneth by Bicknell and Abbats Ilie, and after this confluence goeth on toward Langport. And here after some mens opinion, the Iuell loseth his name, and is called Parret: but this coniecture cannot hold, sith in the old writers it is called Iuell, till it fall into the sea. Neuertheleile, how soeuer this matter standeth, being past Langport, it goeth by Awber toward saint Anthonies, where it meeteth with the Tone next of all to be described.

Iuelus.

The seuen sisters.

Ilton.

The Tone issueth at Clatworthie, and goeth by west of Wiuelscombe, to Stawleie, Ritford, Runton, Wellington and Bradford, beneath which it taketh in a faire water cõming from Sanford Combe, Elworthie, Brunt Rake, Piluerton, Oke and Hilfarens. After this confluence also it runneth to Yelebridge, and there below meeteth with one water that runneth by Hawse, Yethford and Norton, then another from Crokeham by bishops Sledford, and the third & fourth at Taunton, that descendeth from Kingston by north, and another by south that riseth about Pidmister. And thus is the Tone increased, which goeth from Taunton to Rilton, Crech, Northcurrie, Ling, and so by Anthonie into the Iuell, that after this confluence meeteth yer long with the Chare, a prettie riuer that commeth by east from Northborow, by Carleton, Badcare, Litecare, Somerton, Highham, Audrie more, Audrie, and Michelsborow. From whence going on betweene Quenes more and North more, it receiueth one broke called Peder from by southwest, that runneth through Pederton parke and North more; and likewise another that passeth by Durleie, yer it do come at Bridgewater. From Bridgewater it goeth by Chilton directlie northwest, and then turning flat west, it goeth northward towards the sea, taking in two waters

Tone.

Chare or Care.

Peder.

ters by the waie, whereof one runneth by Corpole & Camington, and beareth the name of Camington, the other by Siddington and Comage, and then receiuing the Bzier before it come at Start point, they fall as one into the Ocean, whereof let this suffice for the description of the Iuell, whose streame doth water all the west part of Summersetshire and leaueth it verie fruitfull.

Camington.
Bzier.

Bzier.

The Bzier, Bzuer, or Bzéer, riseth of two waters, whereof one is in Selwood forrest, & commeth downe by Bzuecombe, Bzuham, and Bzuton. The other which Leland nameth Pellos, is northest of Staffordell towne, and going by the same, it runneth by Redlinch, to Wike; where it méeteth with the other head, and thence go on as one to Awnsford, Alford (where it taketh in a water called Dulis from by north that riseth néere Dolting, and commeth by Euerchurch parke) then to the Lidfords, Basborow wood, the Tor hill, Pont perilous (whereinto they fable that Arthur being wounded to death did throw Calibur his sword) by Glastenburie and so into the Péere. Beside this riuer there are two other also that fall into the said Péere, whereof the one called Sowaie commeth from Créechurch parke, and Pulton by Hartlacke bridge, the other named Cos or the Coscombe water, from aboue Shepton, Mallet (which east of Wike taketh in a water comming from Welles) by Wike, Gedneie, and so into the Péere. Finallie, returning all into one chanell, it runneth to Burtlehouse, and sone after diuiding it selfe, one arme goeth by Bastian aliàs Bzent bridge, to High bridge, leauing Huntspill a market towne by southwest, the other by Parke to Rokes bridge, Hebbes passage, and so into the sea, leauing a faire Iland, wherin beside Bzentmarsh are seuen or eight townes, of whose names I haue no knowledge.

Leland writeth the first Brieuclus and the second Mellodunus or the Milton water.
Dulis.
Howaie or Stowaie.
Cos.

Now as touching the water that commeth from Welles, which falleth (as I said) into the Coscombe water on the right hand of the Cawseie; you shall vnderstand that as manie springs are in Wels, so the chiefe of them is named Andres well, which riseth in a medow plat not farre from the east end of the cathedrall church, and afterward goeth into the Coscombe, in such place as I haue noted. Leland speaketh of the Milton & Golafer waters, which should fall likewise into the Bzier: but whether those be they whereof the one riseth aboue Staffordell, and in the descent runneth by Shipton, Pitcombe, and so to Awnsford on the one side, as the other doth rise betwéene Batcombe and Upton noble on the other halfe; or vnto whether of them either of these names are seuerallie to be attributed; as yet I doo not read.

Milton.
Golafer.

The second Are which commeth by Are towne in old time called Vera, issueth out of Diwkie hole, from whence it goeth by Diwkie towne, afterward meeting with the Cheder bzoke that commeth from the Cheder rocks, wherein is an hole in old time called Carcer Æoli, whereof much hath béene written & surmised past credit. It runneth by Were, Ratcliffe, and after a little compasse into the northeast branch of the aforesaid riuer last described, betwéene Rokes bridge and Hebbes passage, as I haue béene informed. From the fall of Are we come to an other called Bane, northeast of Woodspring, whose head is about Banwell parke, or else in Smaldon wood. Then to another, and to the third, called Artro, which riseth about Litton, and going by the Artrees, Ubbeie, Perribridge (receiuing a rill yer it come thither from by south) beneath Cungelsirie, or (as I learne) betwéene Kingston and Laurence Wike, it méeteth with the sea.

Are.
The Cheder bzoke, driueth twelue miles within a quarter of a mile of his head.
Bane.
Artro.

Sottelpill water riseth betwéene Cheueleie and Nalleseie, howbeit it hath no increase before it come into the sea at Sottelpill, more than the next vnto it, which is named Cleueden water, of a certeine towne nære to the fall thereof. It riseth southeast of Barrow, goeth by Burton Nalleseie, and so vnto Cleuedon. The Auon, commonlie called the third Auon, is a goodlie water, and growne to be verie famous by sundrie occasions, to be particularlie touched in our description of Bathow. Yet thus much will I note héere thereof as a rare accident, how that in king Edgars daies, the verie same yeare that the old monasterie of Euesham fell downe by it selfe, a porpasse was taken therein nære to the said monasterie, and neuer anie before or since that time heard of to haue béene found in that streame. And euen so not manie yeares before I first wrote this treatise, a sturgion was taken aliue in Rochester streame, which the bishop gaue vnto your honor, and you would as gladlie haue sent it to the quénes maiestie, if she might haue béene presented withall aliue as it was taken. Certes both these rare occurrents gaue no lesse occasion of strange surmises to the inhabitants of both places, than the blockes of Bzerton, when they appeare, doo vnto that familie; of which the report goeth that they are neuer séene but against some mischéefe or other to befall vnto that house. But how farre am I gone from my purpose?

Sottelpill.
Cleueden.
Auon.3.
Sturgion taken in Rochester water.

The Auon therefore riseth in the verie edge of Tetburie, and goeth by long Newton to Bzokenton, Whitchurch, and Malmsburie, where it receiueth two waters, that is to saie, one from by west comming by Foreleie and Bzomleham, which runneth so nære to the Auon in the west suburbe of Malmsburie, that the towne thereby is almost made an Iland. Another from Okeleie parke by Hankerton, Charleton, and Garesden. After this confluence it hasteth to Cole parke, then goeth it toward the southeast, till it mæt with a water comming from southwest (betwéene Hullauington and Bzadfield) by Alston: and sone after with another at the northside from Binall by Wootton Basset (through the parke to Gretenham, and Idouer bridges) and after the confluence to Dauntseie, Segar, Sutton, Chriskmalford, Auon, Calwaies house, and then to west Tetherton. Beneath this towne also it taketh in a water increased by two bzokes, whereof one comming from Cleue by Hilmarton, Whitleie house and Bzamble (and there receiuing another that commeth by Calne) passeth on by Stanlie into the Auon, which from thencefoorth goeth to Chippenham, Rowdon, Lekham, and then receiuing Colham water, goeth to Lacocke, Melham, and yer it come at Whaddon, crosseth two other in one chanell, whereof one riseth about Bzumham house, and goeth to Sene, the other about the Diuizes, and from thence runneth to Potterne wood, Creke wood, Worton, Nalton, Bucklington, and ioining with the other aboue Litleton, they run by Semmington, and north of Whaddon aforesaid into the maine streame, whereof I now intreat. From hence our Auon runneth to Stauerton, and southwest of that towne mæteth with the Were that commeth from Upton by Dilton, Bzoke parke (there crossing a rill called Bisse from Westbirie vnder the plaine) then to north Bzadleie, Trubridge, and so into Auon that goeth from thence to Bzadford, & within a mile or thereabouts, before it come at Freshford, it mæteth with the Frome, whose description doth insue.

Auon.
Colham.
Were.
westbirie vnder ỳ plaine, neuer without a theéle or twaine.

The Frome riseth in the east part of Mendip hils, and from thence runneth by Astwic, the Cole pits, Lie vnder Mendip, Whateleie, Elmesbridge, and sone after taketh in the Nonneie water, comming from Nonneie castell, thence to Walles and Orcharleie bridge, where it receiueth a pretie bzoke

Frome.
Nonneie.

descending from Frome Selwood west of Brackleie, increased with sundrie rils, whereof two come out of Selwood forrest (and one of them from the Fratrie) another out of Long lead parke, from Horningsham, and the fourth from Cosleie. Hence our Frome goeth to Lullington, Beckington, Farleie castell, Bord and Fresh ford, and taking in the Silling brooke, falleth into the Auon beneath Bradford, and east of Freshford. From thence going beneath Stoke, it receiueth on the left hand a water comming from southwest, increased by sundrie brookes, whereof one commeth from Camelet by Litleton, and Dankerton, the other from Stone Elton, Midsummer Norton, by Welston, Rodstocke, Wrigleton, Foscot, and Wellow, and there (taking in a rill from Phillips Norton) it goeth by Clauerton to Hampton, and there it meeteth with another water comming from Barthford, whose head is at Litleton from whence it runneth by west Kineton to Castell combe (where it ioineth with a rill rising by north from Litleton drue) and thence commeth south to Slaughtenford, Haselburie, Box, Batthford, and so into the Auon, which turning plaine west, hasteth to Batthwyc, and (meeting with another in his passage from Caldaston) to Bath, the Tiuertons, and Coston.

Silling.

Here also it taketh in a rill by the waie from Parkesburie by Wilmerton and Newton, and then going on to Sawford, it meeteth with one rill some west of Northstocke, named Swinford, and another by Bitton, from Durhain by Wike, and so proceedeth still holding on his way to Caimsham, a towne in Summerset shire (so called of Caim an English saint, by whose praiers, as the countrie once beleeued, all the adders, snakes and serpents were turned into stone, their formes reserued, and for a certeine space of ground about the said towne, and whereof some store as yet is to be found in those quaries. But this miracle is so true as the history of Hilda, or that S. Patrike should chase all venemous creatures out of Italie with his staffe; or that maid Radegund should driue the crowes to the pound, which did annoie hir corne while she went vnto a chappell to heare & see a masse) where it crosseth the Chute, which issueth at Winford, and goeth by bishops Chue to Penford, and there receiueth the Clue comming from Cluton, and from thence to Chute, & so into the Auon. The Auon likewise after all these confluences goeth to Brislton, and so to Bristow, beneath which it receiueth a rill on each side (whereof one commeth from about Stoke lodge in Glocestershire, being a faire water and running by Acton, Frampton, Yambroch, Stapleton, and through Bristow, the other by south from Dundreie hill and towne, by Bisport and Bedminster) and so descending yet lower, goeth to Kalweham passage and Clifton, then by S. Vincents rocke and Laie, nert of all to Crocampill, and finallie into the sea, whither all waters by nature do resort.

Swinford.

Swinford parteth Summerset & Glocestershires in sunder.

Beside this water, Leland maketh mention of Alderleie brooke, which in some ancient records is also called Auon, and runneth by Barkeleie. In like maner he talketh of Douresleie becke, whose principall head is in Douresleie towne: howbeit he saith no thing of it more, than that it serueth sundrie tucking lucking milles, and goeth by Tortworth or foure miles further, before it come at the Sauerne. Finallie, making mention of an excellent quarrie of hard stone about Douresleie, he telleth of the Tortworth becke, that runneth within a flight shot of Barkeleie towne, and falleth on the left hand into Sauerne marches, taking with all the Alderleie or Auon, except I mistake his meaning, which may some be done among his confused notes.

Alderleie.
Douresleie.

Tortworth.

## The description of the Sauerne, & such waters as discharge themselues into the same.

### Chap. 13.

Sauerne.

THe Sauerne which Ptolomie calleth Sabriana, Tacitus Sabrina, diuideth England or that part of the Iland, which sometime was called Lhoegres from Cambria, so called of Camber, the second sonne of Brute, as our histories do report. But now that region hight Wales, of the Germane word Walsh, whereby that nation doth vse to call all strangers without respect of countrie. This riuer toke the name of a certeine ladie, called Habren or Hafren, base daughter to Locrinus begotten vpon Estrildis daughter to Humber otherwise called Cumbrus or Umar, and for which some write Chonibrus king of Scithia, that sometime inuaded this Island, and was ouerthrowne here in the daies of this Locrinus, as shall be shewed at hand: although I suppose rather that this ladie was called Ine, and that the word Sabrina is compounded of Aber and Ine, and the letter S added *Propter euphoniam*: for the mouth or fall of euerie riuer in the British speech is called Aber, whereby Aber Ine is so much to saie as, the fall of Ine. But let vs returne againe to our discourse of Humber or Umar, which is worthie to be remembred.

For after the death of Locrinus, it came to passe that Guendolena his wife ruled the kingdome in the nonage of hir sonne: and then getting the said Estrildis and Habren hir daughter into hir hands, she drowned them both in this riuer. And in perpetuall remembrance of hir husbands disloialtie towards hir, she caused the streame to be called Habren of the yong ladie, for which the Romans in processe of time for readinesse and mildnesse of pronunciation, wrote Sabrina, and we at this time do pronounce the Sauerne. Of the drowning of the said Abren also I find these verses insuing:

*In fluuium præcipitatur Abren,*
*Nomen Abren, flumio de virgine, nomen eidem*
*Nomine corrupto deinde Sabrina datur.*

But to returne to our Sauerne. It falleth into the maine sea betweene Wales and Cornewall, which is and shall be called the Sauerne sea, so long as the riuer doth keepe hir name. But as the said streame in length of course, bountie of water, and depth of chanell commeth farre behind the Thames: so for other commodities, as trade of merchandize, plentie of cariage, & store of all kind of fish, as salmon, trouts, breames, pikerell, tench, perch, &c: it is nothing at all inferiour or second to the same. Finallie, there is nothing to be discommended in this riuer, but the open nesse thereof in manie places to the weather, whereby sundrie perils oft ouertake such as fish or saile in small vessels on the same.

The head of this noble streame is found in the high mounteines of south Wales called Helennith or Plim limmon; in English, the blacke mounteins, or more heads, from whence also the Wie and the Rhidoll do proceed: and therefore these three waters are commonlie called the three sisters, and haue in latitude two and fiftie degrees ten minutes, in longitude fifteene and fiftie, as the description inferreth. So soone as it is out of the ground, it goeth southeastward, till it come within a mile of Laundlos, where it receiueth a chanell from by south southwest, called the Dulas, which commeth thereinto on the south side, & southwest of Lan Idlos. It riseth (as it should seeme) of diuerse heads in the edge of Radnorshire,

and

and taking in ſundrie ſmall rilles, it meeteth at the laſt with the Brueham broke, and ſo they go together till they fall into the Sauerne. Beneath Lan Idlos it taketh in the Clewdogh from northweſt, a water produced by the influence of foure prette brookes, whereof one is called Bacho, another Dungum comming out of lin Glaſlin, the third Lhoid riſing in lin Begilin, and the moſt ſoutherlie called Bigga. After which confluence our Sauerne proceedeth on by Berhlaid toward Landiman, taking in by the waie, on the eaſt ſide the Couine, thence to Cairfuſe caſtell, where it meeteth with the Carnon, and the Caran both in one chanell, and going not far from the aforeſaid fortreſſe. After this it crolleth the Hawes on the north halfe beneath Aberhawes, next of all the Duleſſe that riſeth in the edge of Radnor ſhire, and meeteth with it before it come at Newton in Powiſſe, otherwiſe called Trenewith, as I find in Britiſh language. Being come to Trenewith, I cannot eſchue (right honorable) to giue one note, as by the waie, touching the originall of my ladie your bedfellowes anceſtrie, which came from hence, & were ſurnamed Newtons onelie, for that the grandfather of ſir John Newton either dwelled or was borne there: otherwiſe the right name is Caradoc, for which ſome do corruptlie write Cradocke, reſpecting rather the ſhortneſſe of pronuntiation, than the true orthographie and writing of the word. Certes the Caradockes haue béene, and yet are a linage of great honor, antiquitie, and ſeruice; their lands alſo ſometime belonged (for the moſt part) to the noble Gonnoanies of Summerſetſhire: but in what order they deſcended to the Newtons, in good ſooth I cannot tell. But to proceed with our riuer, which being paſt Newton, runneth forth by Landilouarne, and ſo forth on till it come to the fall of the Pule, whoſe head is in the edge of Radnor alſo, and thereto his paſſage by Kerie and Lanmereiwic. After this alſo it proceedeth further till it meet with the Benlet or the Camalet, which taketh in alſo the Tate or Tadbroke water riſing out of the hilles a mile from Biſhops towne, the whole courſe thereof being about ſeauen miles from the head (as I haue often heard.) Of this alſo I find two deſcriptions, whereof one I borrow out of Leland, who ſaith that it is a prette broke, running in the vale by Mountgomerie, and comming within halfe a mile of the place where Chirbirie prioric ſtood, it falleth into the Sauerne about a mile from thence. Of the rilles (ſaith he) that run from the hilles thorough Mountgomerie, which are a mile from the Sauerne ſhore, and likewiſe of the Lan Idlos broke that meeteth withall within foure miles of the head, I ſpeake not, but thinke it ſufficient to touch thoſe of ſome eſtimation, onelie leauing the reſt to ſuch as maie hereafter deale with things more particularlie as time and trauell maie reueale the truth to them. And hitherto Leland, whoſe words I dare not alter. But another noteth this Camalet or Benlet to run by More, Liddiom, Shed, Churchſtocke, Chirbirie, Walcote, and Winſbirie, and ſo into the Sauerne.

From hence then, and after this confluence it goeth on by Fordon, Leighton, and Landbreuie toward Peluerleie, and there it meeteth with ſundrie waters in one chanell, whereof the one called the Tanet is a verie prette water (whereinto the Peuereie or Marnewie doth fall, which deſcendeth from the hilles by weſt of Matrafall not farre from Lhan Filin) the other Auernie, and ioining beneath Abertannoth, or aboue Lannamonach neere vnto the ditch of Offa, it is not long yer they meet with the Mordant broke, and there loſe their names ſo ſone as they ioine and mix their waters with it. The head of the Mordant iſſueth out of the Lanuerdan hilles, where diuerſe ſaie, that the pariſh church of crolle Oſwald or Oſweſter ſometimes ſtood. Certes, Oſweſter is thirteene miles northweſt from Shrewesburie, and conteineth a mile within the walles. It hath in like ſort foure ſuburbs or great ſtreetes, of which one is called Stratlan, another Wuliho, the third Beterich, wherein are one hundred and fortie barns ſtanding on a row belonging to the citizens or burgeſſes, and the fourth named the Blackegate ſtreet, in which are thirtie barns mainteined for corne & haie. There is alſo a broke running thorough the towne by the croſſe, comming from Simons well, a bow ſhote without the wall; & going vnder the ſame betweene Thorowgate & Newgate, running vnder the Blacke gate. There is another, ouer whoſe courſe the Baderikes or Bederich gate ſtandeth, and therefore called Bederich broke. The third palleth by the Williigate or Newgate, & theſe fall all togither with the Croſſe broke, a mile lower by ſouth into the Mordant that runneth (as I ſaid) by Oſweſter. From hence alſo it goeth to Mordant towne, and betweene Landbreuie and Peluerleie doth fall into the Sauerne. After this our principall ſtreame goeth to Sheauerdon caſtell, Mountford, and Bicton chappell: and here it receiueth a water on the left hand, that riſeth of two heads, whereof one is aboue Perton, the other at Elliſmere, and ioining betweene Woodhouſes & Bagleie, the confluence runneth on by Radnall, Halton, Teddeſmer, Roiton, Baſchurch, Walford, Grafton, Pitton, and ſo into the Sauerne. From hence it runneth to Fitz, Eton, or Leiton, Barwic, vpper Roſſall, Shelton, and ſo to Shrewſburie, where it croſſeth the Pele water, whoſe head (as I heare) is ſaid to be in Weſton.

The Pele therefore riſing at Weſton, goeth by Brocton, Worthen, Aſton Pigot, Weſſleie, Aſterleie, and at Lea it meeteth with the Haberleie water that commeth downe by Pontelford and Aunſton. After this confluence alſo it runneth to Newenham & Crokemele, there taking in a rill on the other ſide that deſcendeth by Weſtburie and Stretton, & thence going on to Hanwood, Noball, Pulleie, Bracemele, and Shrewesburie, it falleth (as I ſaid) into the open Sauerne. From hence our Sauerne haſteth to Aſſington, Preſton, and betweene Chilton and Brampton taketh in the Terne, a faire ſtreame and worthie to be well handled; if it laie in me to performe it. This riuer riſeth in a mere beſide Welbridge parke, neere vnto Ternemere village in Staffordſhire. From whence it runneth by the parkes ſide to Knighton, Norton, Betton, and at Draiton Hales croſſeth with a water comming from about Adbaſton (where maiſter Brodocke dwelleth) and runneth by Chippenham and Amming: ſo that the Terne on the one ſide, and this broke on the other, do incloſe a great part of *Blore heath, where a noble battell was ſometime purpoſed betweene king Henrie the firt, and the duke of Yorke: but it wanted execution.

But to proceed. After this confluence, it runneth to Draiton Hales, Ternehill bridge: and yer long taking in a rill from Sandford by Blechleie, it goeth to Stoke Allerton, Peplaw, and Eaton, where it croſſeth with a broke that riſeth about Brinton, and going by Higham, Morton, the great Mere, Forton, Pilſon, Pickſtocke, Reinton, Tibberton, and Bolas, it ioineth with the ſaid Terne not farre from Water Upton. Thence paſſing to Crogenton, it meeteth with another broke that commeth from Chaltwen Aſton, by Newport, Longford, Aldneie, and ſo through the Wilde more to Kinſleie & Sleepe, and finallie into the Terne, which haſteth from thence to Eſton bridge, and neere vnto Walcote taketh in the Roden. This water riſeth at Halton in Cambermere lake: and comming to Quenleie, croſſeth a rill from Cowlemere by Lenſall. Thence it goeth to Morton,

Bructham. Clewdogh. Bacho. Dungum. Lhoid. Biggs. Couine. Carnon. Caran. Hawes. Duleſſe. Pule. Lenlet. Camalet. Tate. Lan Idlos. Tanet. Peuereie or Marnewie. Auernie. Mordant. Simons becke. Bederich. Terne. Pele. Haberleie. Roden.

* See Hen. 6. pag. 649.

Horton, and (ioining with another rill beneath Nonlaie that commeth from Widle) runneth on to Wen, Alton, there crossing a rill beneath Lacon hall from Prées ward, and so to Lée, Bekford, Stanton, Morton, Shabrée, Painton, Roden, Rodington, and then into Terne, that runneth from thence by Charlton, Upton, Norton, Barwyc, Acham, and so into the Sauerne two miles beneath Shrewesburie (as I wéene.)

Thus haue I described the Terne in such wise as my simple skill is able to performe. Now it resteth that I proceed on (as I maie) with the Sauerne streame, with which, after this former confluence, it goeth vnto Rorater or Rorcester, Brampton, Eaton vpon Sauerne, Draiton, where it ioineth with the Euerne that runneth from Frodesleie ward by Withiall and Pitchford, Tressedge, Garneston, Leighton, and betwéene the two Bildasses crosseth the Rhe or Wenlocke water, and so goeth on to Browsleie and Hord parke, where it vniteth it selfe with another broke to be described in this place, whilest the Sauerne rests, and recreates it selfe hereamong the plesant bottoms.

Euerne.

wenlocke or Rhe.

This water ariseth aboue Tongcastell, and yet it haue run anie great distance from the head, it méeteth with a rill comming by Sheriffe Hales, and Staunton. Thence it goeth on to Hatton, Roiton, and there crossing another from Woodhouses, comming by Haughton and Euelin, it procéedeth to Beckebirie and Higford, and not omitting here to crosse the Worfe (sometime a great streame that runneth vnto it out of Snowdon pole) and so passeth forth to Badger, Acleton, Worffield: a litle from whence (about Wickin) it taketh in another broke into it called Churle, & so goeth on to Rindleford, and then into Sauerne somwhat aboue Bridgenorth at Penston mill (except mine information deceiue me.) From Bridgenorth our Sauerne descendeth to Woodburie, Quatford, and there taking in the Marbroke beneath Eaton that riseth aboue Collaton, and goeth by Morill & Underton, it runneth by Didmanston, Hempton, Aueleie, & beneath in the waie to Bargate, crosseth with a broke comming from Upton parke, by Chetton, Billingsleie, and Highleie, which being admitted, it holdeth on to Areleie, Clarnewood parke, Halbach and Dowlesse. Here also it méeteth with the Dowlesse water, a pretie broke issuing out of the Cle hilles in Shropshire, verie high to loke vpon, and thrée miles or thereabouts from Ludlow, which runneth through Clebirie parke in Wire forrest, & taking withall the Lempe, doth fall into the Sauerne not far from Bewdleie.

Marbroke.

Dowliesse.

Lempe.

But to procéed. From Bewdleie our Sauerne hasteth directlie to Ribford, Areleie and Redston, and here it méeteth with a water called Stoure, descending from Elie, or out of the ponds of Hales Owen in Worcestershire, where it receiueth a rill from the left hand, and another from the right, and then goeth on to Sturbridge (taking in there the third water per long running from Sturton castell) then to Kniuer Whittenton, Querleie and Kidermister, aboue which it crosseth one brokelet that commeth thither by Church hill, and another beneath it that runneth by Belborow, betwixt which two waters lieth an od peece of Staffordshire included, and also the Cle hill. From hence the aforesaid Sauerne hasteth by Redston to Shrawleie, and aboue this towne receiueth the Astleie water, as beneath the same it doth another. From Witleie then it goeth on to Holt castell, and so to Grimleie taking in thereabout with the Doure, and Sulwale waters, whereof this riseth at Chadswyc, and runneth by Stoke priorie, & Droitwich, the other aboue Chaddesleie, and commeth by Dourdale. After this it goeth forth vnto Worcester,

Stoure.

Astleie.

Doure.
Sulwale.

in old time called Cair Brangon, or Cair Frangon, where it méeteth with the Tiber, or Tiberton water, on the right hand aboue that citie, and beneth it nere vnto Powyc with the Temde, whose description shall be set downe before I procéed or go anie further with the Sauerne.

Tiber.

The Temde, or (as some name it) the Tame riseth vp in Radnorshire, out of the Welenith hilles, and sone after his issue, méeting with a water from Withall, it runneth to Begeldie, Lanuerwaterden, and so to Knighton, which is fiue or six miles (as I heare) from his originall. From Knighton it goeth ouer the ditch of Offa vnto Standish, and crossing a rill that commeth from betwéene the parke named Clude, (and is a bound of Radnorshire) it goeth to Buckton, Walford, and Lanuarden, where it méeteth with the Bardwell or Berfield, and the Clun, both in one chanell, of which I find these descriptions here folowing word for word in Leland. The Bardwell or Barfield riseth aboue New Chappell, in the honour of Clun, hard by the ditch of Offa, and goeth by Bucknell. The Clun issueth out of the ground betwéene Lhan Uehan and Paiston, and going on by Bucton, Cluncastell, Clundon, Purslaw, and Clunbirie, it crosseth with a broke that runneth along by Kempton and Brampton. Thence going forth by Clunbirie, Brome, Abcot and Harlow, it méeteth with the Bardwell, and so in the Temde, not verie far from Temderton. I suppose that Leland calleth the Bardwell by the name of Owke, but I will not abide by it bicause I am not sure of it. After these confluences therefore, our Temde goeth by Trippleton, Dounton, Burrington, and Bromefield, where it méeteth with the Oneie, which is an indifferent streame, and increased with sundrie waters, whereof I saie as followeth.

Temde.

Clude.

Barfield Clun.

Owke.

The first of all is called the Bow. It riseth (as I learne) in the hilles betwéene Hillington and Shelue, and from thence commeth downe by Lindleie and Hardwyc, where it crosseth the Warren that issueth out of the ground about Kotlie chappell, and runneth by Adston and Wentnor. After the confluence also going on by Choulton and Cheintes, it taketh in the Queneie and Strabroke both in one chanell, whereof the first riseth at Lebotwod, and commeth downe by the Strettons, till it passe by Fellanton. The seond mounteth about Longuill, and goeth by Rushburie, Newhall, Harton, and Alcaster, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the Queneie, and so by Stratford into the Oneie, which hath borne that name since the confluence of the Bow and Warren at Hardwyc, whereof I spake before. Finallie, the Oneie which some call the Somergill being thus increased, it runneth on to Hawford chappell, Oneibirie, Bromefield, and so into Temde, and next of all to Ludlow. The Temde being thus brought to Ludlow, méeteth with the Corue, which commeth thorough Coruedale from aboue Broctor by Morehouses, Shipton, Hungerford, and a little beneath taking in a rill that commeth by Tugford, and Brencost castell, goeth on to Corsham castell, and there crossing another from saint Margarets Clée, it hieth to Stanton Lacie, and so likewise to Ludlow.

Warren.

Queneie and Strabroke.

From Ludlow in like sort it goeth to Ludford, the Ashfordes, little Hereford, Burrington, and at Burford vniteth it selfe with the Ladwich that commeth beneath Wilburne stoke, from betwéene Browne, Clebill, and Stittertons hill, to Middleton, Henleie, Ladwich, Conam, and so into Temde, which beneath Temdbirie receiueth another rill on the other side, and the second on the left hand called Rhe, that commeth from aboue Kinton, Staterton, Hound, Nene, Clebirie, Knighton, and then into the Temde. From hence the Temde doeth goe by Astham,

Ladwich.

Rhe.

Aſtham, Lingridge, Shelleie Welch, Clifton, Whitburne (and croſſing a water that commeth from the Sapies) to Knightwic and Bradwaies. Hereabout againe it interteineth a rill that deſcendeth from about Kidburie on the right hand, and goeth by Collomatherne, Credcleie, Aufrike, and ſo into Temde, and then proceeding forward, the ſaid ſtreame runneth to Braunford, and yer long (taking in the Langherne that riſeth about Martleie, and paſſeth by Kengewic) it goeth to Powic, and ſo into the Sauerne before it come at Wickeceſter. Langherne.

Thus haue I brought all ſuch ſtreames before me that fall into the Sauerne from the head, vntill I come to Powic, wherof (as you may eaſily perceiue) the Temde is the moſt excellent. Now it reſteth that I proceed with the reſt of the diſcourſe intended concerning this our riuer. Certes, from Powic mils which are about halfe a mile beneth Worceſter, the Sauerne runneth on to Kempſeie and Cleueld, whence after it hath croſſed a broke comming from Cowleie, it haſteth firſt to Stoke, and ſo to Upton, which is eleuen or twelue miles from Gloceſter, whither it floweth manie times at high tides, but yer it come there, it drowneth another fall deſcending from Maluerne hilles by Blackemore parke, & ſoone after the third growing by two branches, wherof one commeth alſo from Maluerne hils by little Maluerne and Welland, the other from Elderford by Pendocke and Longdon. After theſe confluences in like ſort, it runneth to Buſhelleie, and Tewkeſburie, where it receiueth the Auon, that followeth next of all in order to be deſcribed, before I proceed anie further in my diſcourſe of Sauerne.

Auon 4. The Auon riſeth at Nauelbie in the borders of Northhamptonſhire, a little ſide hand of Gilleſborow and foot of the hils whereon Nauelbie ſtandeth, and euen out of the church yard of the ſaid village. From hence it goeth to Welford, Stamford, Lilburne, Clifton, and Rugbie, by north whereof it croſſeth a water called Swift, which commeth from aboue Kimcote, to Lutterworth, Browne ouer and Colſford. From thence alſo it goeth to Newbold, Wolſton, Ruington, and betweene the Stonlies taketh in the Sow. This Sow is a pretie water comming from aboue Calendon to Whitleie, and ſoone after meeting with a riueret from Couentrie, which ſome do call Shirburne water, it goeth thence to Bagginton, where it taketh in a rill called Kinell, as I haue red from Kenelſworth, from whence it runneth to Stonleie, & ſo into the Auon. After this confluence the Auon procedeth on to Stonleie abbeie, Aſhebow, Piluerton, Edmonds cote, and appace to Warwiſc.

But yer it come there, it meeteth from ſouth eaſt with two waters in one chanell, whereof the leaſt commeth to Parton from Biſhops Itchington, by Yerburbirie and Thorpe, where it croſſeth a rill from Southam. The other is called Leame, or Lime that deſcendeth from about Yelladon, or neere vnto Cateſbie in Northamptonſhire, and going by Duencote, Braunſton, Lemington and Pertun, it ioineth with the other, and then go from thence togither vnder the name of Leame, to Yunnington, Cobbington, and ſo into the Auon, as I gaue notice before. At Warwike alſo the Auon taketh in a water running northweſt from Groue parke. Thence it goeth on to Bereford, and there croſſing another from Shirburne, it palleth forth to Biſhops Yampton, meeting finallie with the third, from Kineton that runneth by Walton and Charlecote. After this laſt rehearſed confluence, it haſteth to Stretford vpon Auon, and then to Luddington ward, where it taketh in the Stoure that riſeth aboue Cherington, & whoſe courſe from thence is ſuch, as that being once paſt the head, it goeth by Weſton, and yer long croſſing a water from Campden, hanging Aſton, & Todnam, it runneth to Barcheſton, Aldermaſton, Clifford, & ſo into the Auon.

Swiuethus. Souus. Kinell. Leame. Stoure.

From hence then the ſaid Auon goeth to Luddington, Burton, Bitford, and Cleue, and being parted from the ſaid towne, yer it come at Sawford, it receiueth the Arow or Aur, which riſing in the blacke hils in Worceſterſhire, commeth by Alchurch, Beleie parke, Ypſleie, Studleie, and then taking in another rill called Alne, out of Fecknam forreſt, and going by Coughton parke, it haſteth to Alceſter, Arow, Ragleie, Wheteleie, Bouington, Standford, and ſo into Auon, which after this conjunction goeth to Uffenton & then to Couelholme: but yer it come there it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the firſt riſeth about Willerſeie, the other neere to Buckland, and ioining beneath Badſeie, they fall into Auon, vnder the name of Pludor broke, before it come to Couelholme. Arow. Alne. Pludor.

Being paſt Couelholme it croſſeth the Vincell, which riſing out of the hils ſomewhere about Sudleie, runneth two miles further to Winchelcombe, and Gretton, and taking in a rill by the waie from Hailes, procedeth on (going within one quarter of a mile of Hailes abbaie) to Tuddington, or Dodington, beneath which when it hath croſſed another rill that commeth from Stanwaie, it goeth to Warmington, Sedgeborow, and receiuing there the laſt on the right hand alſo (as all aboue rehearſed) it falleth into the Auon, when it is come by Hinton, vnto a towne called Hampton, or (as ſome do write it) Ampton. After this confluence the Auon goeth to Charleton, to Crapthorne (and there taking in a rill on the left hand) to Fladbirie wike, and almoſt at Perſore bridge, meeteth with a branched water that commeth by Piddle, whereof one head is at Alberton, an other at Piddle. From Perſore it goeth to Birlingham, and ſoone after carrieng a broke withall deſcending from Fakenham, by Bradleie, Yimbleton, Huddenton, Crowleie, Churchhill, Pibleton, Belleford and Delleford, it fleeteth to Eckington, Bredon, Twining, Pitton, and Tewkeſburie, where it ioineth with the Sauerne. Vincelus. Piddle.

Now to reſume the courſe of the Sauerne, you ſhall vnderſtand, that from Tewkeſburie it goeth to Derehirſt, the Yow paſſage, and ſoone after receiuing the Chiltenham water that commeth thither by Bodenton, Sawton, and Norton, it runneth to Aſhelworth, Sainthirſt; and here it parteth it ſelfe till it come to Gloceſter, where it vniteth it ſelfe againe. But in the meane time the eaſterlie branch receiueth a forked chanell, whereof one head is not far frō Leke Hampton, the other about Witcombe, from whence it goeth to Brockworth. The other branch or arme taketh in the Leadon that commeth downe by Preſton, Dimmocke, Pantleie vpper Leadon, Leadon court, and there taking in one rill that commeth from Linton by Areknoll, and another beneath it from Tainton by Rudford, it falleth into the ſaid branch on the right ſide, before it come at Gloceſter. Chilus. Leadon.

The Sauerne therefore being paſt Gloceſter, it meeteth with a litle rill on the right hand, and thence holding on his courſe by Elmore, Minſterworth, Longneie, to Framilode, it receiueth yer it come at this latter the Strowd broke, which riſing not farre from Side, goeth by Pallade, Edgeworth, Frampton, Strowd, and receiuing there a water that commeth from Panneſwic Lodge, by Pitteſcombe on the one ſide, and another from Radbridge on the other, it proſecuteth his voiage to Stone houſe, Eſlington, white Miſen, & ſo toward Framilode, where the ſaid Strowd doth fall into the Sauerne. After Strowd.

ths

the fall of Strowd, the Sauerne goeth from thence to Newenham, and Arlingham, and sone after receiuing a water on each side, whereof one commeth from Uleie by Cham and Chambridge, the other by Blackneie and Catcombe, it goeth forth till it méet with another water on ech side, whereof that on the English halfe is forked, so that one head thereof is to be found about Borwell, the other at Horton, and méeting aboue Tortworthie, they run by Stone and Barkeleie castell, and so into the Sauerne. That on the Welsh halfe is named Newarne, which cõmeth from the forrest of Deane, and so into the Sauerne.

Newarne.

## Of such waters as fall into the sea in compasse of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.

### Chap. 14.

THe Sauerne being thus described, it resteth that I go forward with the names of those that lie vpon the coast of Southwales, making my entrie at the ferrie ouer betweene Aust in Glocestershire, and a village on the further banke of Sauerne, not farre from Tarendacus chappell, in the mouth of the riuer Wlie, which ferrie is about three miles ouer (saith Leland) or else my memorie doth faile me. This riuer Gute or Wlie beginneth (as I said before) on the side of the hilles where the Sauerne doth arise, and passing through Wenceland, that is, southeast by Raiader Guie to Buelt (where the Irwon meeteth withall) it goeth to Glasburie, Hereford, Monmouth, and finallie into the Sauerne sea at Chepstow: for so they call Monhafren, which seuereth Wales from Summersetshire, Deuonshire, Cornewall: as for the Rhidoll which is the third sister, it hath the shortest course of all, for it runneth northward, and into the sea at Aberist with, which is not farre off, as the writers do report.

wie mouth.

Guie alias Wie.

Leland writing of this riuer Guie or Wlie saith thus; The Wlie goeth thorough all Herefordshire by Bradwarden castell, belonging to sir Richard Uehan, and so to Hereford east, thence eight miles to Rosse, a market towne in Herefordshire: and in this riuer be vmbers, otherwise called graslings. It is also found by common experience, that the salmon of this riuer is in season, when the like fish to be found in all other riuers is abandoned and out of vse; whereof we of the east parts do not a little maruell. But let vs not staie vpon these descriptions, sith an other is come to my hand more exact than either of these.

Vmber a fish onelie in the Wie.

The Guie therefore riseth out of the blacke mounteines of Wales, out of which the Sauerne springeth in Radnorshire, and comming by Lhangerike, and Raiadargoie, it receiueth one rill from the west called Darnoll, and another from by northeast comming by saint Harmon. Thence it goeth to Lhanuthell, and in the waie betwixt Raiader and Lhanuthell, it ioineth with the Elland, whose head is nére to Comeriswith, and taketh likewise into him the Clardwen that diuideth for a season Radnorshire from Brecknoch, which Clardwen is likewise increased by the Clarthie within three miles of his head and lesse, hauing his course from southwest & hillie soile adiacent. From Lhanuthell it goeth west of Disart, where it receiueth the Ithan, a riuer rising aboue Lhantbister, and from whence it runneth to Landiwie, and Lambaderne vawr: beneath which it crosseth a water on ech side, whereof that on the right hand consisteth on the Duleise and the Cluedoch, after their confluence: the other hight Lomaron, whose head is aboue Lanihangle, and in the forrest of Blethwag. After these confluences, it runneth on crinkeling in strange manner, vnder the name of Ithon, till it come to Disart, taking in the Hawie on the left side yer it come there, and then into the Wlie on the north side, which directeth his course further to Bealt, where it receiueth the Irwon, a notable streame, descending from the hilles aboue Lanihangle Abergwessen, and thence comming downe by Lanurid Lang marsh, Lanauan, Uechan, Langantan, and so to Beth or Bealt, being inlarged by the waie with sundrie faire waters, as the Weuereie, whose head is about Lanauan more, the Dulasse, or (as some call it) the Dowlasse, that commeth from the hilles west of the head of Weuereie. The Comarch whose head and course is west of the Dowlasse on the north side, and likewise by two other on the southwest, and Dilasse from by southwest, which last rehearsed falleth into him halfe a mile and more aboue the influence of the Comarch which lieth on the other side. After this our Irwon goeth to Lhanuareth, where it crosseth the Dehon on the southwest side, then to Aberedwie, and there receiueth the Edwie on the northeast, which ariseth in the hilles aboue Botins chappell, and commeth downe by Crigend and Lanhaderne, thence the Guie goeth on to Lanstephan, and there (or a little aboue) taketh in the Machawreie that commeth by castell Paine, and so going on in processe of time with the Leuenni, whereof Leland in his commentaries doth write as here insueth.

Lamaron.
Hawie.
Irwon.
Weuereie.
Dulasse.
Comarch.
Dulesse.
Dehon.
Edwie.
Machawreie.
Leuenni.

The Leuenni, otherwise called the Euer or Euerie, is a farre streame rising in Welch Talgarth hard by Blaine Leuenni, among the Atterill hilles, from whence it goeth to Brecknoch mere, which is two miles long, and a mile broad, and where men do fish in Vniligneis or botes of one peece, as they do in Lhin Seuathan, which is foure miles from Brecknoch. Finallie, bringing great store of red sand withall, and there with the Brennich water (that hath his originall issue at Mennithgader, and is increased with the Trufrin) it falleth into the Wlie aboue Glesbirie three miles from Haie, at a place that of the onelie fall of this broke is named Aberleuenni, after this the Guie. Being come to Haie, a prettie towne where much Romane coine is found, which they call Iewes monie: and after it hath passed or crossed a little broke, which commeth from Lanigon, it méeteth with the Duleise that commeth also from the Atterill by Kerlop, and from thence goeth to Clifford castell (being now entred into Herefordshire, and leauing Radnor, whereunto it hath for a long course béene march) then to the Whitneies, Winferton, Letton, Bradwarden, Broberie, Monington, Bisord, Bridgesalers, Eaton, Brinton, and Hereford, without anie influence of riuer worthie of memorie, and yet with manie windlesses, & there méeteth with a water rising short of Wormesleie, which goeth by Maunsell, Lacie, Brinsop, Credenell, Stretton, and Huntington, and sone after into the Wlie, beside a little rill that runneth betweene them both euen into Hereford towne. From hence in like sort the Wlie hasteth to Rotheras church, Hampton, and Mordesord, where it taketh in sundrie waters in one chanell, of which the Lug or Luie is the principall, and next of all to be described, before I go anie further with the course of the Wlie, whereinto it dischargeth the chanell. It riseth in the edge of the forrest of Kemples aboue Langunlo: from whence it goeth to Momonacht, Pilleth Whitton, Fuldibroke, Prestaine, so into Herefordshire, where betweene Bonie & Beton, or Bitton, it receiueth in the Somergill, whose crotched head being march

Darnoll.
Elland.
Clardwen.
Ithan.
Duleise.
Cluedoch.
Lug.

to

to Radnor forreſt, directeth his ſtreame betweene the new and old Radnors, to Knill, to Naſh, and ſo into the Lug, which preſentlie paſſeth by Kinſham, Shirleie, Ailmiſter, Kingſland, Eaton chappell, and ſo into Lemiſter, where it croſſeth the Dneie (a ſtreamelet riſing ſhort of Shobden, and going by Chorleſter) a little before it come to the weſt ſide of the towne.

At Lemiſter it ſelfe in like ſort three waters doo méet, and almoſt inuiron the towne, that is to ſaie, the Lug, the Pinfulleie or Pinſell (a riueret riſing at Kingſland two miles from Lemiſter) & the Kenbroke, which commeth out of the blacke mounteins, from Lemiſter, otherwiſe called Leofminſter, of the builder, and alſo Leonminſter, the Lug or Luie goeth on to Eaton, and there taketh in a rill beneath Hampton, and aboue Hope, whereof one head is betweene Hatfield and Bickleton, another nære vnto Marſton, and méeting of both at Humber. From Hampton it goeth to Bodenham, Wellington, Morton, Sutton, Shelwic, Lugwardin, and Longward, where it croſſeth the Fromeie or Frome, a prétie water, and worthie to be remembred. It riſeth about Wolferelaw, from whence it commeth downe toward the ſouthweſt by Edwinſloch to Bromyard, Auenburie, Biſhops Frome, Caſtell Frome, Can Frome, to Stretton vpon Frome, and there taking in a water called Loden, comming from aboue Biſhops Grendon, by Pencombe, Colwarne, Stoke Lacie, Colwarne, and Engleton, our Frome goeth on to Yarkeleie, Dormington, and Longward, and ſo into the Lug, betweene Longward and Sutton, which runneth forthwith to Mordford, or Morthford, and there into the Wie, vnto whoſe deſcription I now returne againe.

Pinſell. Kenbroke. Fromete. Loden alias Acon.

Being come therefore vnto Mordford, it goeth to Fawnehope, Hamlacie, Ballingham, Capull *regis*, where it receiueth a water called Treſke, from little Berch by Treſke, Fawleie, Yow, Capull Inkeſton, Foie, Brampton, Bridſtow, Wilton caſtell, the Roſſe, and there a rill from Biſhops Uptonward by Rudhall, Were ſend, Yam, Glewſton, Godderich, here in like ſort meeting with another that commeth from Eccleſwall in the confines of Gloceſterſhire, by Peniard caſtell & Coughton, to Welch Bickner, Engliſh Bickner, Hunteſham, including a parcell of Monmouthſhire, being an outliggand, as ye may find in that parcell of Herefordſhire which butteth vpon Gloceſterſhire (as you ſhall find the like péece of Herefordſhire in the confines of Salop and Worceſter, wherein Kochford ſtandeth, beſide manie other which I haue elſewhere ſpoken of) Whitchurch, where it taketh in Gainar water that commeth from Much Birch, by Lanwarne, Michaell church, and at Langarran croſſeth the Garran broke, that riſeth in Gregwood, ſhort of Arcop, ſix miles from Monemouth by northwell: after which theſe two doo runne as one to Marſton, and almoſt Whitchurch, and ſo into the Wie, which goeth from thence to Gunnarew, S. Michaell, Dixton, and Monemouth, where I will ſtaie a while, till I haue deſcribed the Mone, next of all to be remembred here.

Treſke, Gainar. Garran.

The Mona or Monbecke, riſeth in the forreſt of Hene, twentie miles from Monemouth by weſt in Eirlland, and going by Creſwell, or Craſwall chappell not farre from the marches of Brecknocke, and northeaſt of Hatuill hils, which after it hath run a good diſtance from the head receiueth firſt the Eſkle, and paſſeth by Lanihangle and the old Court, from northweaſt, then the Olcon, from ſouthweſt, which méeteth withall nære Cledoll or Knedoch, & paſſing by the old towne, it haſteth to Altrinis, where it becommeth march betweene Hereford and Monemouth ſhires, and taketh in a water comming by Trewin, & likewiſe the Hordwie or Hodneie which riſeth in Brecknocke, among the Saterelles, & runneth by Capell a fin, Lantonie, Cumroie, Michaell church in Monemouthſhire, and ioineth with our Mona at Altrinis, which after this confluence haſteth to Walderſtone, Lanſillo Langua, betweene which and Kinechurch it ioineth with the Doure that riſeth about the Bache aboue Dourſton, which is ſix miles aboue Doure abbie, ſo that it runneth through the Gilden dale, by Peterchurch, Fowchurch, Morehampton, Newcourt, Doure, and beneath Doure taketh in the Duleſſe, from ſouthweſt and Lanihangle, by Harleſwas caſtell on the one ſide, and yer long the Wormeſbecke, deſcending from aboue Beuernall by Didleie, Deucror, Worke bridge, and Kenderchurch on the other, and ſo running all in one chanell vnto Mona, that riuer goeth on to Kinech church, Griſmond, Cardwaie, Skenfrith, Warnethall, Perthire, and ſo to Monemouth, where it méeteth with the Wie, ouer each of which riuers Monemuth towne hath his particular bridge.

Mona. Elkon. Eſkill. Hodneie. Doure. Duleſſe. Wormeſbecke

The Guie or Wie therefore being increaſed with thus manie brookes and waters, paſſeth on from hence, and going toward Landogo, it méeteth with the Trollie becke, whoſe head is aboue Lannam ferrie in the north part of Monemouth ſhire, and goeth from thence by Lhantellio, Lanihangle, Gracedieu, Diggeſtow, Wonaſtow, Troie, and ſo into Wie, that runneth alſo by Wies wood chaſe, taking in there the Elwie that commeth from aboue Landelwie by Langolwen, Lannillen, Penclaſe, Trilegh, and Langogo, where méeting with the aforeſaid ſtreame, the Wie directeth his courſe from thence by Tinterne abbeie (where it croſſeth a rill from Trile grange) Chapell hill, Parcaſicke, Penterie chapell, Lancante, Chepſtowe, and ſo into the ſea, leauing the Treacle (a chappell ſtanding on a rocke) on the hand betweene it & Sauerne, ouer againſt the point that lieth ſouth of Betteſlie. Next vnto the Wie, I find a rill of no great courſe, comming downe from Mounton chapell, by a place of the biſhops of Landaffe. Thence paſſing by Charſton rocke, and the point whereon Trinitie chappell ſtandeth, I come vnto the fall of Trogie, which riſeth ſhort of Trogie caſtell, and runneth toward the ſea, by Landuair, Dewſton, Calicot, and ſo into the Ocean, ouer againſt the Charſton rocke. The next fall is of a water that commeth from aboue Penho by ſaint Brides, north and by weſt of Dennie Iland, which lieth midwaie betweene that fall & Porſhot point, and before I touch at Goldcliffe point, I croſſe another fall of a freſh broke, whoſe head is aboue Landueigo in Wencewood, and courſe by Lhanbed, Langſton, Lhanwarne, and through the More to Witſton.

Elwie. Trollie. Trogie. Dennie Iland in the middeſt of the Sauerne, and likewiſe another little one called Beuerage.

Next vnto this is the Aberwich, or Wiſke, in Latine Oſca, whereon Caerleon ſtandeth, ſometime called Cheſter and Ciuitas legionum, becauſe the Romans ſoiourned there, as did afterward Arthur the great, who alſo held a noble parlement in the ſame, whereof Galfride maketh mention Lib. 7. cap. 4. affirming thereto, that in thoſe daies the mateſtie thereof was ſuch, as that all the forefronts of their houſes were in maner laid ouer with gold, according to the Romane vſage. There was in the ſame in like ſort a famous vniuerſitie, wherein were 200 philoſophers; alſo two goodlie churches erected in the remembrance of Julius and Aaron, two Britiſh martyrs, whereby it might well be reputed for the third metropoliticall ſée in Britaine. But to our water, whereof I read that it is furthermore one of the greateſt in Southwales, and huge ſhips might well come to the towne of Caerleon, as they did in the time of the Romans, if Newport bridge were not a let vnto them; neuertheleſſe, big botes come thereto. It is eight Welſh or twelue Engliſh miles from

Wiſke.

Chepſtow

Chepstow or Strigull, and of some thought to be in base Wenceland, though other be of the contrarie opinion. But howsoeuer the matter standeth, this riuer is taken to be the bounds of Brechnockshire, as Kenni is middle to Wenceland & Glamorganshire. But to leaue these by-matters, and come to the description of the water.

Uske. You shall vnderstand that the Uske or Wiske, in Latin Osca riseth in the blacke mounteins ten miles aboue Brechnocke toward Carmardine, the hill being properlie called Pminidh Duy out of which it falleth, and situate in the verie confines betweene Brechnocke and Carmardine shires, from whence winding into the northeast, it commeth to Trecastle, and in the waie betweene it and Capell Kidburne it taketh in the Craie broke, on the right hand before it come to Kidburne chappell. Going also from thence toward Deuinocke, it crosseth the Senneie on the same side (which riseth aboue Capell Senneie) next of all the Camblas, & at Aberbraine, the Brane, or the Bremich, whose head is three miles from Brechnocke, and running by Lanihangle, it meeteth I saie with the Uske, about master Awbries manor. Beneath Aber Ysker, it receiueth the Ysker, which riseth northwest aboue Party Kinoch, and commeth by Battell chappell, and going from thence by Lanspithed and Newton, it runneth in the end to Brechnocke, where it taketh in the Hodneie or Honthie on the one side, whose head is in Blaine Hodneie, and comming downe from thence by Destrune chappell, Lanihangle and Landiuilog, it meeteth with the Uske or Brechnocke townes end, which of the fall of this water was sometime called Aberhodni, as I haue beene informed: on the other halfe likewise it receiueth the Tertarith that riseth among the Bane hils, fiue miles from Brechnocke, and commeth likewise into the verie suburbs of the towne, beneath Trenewith, or new Troie, whereby it taketh the course.

Craie. Kidburne, it taketh in the Craie broke, on the right hand before it come to Kidburne chappell. Going also from thence toward Deuinocke, it crosseth the Senneie on the same side (which riseth aboue Capell Senneie) next of all the Camblas, & at Aberbraine,

Hennie. Camblas. Brane. the Brane, or the Bremich, whose head is three miles from Brechnocke, and running by Lanihangle, it

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After these confluences, the Uske procéedeth on toward Aberkinuricke, or the fall of a water whose head is in the roots of Penuchdennie hill, and passage by Cantreffe. Thence it goeth by Lanhamlaghe, Penkethleie castell, Lansanfreid, Landettie, Langonider, and soone after receiuing the Riangall (which riseth about the hill whereon Dinas castell standeth, and runneth by Lanihangle and Tretoure) it passeth betweene Laugattocke and Cerigkhowell, to Langroinie, and there about crosseth the Groinie broke, that descendeth from Ponegather, Arthur hill, by Peter church, as I find. When the Uske is past this broke, it taketh in three other short rils, from by south within a little distance, whereof the first hight Cledoch Uaur, the second Fidan, and the third Cledochbehan. Of these also the last falleth in néere to Lanwenarth. From hence the Uske runneth to Abergeuenni towne, where it méeteth with the Rebbie water from by north, that riseth short of Bettus chappell aboue the towne, and the Geuennie that descendeth from aboue Landilobartholl beneath not farre from Colbroke, and so goeth on to Hardwyc, beneath which it crosseth three nameless rilles, on the right hand or southwest side before it come at Lanihangle vpon Uske, of whose courses I know not anie more than that they are not of anie length, nor the chanell of sufficient greatnesse seuerallie to intreat of. Betweene Kemmeis and Trostreie it meeteth with such an other rill that commeth downe by Bettus Newith. Thence it goeth to Caer Uske or Brenbigeie (whose bridge, I meane that of Uske, was ouerthrowne by rage of this riuer, in the fir and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, vpon saint Hughes daie after a great snow) but yer it come there, it receiueth the Birthin on the right hand, which is a prétie water, descending from two heads, whereof the first is northwest of Panthilot, as the other is of Lanihangle and Pentmorell.

Kinuricke. Kiangall. Groini. Cledoch vaur. Fidan. Cledochvehā. Rebbie. Geuenni. Birthin. Caer vske standeth on one side of Uske, and Caerleon on the other, but Caer vske by diuerse miles further into the land.

Next vnto this it ioineth with the Elwie aboue Lanbadocke, whose head is east of Penclase, and running westwards by Penclase, Laniflen, Langowen (and beneath Landewie taking in a broket from Ragland castell, that commeth downe thither by Ragland parke) it bendeth southwest, vntill it come at the Uske, which crinkling towards the south, and going by Lanhowell, méeteth with three rilles before it come to Marthenie chappell, whereof the first lieth on the right hand, and the other on the left: the midlemost falling into the same, not farre from Lantressen, as I haue béene informed. From the mouth of the Romeneie to the mouth of the Taffe are two miles. Certes the Taffe is the greatest riuer in all Glamorganshire, called (by Ptolomie Rhatostathybius, as I gesse) and the citie Taffe it selfe of good countenance, sith it is indued with the cathedrall sée of a bishop. The course of the water in like maner is verie swift, and bringeth oft such logs and bodies of trées withall from the woddie hilles, that they do not seldome crush the bridge in peeces, but for so much as it is made with timber it is repaired with lighter cost, whereas if it were of hard stone, all the countrie about would hardlie be able to amend it. It riseth in Brechnockshire among the woddie hilles, from two heads, whereof one is in Ponnichdenie, the other west of that mounteine, of which the first called Taffe vaure, goeth by Capell Ian vehan, Llainor, and Morlais, the other by Capell Nantie, and ioining at southwest beneath Morlais castle, they go to Party Tidvill, and toward Lannabor, but by the waie it taketh in from northwest a broke called Cunnon, which commeth out of Brechnockshire by Abardare, and afterward the Rodneie comming out of the same quarter (but not out of the same shire) which runneth by Esfridinodoch, a crotched broke, & therefore diuided into Rodneie vaure, & Rodneie vehan, that being ioined with the Taffe, doth run on withall to Eglesilian, castle Coch, Whitchurch, Landaffe, Cardiffe, and so into the sea, not far from Pennarth point, where also the Laie doth bid him welcome vnto his chanell or streame. Furthermore, from Marthelie it hasteth to Kemmeis, and yer it come at Caerleon or Chester in the south, taketh in two waters on the right hand, of which the first commeth downe from the north betweene Landgwie, Landgweth, and by Lhan Henoch, without anie further increase: but the other is a more beautifull streame, called Auon, and thus described as I find it among my pamphlets. The Auon riseth in the hilles that séeme to part Monemouth and Brechenocke shires in sunder, and after a rill receiued from Blorench hill on the northside of the same, running downe from thence by Capell Newith and Triuethin, it receiueth a water from by south almost of equall course, and from that quarter of the countrie, and in processe of time another little one from the same side, yer it come to Lanurgwaie and Lanihangle, from whence it goeth to Guennocke and Penrose, & so in Uske before it go by Caerleon. But here you must note, that the course of this streame ioining beneath Quenocke chappell, with the other which descendeth (as I said) from the hilles about foure miles aboue Landgwaie and Langweth, doth make an Iland aboue Caerleon, where Penrose standeth, & much Romane coine is found of all sorts, so that the influence of the one into the other séemeth to me to be but a draine deuised by man, to kéepe the citie from the violence of such water as otherwise would oft annoie the same.

Elwie. Auon.

Being past Caerleon it runneth to Trindle, where maister

maiſter Harbert dwelleth, and there carieng another brooke withall, that riſeth north of Tomberlow hill, and deſcendeth by Henlis and Bettus chappell, it runneth forth to Newport (in Welch caſtle Newith) and from thence vnder a bridge, after three or foure miles courſe to the ſea, taking the Ebowith water withall, which méeteth with the ſame almoſt in the verie mouth or fall, and riſeth in the edge of Brecknoch ſhire, or (as Leland ſaith) high Wincelland, from two heads, of which one is called Eberith Uchan, the other Eberith Mawr, as I haue béene informed. The courſe of the firſt head is by Blamgrent, and after the confluence they paſſe togither by Lanhileth, and comming by weſt of Tomberlow hill (croſſing a rill, from north eaſt by the waie) it taketh in thereabout the Serowie, that runneth by Treſtrent, & is of leſſe race hitherto than the Ebowith, and from that ſame quarter. After this confluence it goeth to Riſleie, Rocheſton caſtell, nert of all thorough a parke, and ſo by Grœnefield caſtell, and is not long yer it fall into the ſea, being the laſt iſſue that I dow find in the countie, which beareth the name of Monemouth, and was in old time a part of the region of the Silures.

Ebowith.

Serowie.

Romeneie.

The Romeneie or (as ſome corruptlie call it) the Nonneie, is a goodlie water, and from the head a march betwéene Monemouth & Glamorgan ſhires. The head hereof is aboue Egglins Tider vap Hoell otherwiſe called Fanum Theodori, or the church of Theodorus, whence commeth manie ſprings, & taking one bottome, the water is called Canoch and not Romeneie till it be come to Romeneie. It receiueth no water on the eaſt ſide, but on the weſt diuerſe ſmall beckes, whereof three (and one of them called Ifra) are betwéene the riſing and Brathetere chappell, the fourth cõmeth in by Capell Gledis, and Kethligaire, the fift from betwéene the Faldraie and Lanuabor, the ſixt & ſeuenth before it come to Bedwas, and the eight ouer againſt Bedwas it ſelfe from chappell Martin, Cairfillie caſtell, and Thauan, after which confluences it runneth on by Maghan, Reuen, Nableie and Romeneie, & yer long croſſing a becke at north weſt that commeth from aboue Liſuan, Lamſlen and Koch, it falleth into the ſea, about ſix miles from the Wiſbe, and albeit the mouth thereof be nothing profitable for ſhips, yet is it alſo a march betwéene the Silures and Glamorganſhire.

The Laie falleth into the ſea a mile almoſt from the Taffe, and riſeth in the hilles aboue Lantriſſent (for all the region is verie hillie.) From whence comming by Lantriſſent and Auercaſtell, it runneth by Coit Marchan parke, Lambedder, S. Brides, Lhannihangle, ſaint Fagans and Elaie, Leckwith, Landowgh, Togampill, and ſo into the ſea, without anie maner increaſe by anie rils at all ſauing the Dunelais, which riſeth foure miles from his fall, eaſt northeaſt, and mæteth withall a little more than a quarter of a mile from Pont Uelim Uaur, and likewiſe by weſt, the Methcoid that commeth from Glinne Rodeneie, and wherein to the Pedware diſchargeth that ſmall water gathered in his chanell. Here will I ſtaie a little and breake off into a diſcourſe, which Leland left alſo as parcell of this coaſt who toucheth it after this maner.

Laie.

Dunelais.
Methcoid.
Pedware.

From Taffe to Laie mouth or Ele riuer a mile, from Laie mouth (or rather Penarth, that ſtandeth on the weſt point of it) to the mouth of Thawan riuer (from whence is a common paſſage ouer vnto Pineheued in Summerſetſhire of 17 miles) are about ſeuen Welſh miles, which are counted after this maner. A mile and a halfe aboue Thawan is Scilleie hauenet (a pretie ſuccour for ſhips) whoſe head is in Wlenno paroch two miles and a halfe from the ſhore. From Scilleie mouth to Aber Barrie a mile, and thither commeth a little rill of freſh water into Sauerne, whoſe head is ſcant a mile off in plaine ground by northeaſt, and right againſt the fall of this becke lieth Barrie Iland a flight ſhot from the ſhore at the full ſea. Halfe a mile aboue Aber Barrie is the mouth of Comc kidie, which riſeth flat north from the place where it goeth into the Sauerne, and ſerueth oft for harbour vnto ſea-farers. Thence to the mouth of Thawan are three miles, wherevnto ſhips may come at will.

Thawan.

Scilleie.

Barrie.

This Ile went fiftie yeares agone for x. pounds.

Comc kidie.

Two miles aboue Thawan is Colhow, whither a little rill reſorteth from Lau Ituit, thence to the mouth of Alen foure miles, that is a mile to ſaint Dinothes caſtell, and three miles further. The Alen riſeth by northeaſt vp into the land at a place called Lhes Bromith, or Skirpton, about foure miles aboue the plot where it commeth by it ſelfe into Sauerne. From thence to the mouth of Ogur *alias* Gur three miles. Then come they in proceſſe of time vnto the Kenſike or Colbrooke riuer, which is no great thing, ſith it riſeth not aboue three miles from the ſhore. From Kenſike to Aber Auon two miles, and herein dow ſhips moleſted with weather oftentimes ſeeke harborough. It commeth of two armes, whereof that which lieth northeaſt is called Auon Uaur, the other that lieth northweſt Auon Uchan. They meet togither at Lhanuoie Hengle, about two miles aboue Aber Auon village, which is two miles alſo from the ſea.

Colhow.

Alen.

Ogur.

Kenſike.

Auon.

From hence to the Neth is about two miles and a halfe, thereon come ſhiplets almoſt to the towne of Neth from the Sauerne. From the mouth of Neth vnto the mouth of Crimline becke is two miles, and being paſſed the ſame we come vnto the Taue, which deſcendeth from the aforeſaid hilles and falleth into the ſea by eaſt of Swanſeie. Being paſt this we come vnto the Lichwr, or Lochar mouth, and then gliding by the Wormes head, we paſſed to the Wandresmouth, whereof I find this deſcription following in Leland. Both Uendraith Uaur and Uendraith Uchan riſe in a péece of Carmardineſhire, called Iſſekenen, that is to ſaie, the low quarter about Kennen riuer, and betwixt the heads of theſe two hils is another hill, wherein be ſtones of a grœnish colour, whereof the inhabitants make their lime. The name of the hill that Uendraith Uaur riſeth in, is called Mennith Uaur, and therein is a poole as in a moriſh ground, named Lhintegowen, where the principall ſpring is, and this hill is eight or nine miles From Kidwellie: the hill that Uendraith Uchan ſpringeth out of, is called Mennith Uchan, and this water commeth by Kidwellie towne.

Neth.

Taue.

Lochar.
Wandres.

Uendraith Uaur, Uendraith Uchan.

But about three or foure miles yer it come thither, it receiueth a broke called Treſgirth, the courſe whereof is little aboue a mile from the place where it goeth into Uendraith, and yet it hath foure or fiue tucking milles and three corne milles vpon it. At the head of this broke is an hole in the hilles ſide, where men often enter and walke in a large ſpace. And as for the broke it ſelfe, it is one of the moſt plentifull and commodious that is to be found in Wales. All along the ſides alſo of Uendraith Uaur, you ſhall find great plentie of ſea-coles. There is a great hole by head of Uendraith Uchan, where men vſe to enter into vaults of great compaſſe, and it is ſaid, that they maie go one waie vnder the ground to Wormes head, and another waie to Cairkemen caſtell, which is three miles or more into the land. But how true theſe things are, it is not in me to determine; yet this is certeine, that there is verie good hawking at the Heron in Uendraith Uchan. There are diuerſe prints of the paſſage of certeine worms alſo in the caue, at the head of Uendraith Uchan, as the inhabitants dow fable: but I neuer heard of anie

man that saw anie woorme there, and yet it is beléeued that manie woormes are there. Hitherto out of Leland. But now to returne to mine owne course.

Laie. Leauing the Laie, which some call Elaie, and passing the Pennarth baie, that lieth betweene the Pennarth and the Lauerocke points, we left Scillie Ilet (which lieth on the mouth of Scillie hauen before described) and came vnto the Barrie, whose head is aboue Wrinston castell, and from whence he runneth by Deinspowis, Cadorton, Barrie, and so into the sea.

Barrie.

Aberthaw Being past the Barrie water, we come to a fall called Aberthaw, which riseth two or three miles aboue Lansanor, and going by Welch Newton, it commeth at length to Cowbridge, and from thence goeth to Lanblethian, Landoch, Beanpéere, Flimston, Gilston, and betweene the east and the west Aberthaw, & into the Sauerne sea. But yer it come all there it receiueth a broke called Kensan, or Karnsan, or Kensech, on the east side, whose head is east of Bolston, & comming by Charnelhold, Lhancaruan, & Lancadle, it falleth into the former aboue either of the Thawans. Leland saith, that Kensan hath two heads, whereof the more northerlie called Brane, lieth in Luenlithan, and runneth seauen miles before it méet with the other. Leauing this water we sailed on, casting about the Nash point, omitting two or three small waters (whereof Leland hath alreadie as ye see made mention) because I haue nothing more to add vnto their descriptions, except it be, that the Colhow taketh in a rill from Lan Iltruit, of whose course (to saie the truth) I haue no manner of knowledge.

Kensan.

Ogur. The Ogur or Gur, which some call the Ogmur, is a well faire streame (as we were wont to saie in our old English) whose head is in the same hilles, where the Rodeneies are to be found, but much more westerlie, and running a long course yer it come to anie village, it goeth at the length beneath Languineuere or Langonodoch, to S. Brides vpon Ogur, then to Newcastell, and Parthermaure, beneath which it méeteth the Wennie, halfe a mile from Ogur or Ogmur castell on the east side of the banke. It riseth fiue or six miles from this place, among the hilles, and comming downe at last by Lanharne, it crosseth a rill yer long from northeast, and the confluence passeth forth by Coitchurch, Ogur castell, & so into the Ogur. Leland writing of the waters that fall into this Ogur saith thus. Into the Ogur also resorteth the Garrow two miles aboue Lansanfride bridge, descending from Blaingarow. It taketh furthermore (saith he) another called Leuennie rising in the parish of Glin Corug, at northwest, and then running two miles lower, vniteth it selfe with the Corug broke, a little short thing, and worthie no longer speach. From this confluence the Leuennie goeth seauen miles further yer it meete with the Ogur on the west side, at Lansanfride, two miles aboue Penbowt. And so far Leland. But I wot not what he meaneth by it.

Wennie.
Garrow.
Leuennie.
Corug.

Kenlig. Next vnto the Ogur is the Kenlig water, that commeth downe by the Pile and Kenlig castell, and being past the same we crosse the Margan rill, where sir Edward Manrell dwelt, and so vnto Auon, which hauing two heads (as is said) the more easterlie of them commeth downe by Hauodapont chappell, the other by Glin Corug, Michaell church, Aber Auon, and so into the sea, yéelding also in time of néed a good harbour for ships to lodge and ride in. From hence we went along by the Cole pits to the mouth of the Neth. The Neth is a faire water, rising of diuerse heads, whereof the more easterlie named Nethuehan riseth not farre from the head of the Kennon, and comming downe by Penedorin to Aberpirgwin, it receiueth Nethuaur, a little aboue the towne, which rising not farre southeast of the head of Taue in Brecknoch shire (as all the rest do) receiueth the Trangarth, the Neltaie and the Hepsaie, all which are accounted as members of his head in one chanell, about a mile or more before it ioine with Nethuehan. For as Trangarth riseth east of Nethuaur, so the Nelta riseth by east of Trangarth, and ioineth with the same aboue Istrad wealthie, and a little beneath the same towne taketh in the Hepsaie. So that albeit their seuerall risings be half or a whole mile in sunder, yet haue they (in a maner) like distance from Aberpirgwin, and their finall confluence in the edge of Glamorganshire, which they directlie do crosse. After these confluences, the maine streame runneth in and out by sundrie miles, and through the woddie soiles, till it meet with Cledaugh, which ioineth with the same beneath the Resonlaie, and goeth withall to Lanisked, where it taketh in the Dulesse, whose head is aboue Chappell Krenaunt, in the marches of Brecknoch. Thence it goeth to Cador towne, or betweene it and Lannistide, then to Neth towne, whither small vessels often come: and beneath the same receiuing the Cledoch that runneth by Kelebebilch (and also Neth abbeie where maister Crumwell dwelleth) it goeth on by Coitstranke forrest, Nethwood, Briton ferrie, and so into the sea.

Nethuaur. Trangarth. Neltaie. Hepsaie. Dulesse. Cledoch.

Taue. The Taue riseth in the thickest of the blacke mounteines in Brecknochshire west of Nethuaur, and comming downe west of Calwen chappell, it receiueth on the east banke a rill named Coiell that runneth thither by Coielburne chappell: and being thus vnited, the chanell passeth forth by Istradgunles, and then méeting with the Turch or Torch water that cómeth from the foot of the blacke mounteines, and is march to parcell of Caermardinshire, it runneth to Langoge, Lansamled, saint Johns, Swanseie, and so into the Baie. Being past this, we come by another little fall, whose water runneth three or foure miles yer it come into Swanseie baie, but without name. Thence we go to the Crimline becke, whose description I neither haue, nor find anie great want therof. Wherfore going about by Dinermont castell, and Wambles point, we passe forth toward the southwest by Penmarch point, till we come to Ilston water, whose head is not farre within the land; and yet as it commeth thorough the woodland, and downe by Penmarch castell, a rill or two doth fall into the same. Then casting about by Orwich point, we go onward there by, and sailing flat north by the Holme (hauing passed the Wormeslead and S. Kennets chappell) and then northeast by Whitford point, we went at length to the Lochar or Loghor, or as Lhoyd nameth it, the Lichwr, whose indraught for a certene space is march betweene Caermardine and Glamorgan shires. It riseth aboue Gwenwie chappell, from whence it goeth to Landbea, and aboue Bettus receiueth a rill named Amond that entreth thereinto from northeast. Being past Bettus, it passeth by Laneddie, Arthelas bridge, and ouer against Landilo Talabout, it crosseth from by west, the Combwilie by west of Parkreame, and afterward the Morlais aboue Langnarch on the same side. Then comming to Loghor castell, it taketh in on the east side, the Lhu, whose course is not aboue fiue miles, and thence losing the name of Lochar, it is called Burraie, as some gesse, vntill it come to the sea, where it parteth it selfe going on each side of Bachannie Iland, a small thing, and not worthie (for anie thing I read thereof) as yet to be particularlie described. From this water we passed (I saie) by Bachannies Ile, to the Aberlheddie water, whose head being in the hilles aboue Penacrois, it passeth by

Tauie. Coilus. Torch. Ilston. Lochar. Amond. Combwilie. Morlais. Lhu. Burraie.

by Lhanelcheie, and thence into the sea. Then went we to the Dulesse a little rill, whose head is not farre from Trinsaren: thence by the Pembraie and Calicoit points, till we came about to the Wandres or Uendraith mouth, whose description is partlie touched alreadie; but bicause it is not such as I would wish it to be, I will here after my owne maner deale somewhat further withall. Gwendraith or Uendraith vaur riseth in the lower ground, or not far from the hill Kenneth Uaur, whereon castell Careg standeth, and descending by a pretie long course vnder sundrie bridges, commeth at the last to Glin, then to Capull Lanberie, and so vnto the sea, being little augmented with influences by the waie. Uendraith Uehan riseth a mile higher towards the north than Uendraith Uaur, but out of the same soile, & thence directing his course toward the southwest, it goeth by Lancharog, Langendarne, Capull Langell, Bithon, Leighdenie, Kidwillie, and so into the sea, about one mile from the fall of Uendraith Uaur.

Dulesse.

Wandres.

Towie. The Towie riseth in the mounteines of Elennith foure miles by southeast from Lintiue, and two from Lingonon, in a mourish ground foure & twentie miles from Caermardine, and in a forrest called Bishops forrest, midwaie betwixt Landwibreuie & Landanuerie castell. For fish, in my opinion, this is much better than the Taw or Taffe, whose head breedeth no fish, but if it be cast into it, they turne vp their bellies, flote aloft, and die out of hand. It parteth Brecknoch from Cardigonshire also for a certeine season, till it come by the water of Trausnant, that falleth thereinto from by east out of the confins of Brecknoch, vnto Pilin capell, and so to Istrodefine, where it meeteth with the Tothee that commeth thither from Lhinuerwin where it riseth, and so through Rescoth forrest, uniting it selfe by the waie with the Pescotter, which mounting out of the ground in the edge of Cardigonshire, runneth along as a limit and march vnto the same, till it ioine with the Tothee, and both come together beneath Istrodefine into Towie, which we haue now in hand. After this confluence it commeth to Lhanuair Awbreie, Lanthowell, and Lanimphrie, and here it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the first is called Brane, the other Gutherie (which lieth more southerlie of the two) and fall (as I said) into Towie beneath Landonuereie, which runneth on till it meet with the first Dulesse that goeth by Lenurdie, then with the Worlais, and these on the northwest. Certes the Brane is a pretie broke rising two or three miles aboue Capell Newith, and descending by Lanbrane and Ustradwalter, it meeteth (I saie) with the Gutherie, whose head is west of Tridcastell in Brecknochshire, and thereby it is not a little increased. But to proceed with the Towie, which being past Lanimphrie and a rill that meeteth with the same, descending from northwest of Lanurdan, it taketh in the influences of diuerse waters in one chanell, of which the greatest is called Wodewie, and thereof I find this description.

Tothee.

Pescotter.

Brane.
Gutherie.

Dulesse.
Worlais.

Wodewie. The Wodewie, or (as some pronounce it) Wothenie, riseth of two heads, which ioining aboue Lanthangle, the streame runneth on till it meet with the Cledoch on the left hand, proceeding also further toward Langadocke, it receiueth not far from thence the Sawthein, whose two heads descend from the blacke mounteines or east edge of Carmardineshire (as mine information leadeth me.) After this confluence the second Dulesse doth meet with the Towie, whose head is in the hilles aboue Talthogaie abbeie, northwest from Langadocke full fiue miles: then comming downe by Landilobaur, Newton, Dinefar castell, and Golden groue, it receiueth the third Dulesse from by north that commeth in by Lanthangle and Dristan castell, and after that the Cothie, whose race is somewhat long, and therefore his description not vtterlie to be passed ouer.

Cledoch.

Sawthein.

Dulesse. 2.

Dulesse. 3.

Not farre from the head (which is three miles from Landanbreuie, vnder the hulke of Blaine Icorne, a narrow passage, and therein manie heaps of stones) and somewhat beneath Lana Pinsent chappell, it taketh in the Turche becke that runneth thither from aboue Lanacroies: thence it goeth to Lansawell, Abergorlech, Breghuangothie, Lannigod, and so into Towie, which hasting forward by chappell Dewie, receiueth the Rauelthie from by north, then the Gwilie from northwest, whose head is aboue Lanie Pinsent, and race by Canwell, Eluert, Comewilie, and Merling hill, as I haue often heard. After this confluence with the Gwilie, the Towie goeth to Caermardine, then to Lanigang, then to Lanstephan, S. Ismaels, and so into the sea.

Cothie.

Turche.

Rauelthie.
Gwilie.

Next vnto the Towie is the Taue, whose head is in the blacke mounteines, as at the rots of Wrenni vaur hill in Pembrokeshire, from whence it runneth by Lanuurnach, Langludien, Lannalteg, and taking in the Dudderie from southwest, out of the same countie by Lanbederuelfraie, and Lindwie, it goeth to Egleswarc chappell, beneath which it crosseth the Warlais by north that runneth by Lanbedie and Whitland. Thence meeting with one rill called Uenni, as I take it, that commeth through Cardith forrest on the one side, and the Caire on the other that runneth into it west of Landowror, it hasteth to S. Clares, where it taketh in the Carthkinnie, or Barthkinnie (as Leland calleth it) and the Gow or Tow both in one chanell, of which the first riseth aboue Capell Bettus, from whence it runneth by Talacouthe, Kilsant, and Langinnin, the other issueth out of the ground aboue Trologh Bettus, by Widrun, & ioining with the former a little aboue S. Clares, they run into the Taue, and from thence to Lanihangle, and betweene it and Abercowen, admitteth finallie the Gowen or Gow streame, which comming likewise from the blacke mounteines, goeth by Ebbernant, & so into the Taue, who directeth his course by Lancharne castell, and then into the sea.

Tauc.

Dudderie.

Warlais.

Uennie.
Caire.

Carthkinnie.
Gow.

Gowen.

The next water that we come to is the Gwair, which is but a small thing rising aboue Lambeder Uelfraie, and going from thence by east of castell Werbie hill, Crumuier and Argwaire, it is not long yer it fall into the sea, and so we leaue Cairdinshire, and go ouer into Penbroke. Then passed we by an other comming out of Rathe forrest called Coit Rathe, the water it selfe rising about Templeton. Thence leauing the Monkeston rocke, we came to Tenbie or Dinbechie Piscod, and passing into the port betweene the castell and S. Katharines rocke, we found it serued with two little backe waters, of so small countenance, that they are not worthie of anie further talke to be spent in their descriptions: yet the one seemeth to be called Florence broke, the other Fresko, Gunfreston standing betweene them both, whereby their sight cannot perish. After this we passed betweene Londie and an other Ilet or rocke lieng by northwest of the same, to Ludsop point, & so to Abertrewent, where I found a sillie fresh water named Trewend that riseth a mile or thereabout within the land. From thence we went southwards by Brode hauen, till we came to S. Gowans point. Then gathering west and by north before we came at Shepe Iland, we found another fresh water, that riseth short of Kirlog Waharen, and running south of Uggarston, Windmill hill, or betweene it and Castell Norton and Gupton, it holdeth on flat west all the waie till it come to the Ocean.

Gwair.

Brechnocke.

From Londie to Caldis thirtie miles.

Trewent.

Being passed this water, we cast about toward the northwest, by the Poptons and Pennar, till we came

Pennar. came to the Pennar mouth, out of which the salt water issueth that in maner inuironneth Penbroke. From this (omitting sundrie salt crékes on both sides of the hauen, not appertinent to our purpose) we came to the fall of two waters in one chanell, aboue whose confluence Williamston parke standeth, and whereof one (a mére salt course) incloseth thrée parts of Carew castell. The other rising neere to Coit Rath forrest is a fresh, & going by Geffraiston, Creswell & Lawrenie, it leaueth the parke on the south side, & goeth into the hauen after confluence with the former.

Now come I to the two swords, or hauen of Milford, whereinto two riuers direct their course from the northeast called Dugledu or the two swords, and betwéene them both is a rill which they call also Cultlell (that is to saie) the knife. Hereof riseth a merrie tale of a Welshman, that lieng in this place abroad all night in the cold weather, and peraduenture not verie well occupied, was demanded of his hostesse (where he did breake his fast the next morrow) at what inne he laie in the night precedent, bicause he came so soone to hir house yer anie of hir maids were vp: Oh good hostesse (quoth he) be contented, I laie to night in a dangerous estate, for I slept betwéene two swords with a long knife at my heart; meaning indéed that he laie betwéene these two riuers, and his brest towards the south nére to the head of Cultlell. But to passe ouer these iests. Here Leland speaketh of a riuer called Gwilie, but where it riseth or falleth, he maketh no certeine report: wherefore it is requisit that I proceed according to my purpose.

Dugledu. Cultlell. Gwilie.

The one of these swords is called Clothie or Clothie, of which I find this short and brée description. The Clothie riseth at the foot of Wrennie baure hill and comming downe to Monachlodge, Langelman, Lannakeuen, and Egremond, it receiueth a rill from by northwest before it come at Lanhaddon castell, which commeth from aboue the more by Clarbaston and Bletherston, his head arising in the hill west of Manclochate, as Leland doth informe me. Per long also and beneath Lanhaddon it taketh in another on the east side from Narbarth castell, comming by Robeston, then going by Cunaston, Slebach, Picton castell, Sister houses, Pinware & Partheltwie, at Rise castell point west of Coit Renles (as I haue béene informed) it taketh in the other sword, named Dugledie, wherof I read as followeth. The head of the Dugledie is somwhere at northwest, betwixt S. Laurences & S. Dugwels, from whence it runneth to Trauegarne, Redbarton, & taking in a rill by the waie from Camrose at the west, it goeth to Hauerford or Herford west, and there uniteth it selfe with a water, which peraduenture is the same that Leland called Gwilie. Certes it riseth short of Walton, and comming by S. Leonards chappell and Pendergest, it falleth I saie into the Dugledie, ouer against the towne of Hauerford or Herford west, but in Welsh Hulford; as Lhoid doth set it downe. Beneath Herford it taketh in another water from south west, whose head is short of S. Margarets chappell, and enterance betwéene Harraldston and Herford, which Harraldstone receiueth the name of Harrald the successour of Edward the confessour as some call him, who was a gréeuous mall vnto the Britons that remained in the time of the said Edward; as I haue noted elsewhere. Then the Dugledie still descending taketh in the Frese frõ Fresethorpe, a rill of no great accompt, and therefore I go from it making hast vnto Culthell, & omitting two rils betwéene it and the Clotheie on the southside, of no great weight and moment. The Culthell commeth into the Dugledie beneath Bolston, with a streight course from by north, of three or foure miles, rising by west of Slebach, and comming by Bowlston, after whose vnition with the aforesaid water, they run on as one till they meet with the Clothie, casting out by the waie sundrie salt crékes, as the maine chanell doth from thence forth vntill it passe the Sandie hauen, the Dale rode (whither a sillie fresh rill commeth of small value) & be come about againe to the large Ocean.

Dugledie.

Hauing thus shewed the courses of those few fresh waters that come to Milford hauen, we cast about by the Blockehouse and S. Annes chappell to Gateholme Ile, that lieth betwéene S. Annes and the Willocke point, directlie ouer against Stockeholme Iland that is situat further off into the sea, toward the southwest, and is full halfe so great as the Scalmeie that I elsewhere described. Betwéene the Willocke point also and the Scalmeie, directlie west is the Midland Ile, full so great as the Gateholme. As for the two rocks that lie by north and south of the Scalmeie, of which the one is called the Yardland stone, the other Newstone, it shall not be greatlie requisit to stand on their discourses, sith they are such as may hardlie be taken for Ilands, and euen in like sort we may iudge of S. Brides Ile, which is southwest of Calthrop rode, & likewise of the Gresholme, whereof I find this short description. The Gresholme lieth directlie west of Scalmeie, from whence if you sails thither on the south side, you must néeds passe by the Newstone rocke: if on the north of Scalmeie, you must leaue the Yarland stone on your left hand, Wherto if you note well the situation of these Ilands alreadie named, and confer them with the Ramseie and S. Dauids land, you shall find them to produce as it were two dangerous points, including the Brid baie, wherein (notwithstanding the greatnesse) are 1000 perils, and no fresh brookes for me to deale withall. Finallie, hauing doubled the Willocke point, we thought it not good altogether to leaue that baie vnsearched, at leastwise to sée what Ilands might there be found, & long entred into the same, we beheld one which the men of the countrie call S. Brides Iland, a verie little place and situate néere the land, before I came at Galtrote rode. From thence we went about by the little hauen, Doluach hauen, Carnate hauen, Shirelace rocke, Carnbuddie, and Carnate baies, Portelais, and so into the sound betwéens Ramseie and the point. In this sound likewise is a little Ile, almost annered to the maine: but in the middest thereof, I meane of the sound, is a rocke called the horsse (a mile and more by north of Kibbie rocke, that lieth south east of Ramseie) and more infortunate than ten of Setans colts, but thanked be God I neuer came on his backe. Thence passing by S. Stephans, and Whitesand baies, we saluted the Bishop and his clerks, as they went in procession on our left side (being loth to take anie salted holie water at their hands) and came at last to the point called S. Dauids head, which Ptolomie calleth *Octapitanum promontorium*, except I be deceiued. But here gentle reader giue me leaue to staie a while, and insert the words of Leland touching the land called S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, whereof some men may peraduenture haue vse, his words are these. Being therefore past this hauen and point of Demetia, in casting about the coast we come to S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, which Ptolomie calleth *Octapitanum promontorium*, I read to be separated from the rest of the countrie much after this maner, although I grant that there may be and are diuerse other little crékes betwixt Newgale and S. Dauids head, and betwixt S. Dauids and Fischard, beside those that are héere mentioned out of a register of that house.

Gateholme Ile. Stockeholme Ile. Midland Ile, Gresholme. S. Brides Iland. A sort of dangerous rocks lieng on a row vpon the west end of South-Wales called the Bishop & his clerkes. S. Dewis or Dauids all one.

As we turne therefore from Milford, S. Dauids land beginneth at Newgale, a créek serued with a backe fresh water. Howbeit there is a baie before this créek betwixt it and Milford. From hence about

Saluach. bout foure miles is Saluach creke, otherwiſe called Sauerach, whither ſome freſh water reſoꝛteth: the mouth alſo thereof is a good reſcue foꝛ balingers, as it (I meane the regiſter) ſaith. Thence go we to Poꝛtelais three miles, where is a little poꝛtlet, whither the Alen that commeth thꝛough ſaint Dewies cloſe doth run. It lieth a mile ſouthweſt from S. Dewies, ſaint Stinans Chappell alſo is betweene Poꝛtelais, and Poꝛtmaw. The nert is Poꝛt Paw, where I found a great eſtuarie into the land. The Pendwie halfe a mile from that: Lhand Uehan is thꝛee miles from Pendwie, where is a ſalt creke, then to Tredine thꝛee miles, where is another creke to Langunda, foure miles, and another creke is there in like ſoꝛt where fiſhermen catch herrings. Heere alſo the Gwerne riuer diuideth Penbidiane from Fiſcherdine Kemmeis land. From Langunda to Fiſchard at the Gwerne mouth foure miles, and here is a poꝛtlet oꝛ hauenet alſo foꝛ ſhips. And thus much of S. Dauids land.

Poꝛtelais. Alen. Poꝛtmaw Paw. Pendwie. Lanuchan. Tredine. Langunda. Fiſchard. Gwerne.

Beſides this alſo, Leland in a third booke talketh of lhinnes and poles, but foꝛ aſmuch as my purpoſe is not to ſpeake of lakes and lhinnes, I paſſe them ouer as haſting to Teiſie, in Latine Tibius, and after Ptolomie Tuerobius oꝛ Tiuirobius, which is the nert riuer that ſeꝛueth foꝛ my purpoſe. And yet not foꝛgetting to touch the Gwerne, foꝛ after we came from ſaint Dauids head, we coaſted along toward the ſoutheaſt, till wee came ouer againſt ſaint Catharins, where going noꝛthwards by the bꝛoad hauen, and the Strombles head, we ſailed thence noꝛtheaſt, and by noꝛth, to Langlas head, then flat ſouth by the Cow and Calfe (two cruell rockes) which we left on the left hand, & ſo coaſted ouer to Abergwin oꝛ Fiſchard, where we found a freſh water named Guin, oꝛ Gwerne, whoſe courſe is in maner directlie out of the eaſt into the weſt, from Wremie hils by Pont Haunt and Lanichair, vntill it come within a mile of the foꝛeſaid towne. It riſeth flat noꝛth of the Perſelie hill, from whence it goeth by Pont vaine, Lauerillidoch, Lanchar, Landilouair, & ſo to Abergwine, oꝛ Abergwerne, foꝛ I read both. From Abergwine, we caſt about by Dinas head, till we come to the fall of Neuerne, where Newpoꝛt ſtandeth. The head of this riuer is aboue Capell Nantgwin, from whence it runneth by Whitchurch, but yer it come at Kilgwin, it taketh in a little water that riſeth ſhoꝛt of Wrenie vaure, and thence go foꝛth as one vntill they come to Newpoꝛt. Cardigan hauen is the nert fall that I did ſtumble on, wherein lieth a litle Iland ouer againſt the noꝛth point. Hereinto alſo commeth the Teiſie, a noble riuer which riſeth in Lintinie, and is fraught with delicate ſamons, and herein and not elſewhere in all the riuers of Britaine, is the Caſtoꝛ oꝛ Beuer to be found. But to pꝛoceed. The verie hed thereof (I ſaie) is foure miles aboue Stradfloꝛe in Luitinie, and after it hath run from thence a little ſpace, it receiueth a bꝛoke from ſoutheaſt that commeth out of Lin Legnant, and then after the confluence runneth on to Stradfloꝛe abbeie, beneth which it meeteth with the Piricke water (that riſeth aboue Stradmirich) and ſoone after with the Landurch (both from the noꝛthweſt) and finallie the Bꝛennich aboue Tregaron, that commeth in by the eaſt; as Leland hath ſet downe.

Neuerne. Gwerne. Pyricke. Landurch.

Neere to Landwibꝛeuie alſo it croſſeth the Bꝛomis by eaſt noꝛtheaſt, and then goeth to Landuair, Cledogh, Kellan, and ſoone after taking in the Matherne from by eaſt, that parteth Cardigan partlie from Carmardine ſhire, and likewiſe that Dulas aboue Lanbedder (which riſeth aboue Langibbie, and goeth thence to Bettus) on the noꝛthweſt, it goeth nert of all to Lanbedder towne, then to Lanuair, beneath which it croſſeth the Grauelth, thence to

Bꝛomis. Matherne. Dulas. Grauelth.

Pencarocke, Lantbether, Lanlonie, Lanihangle, and Sandiſſell, and there it vniteth it ſelfe with the Clethoꝛ oꝛ Dettoꝛ, which commeth downe thither by Lantiſiued chappell, Lanfraine, and finallie Landiſſell from by noꝛth, as I doo here affirme. After this confluence it pꝛoceedeth on to Landuaie, Alloine, Bangoꝛ, Langeler, Landeureog and Newcaſtell, yer long taking in the Kerie from by noꝛth, whoſe head is not farre from that of Clethoꝛ, and whoſe courſe is ſomewhat inlarged by ſuch rilles as deſcend into the ſame. Foꝛ well of Kenwith two becks in one chanell doo fall into it, which be nameleſſe, and but of a little length.

Clethoꝛ. Kerie.

Beneath Tredwair alſo it croſſeth another from by weſt, that runneth along by Bettus, Euan, and finallie meeting with the Teiſie, they run as one by Kennarth (ſtill parting Cardigon ſhire from Carmardin, as it hath done ſith it met with the Patherne) and ſo foꝛth on till they ioine with the Cheach, which riſing ſoutheaſt aboue chappell Euan, doth part Carmardine and Bꝛechnocke ſhire in ſunder, till it come vnto the Teiſie. From this confluence, and being ſtill a limit vnto Cardigon ſhire, it goeth by Parierdine, and ſo to Cardigon, taking in one rill from by noꝛth deſcending by Penneralt, by noꝛth of Monardiue oꝛ Parierdine, and two other from by ſouthweſt, of which the one commeth in beneath Kilgaron caſtell, the other from Lantwod noꝛthweſt of Dſcoid Moꝛtemer, which lieth ſoutheaſt of Cardigan, and then going foꝛward betweene S. Dogmaile, & Langoidmere, it is not long yer it fall into the Iriſh ſea, flat weſt and by noꝛth from his bꝛiſt, and ſending vs foꝛth from Penbꝛoke into Cardigon ſhire, whereunto it hath become march euer ſithence it came from Kellam, oꝛ confluence with the Patherne.

Cheach.

Being come into Cardigon ſhire, and hauing paſſed the Cardigon point, an Iland of the ſame denomination lieng by weſt thereof, we came vnto the fall of Aiꝛon thꝛee miles beneath Lanclere, it riſeth in the mounteines by a chappell called Blam Peniall belonging to Landwie bꝛeuie about thꝛee oꝛ foure miles from Tiue banks, & runneth on by Lamberwoddie, Langitho, Tregrigaron hill, Treuilian, Talaferne, and ſone after taking in a rill from by ſouth from Siliam by Lanleir it runneth by Iſtrade, Kilkennen, Lanicharin, and finallie into the ſea, croſſing by the waie the Bidder bꝛoke, which comming from Dehewide, doth fall into the ſame, betweene Lanchairin, and Henuenneie. The Arth which is the nert fall is no great thing, neither of anie long courſe, yet ſomewhat crotched, and it riſeth thꝛee oꝛ foure miles oꝛ moꝛe within the land ſlopewiſe, and comming by Lambaderne, and Treueglois, it falleth into the ſea, noꝛtheaſt of Aberarth.

Aiꝛon. Bidder. Arth.

Being paſt the Arth, & hauing ſtaied there a while bicauſe we found ſome harboꝛough, we came nert of all vnto the Wereie, which riſeth of two heads, aboue whoſe confluence ſtandeth a towne, named Lanihangle, Kedꝛod, and from whence it goeth by Lanigruthen to Lariſted, & ſo into the Ocean. Then went we to the Yſtwith, which riſeth in the blacke mounteins aboue Comerſtwith, from whence it runneth certeine miles, vntill it come vnto Iſpittie, Iſtwith, Lananon, Laniler, Lan Nachairne, and ſo into the ſea, taking withall firſt the Meleuen, then the Kidall oꝛ Kedholl not farre from the ſhoꝛe, whereof I haue this deſcription. The Kidall riſeth in the top of Plimlimmon hill out of a lake named Lin Kidall, from whence going toward Spittie Kinwen, it croſſeth one water on the noꝛth, and another beneth it on the ſoutheaſt, and ſo goeth on by Lanbeder vaure, till it come to Aberiſtwith, the Iſtwith, and ſo into the Ocean. Hauing thus viewed the Iſtwith, and taken

Ris alias wereie. Iſtwith. Kedholl.

our selues againe to the sea, we crossed the Salke or Salique. Salique brooke, whereof I find this memorial.

The Salique brooke descendeth in like sort from the blacke mounteins, & going from Ammaboue, toward Gogarth, or Gogirthar, it receiueth the Mas- Massalique. salique, and from thence goeth into the sea, southwest from his originall. From hence we went to the Le- Lerie. rie, an indraught of no great quantitie, neither commodious as I gesse (yet I may be deceiued) for anie ship to harborough in. It riseth toward the lower ground of the blacke hils, and going by Lanihangle, castell Gwalter, it runneth from thence northeast into the Ocean, receiuing a rill by the waie from the hilles which lie by northeast of his course. But what stand I vpon trifles?

Thus haue I brought my selfe out of Caerdigan Wie. shire vnto the Wie, which is limit betweene it and Merioneth for a certeine space, & being entred in the mouth thereof we gat vp to the head, minding in the description of the same to come downeward as in the rest, which we will do in such good manner as for the time and want of some information is possible to be performed. It ariseth in the south part of Snowdonie, and goeth on forth right to Lammothwie, by Powdhewie, Mathan laith, and comming downe to Dinas Mathew, it receiueth two rilles from northwest, and the third comming by Mailroid called Cludoch from northeast, & so holdeth on crossing the Angell water at the west, which boundeth Mongomerie shire in part, till it come to Romis, be- Romis. neath which water it taketh in the Towin that passeth by Lambrin maur from Talgarth, and then goeth to Mathrauerue, crossing another from by north and so forth to Lanworing, where it meeteth with the Berig on the one side, and the Gwidall which commeth from Dorowen on the other.

After this, our maine riuer goeth by Pengos, and beneath the same taketh in an influence from southeast, called the Dulas, and another from the northwest. From thence it hasteth on to Magenilet, or Machenlet, first crossing the Leuennie from southeast, secondlie the Peniall from northwest, thirdlie the Einon, fourthlie the Binar, fiftlie the Cleidor, these three last rehearsed falling into it from southeast, & the last hauing his course by Langwinhelin and so into the sea, as mine instruction vpholdeth. It seemeth in some mens iudgements to part Northwales and Westwales in sunder, and the same which in Latine hight Deuus, in Welsh or British Disi or Dewie, whereof the Latine doth seeme to fetch his sound. But to proceed with the rest of such falles and waters as are to be found in this countie. Going therfore northwestward, we come to a fall frō the north called Towen Merionneth which is the mouth of the Difonnie streame, a pretie riuer rising in the hilles aboue Lanihangle, and west of castell Traherne receiueth the Ridrych, which commeth from Chadridrych hill, by Tallillin castell, Treherie, and so into the Difonnie from southeast, fetching his course by Lanegrin, and so into the sea within fiue miles thereof.

Being past this we did cast about by the Sarnabigh point, till we came to the Lingouen becke, and so to the Barre, which is a faire water, and therefore worthie to be with diligence described, yet it is not called Bar from the head, but rather Both or Derte, for so are the two chiefe heads called out of which this riuer descendeth, and are about six miles west of the Lin, out of which the Dée hath his issue, and betweene which the Raran daure hilles are situat and haue their being. After the ioining of the two heds of this Barre, as I name it from the originall, it receiueth a rill from northeast called Cain, & another beneath the same, comming from Beurose wood, and so holdeth on towards the south betweene Lanistid and Kemmor abbaie, till it meet a little by west of Dolgelth with the Auon daure, which comming also out of the Woodland soile, & taking in a rill from Gwannas, hasteth northwestward (by Dolgelth) to ioine with the Barre, and being met they receiue the Kessilgun, then the Hirgun, & after a course of foure to fiue miles it falleth into the sea, hauing watered the verie hart & inward parts of this shire. From hence we crosse the Skethie which runneth by Corsogdale and Lanthwie, *alias* Lanthonie, then the Lambader which receiuing the Artro aboue Lambader, doth fall into the sea, southeast of the point, and flat south of Landango, which is a towne situat on the other side of the turning.

After this we passed by Aberho, so named of the riuer Ho, that falleth there into the sea, and commeth Ho. thither from the Alpes or hils of Snowdonie, mounteins no lesse fertile for grasse, wood, cattell, fish and foule, than the famous Alpes beyond the seas, whereof all the writers do make so honorable report. From hence we sailed by Abermawr or mouth of Mawr, which commeth in like sort from Snowdonie, Mawr. and taketh diuerse riuers with him whose names I do not know. Then vnto the Artro a brooke, whose Artro. head commeth from by north east, and in his course receiueth the Gedar on the north side, and so holdeth on till it fall into the sea, after a few windlesses which it maketh as it passeth. After this we come to Traith behan, which is the fall of the Dyrid, a pretie riuer comming from the marches of Caernaruonshire, which passing by Festimog, sone after taketh in the Cunwell, then the Uelenrid; and so holdeth on to Deckoin, where it falleth into the said Traith. For of the other two rilles that lie by south hereof, and haue their issue also into the same, I make but small accompt, bicause their quantitie is not great. Next vnto this we haue Traith mawr, whereinto the Farles hath his issue, a riuer proceeding from Farles. Snowdonie or the Snowdon hils, descending by Bethkelerke and Lanwrothen, without mixture of anie other water in all his course and passage. It is parcell of the march also betweene Merioneth and Caernaruon shires. From Traith mawr we passe by the Krekith, and come to another water descending from the north by Lanstidwie, and after that to the Moie, whose mouthes are so neere together, that no more than halfe a mile of the land doth seeme to keepe them in sunder.

Then come we vnto the Erke, a pretie brooke Erke. descending from Padrin hils, into whose mouth two other of no lesse quantitie than it selfe do seeme to haue their confluence, and whose courses do come along from the west and northwest; the most southerlie being called Girch, and the other the Hellie: except my memorie do faile me. Then casting about toward the south (as the coast lieth) we saw the Abersoch or mouth of the Soch riuer vpon our right Soch. hand, in the mouth whereof, or not farre by south thereof lie two Ilands, of which the more northerlie is called Tudfall, and the other Penrin: as Leland did obserue. I would set downe the British names of such townes and villages as these waters passe by; but the writing of them (for want of the language) is so hard to me, that I chose rather to shew their falles and risings, than to corrupt their denominations in the writing: and yet now and then I vse such words as our Englishmen do giue vnto some of them, but that is not often, where the British name is easie to be found out and sounded.

After this, going about by the point, and leauing Gwelin Ile on the right hand, we come to Daron Daron. riuer, whereupon standeth Aberdaron a quarter of a mile from the shore betwixt Aberdaron and Uortigerns

gernes vale, where the compaſſe of the ſea gathereth in a head, and entereth at both ends. Then come we about the point to Edarne becke, a mile and more ſouth of Newin. And ten or twelue miles from hence is the Vennie wake, whoſe courſe is little aboue ſo manie miles; and not farre from it is the Liuan, a farre leſſe water, comming alſo from the eaſt: and nert vnto that another, wherinto the Willie by ſouth and the Carrog by north after their coniunction do make their common influence. Hauing paſſed this riuer, we caſt about toward the north eaſt, and enter at Abermenaie ferrie, into the ſtreicts or ſtreame called Menaie, betweene Angleſeie and the maine, meeting firſt of all with the Gornaie, which commeth from the Snowdonie out of the Treuennian lake, and paſſeth by Lanunda into the ſea or Menaie ſtreame at South crocke. Nert of all we meet with the Saint, which commeth from Lin Lanbereie, paſſeth by Lanihangle, and ſo falleth into the Menaie at Aberſaint, which is on the ſouthweſt ſide of Caernaruon: on the other ſide alſo of the ſaid towne is the Skeuernocke, whereby it ſtandeth betweene two riuers, of which this hath his head not farre from Dinas Dreg.

Edarne beck.

Then come we (ſaith Leland) to Gwinliwith mirith (or Horſe brooke) two miles from Moilethon, and it riſeth at a Well ſo called full a mile from thence. Moilethon is a bowe ſhot from Aberpowle, from whence ferrie botes go to the Termone or Angleſeie.

Conte.

Aberpowle runneth three miles into the land, and hath his head foure miles beyond Bangor in Menaie ſhore: and here is a little comming in for botes bending into the Menaie. Aber Gegeine commeth out of a mountaine a mile aboue, and Bangor (thorough which a rill called Torronnen hath his courſe) almoſt a mile aboue it. Aber Ogwine is two miles aboue that; it riſeth at Cale linne, Ogwine pole, fiue miles aboue Bangor in the eaſt ſide of Wirhan. Aber Auon is two miles aboue Aberogwrne, and it riſeth in a pole called Lin man Auon, three miles off. Auon Ian var Uchan riſeth in a mountaine therby, and goeth into the ſea, two miles aboue Duegeuelth. Auon Duegeuelth is three miles aboue Conweie, which riſing in the mountains a mile off, goeth by it ſelfe into Menaie ſalt arme. On the ſaid ſhore alſo lieth Conweie; and this riuer doth run betwixt Penmaine Maur, and Penmaine Uchan. It riſeth about three miles from Penmaclon hils which lie about fortie miles from Conweie abbeie, now diſſolued out of a lake called Lin Conweie, and on the north and weſt of this riuer ſtandeth the towne of Conweie, which taketh his name thereof.

Gegeine.

Torronnen.

Ogwine.

Auon.

Lannar Uchan.

Duegeuelth.

Tec.

This riuer (which Ptolomie calleth Toeſobius, as I take it) after the deriuation thereof from the head, paſſeth on the weſt ſide by Spittienan and Tiherio, beneath which it taketh in a ſtreame comming from the eaſt out of Denbighſhire, deriued from three heads, and of the greateſt called Nag. Soone after alſo another, and then the third, which commeth in from the weſt by Lanpen Mawr: nert of all the Leder on the ſame ſide, which commeth by Dolathelan caſtell: and aboue that from a Lin of the ſame denomination. Beneath this and ſelfe hand lieth likewiſe the Ligow or Ligwie, proceeding from two lakes, that is, the Number and the Ligow. On the right hand as we ſtill deſcend, is the Coid, then the Glin, & a little lower we meet with the Lin Gerioneth: and after we be paſt another on the right ſide, we come to the Perloid, which commeth out of Lin Cowlid, to the Pgan, to the Idulin, to the caſtell Water on the left, & then to the Melandder on the right, without the ſight of anie other, till we come almoſt to Conweie, where we find a notched ſtreame comming from by weſt, and called Guffen or Gyffin into the ſame by one chanell on the northeaſt ſide of the towne, beneath Guffin or Gyffin, and ouer againſt Lanſanfraid in Denbighſhire; ſo farre as I now remember. Some part of Carnaruonſhire ſtretcheth alſo beyond Aber Conweie, or the fall of Conweie, & it is called Ormeſhed point, wherein alſo is a rill, whoſe fall into the ſea is betweene Penrin and Landright. And thus we haue made an end of the cheefe waters which are to be found in this countie.

Ligow.

Ormeſhed.

The nert is a corner of Denbigh, by which we do as it were ſtep ouer into Flintſhire, and whoſe firſt water is not great, yet it commeth from southweſt, and falleth into the north or Iriſh ſea called Virginium, beneath Landilas; as the nert that commeth ſouth from Bettas doth the like three miles beneath Abergele, and is not onelie called Gele (as the name it ſelfe importeth) but alſo noted to take his courſe through the Canges. Hauing thus gone ouer the angle of Denbighſhire, that lieth betweene thoſe of Carnaruon and Flint, we come nert of all vnto Aber Cluide, or the fall of Clotha or Glota, which is a ſtreame not to be ſhortlie intreated of. It riſeth among certeine hilles, which lie not far diſtant from the confines of Merioneth and Denbighſhires. Southeaſt from his fall, and hauing run foure or fiue miles from the head, it commeth about to Darwen, taking in the Maniton on the left hand, and the Meſpin on the right: and ſone after the third from by weſt, whoſe head is not farre from Gloucanocke. Beneath Ruthen alſo it taketh in the Leueneie: and after that another, and the third, all on the right hand, and ſo holdeth on till it meet with the Cluedoch, then with the Yſtrade, which paſſeth by Whitchurch on the left hand. After which we come to the Wheler on the right, and ſo to his ioining with the Elwie, which is beneath S. Aſaphes, a biſhops ſee that is inuironed with them both. This Elwie riſeth aboue Gwitherne, & beneath Lanuair taketh in the Alode, which commeth from lin Alode, by Lanſannan, and ſoineth with him fiue miles beneath Langrenew. The Cluda therefore and the Elwie being met, the confluence paſſeth on to the ſea by Rutland caſtell, where it taketh in the Sarne, which commeth from by eaſt, and hath a courſe almoſt of ſirteene miles. From hence we toke ſea toward the Dee mouth: and as we paſſed by the reſt of the ſhore, we ſaw the fall of a little brooke neere Baſing Werke, of another neere to Flint, of the third at Powleie caſtell, which with his two armes in maner includeth it; and the fourth beneath Hawarden hold, which in like ſort goeth round about the ſame, & from whence we came to the Dee, where we landed and toke vp our lodging in Cheſter. In this place alſo it was no hard matter to deliuer & ſet downe the names of ſuch riuers and ſtreames as are alſo to be found in Angleſeie, finding my ſelfe to haue ſome leaſure and fit opportunitie for the ſame: and imagining a iourneie thither alſo, as vnto the other places mentioned in this deſcription, whither as yet it hath not beene my hap to trauell: I thought it not amiſſe to take it alſo in hand, and performe it after this maner.

Maniton.

Cluedoch.

Elwis.

Ferrieng therefore ouer out of Carnaruonſhire to Beaumariſe, I went by land without croſſing of anie riuer or ſtreame worthie memorie, till I came to the Brant, which hath his fall not farre from the ſouthеſt point of that Iland. This Brant riſeth farre vp in the land, not farre from Lauredenell, and holding on his courſe ſouthward to Lanthoniell Vaall, it goeth on to Bodowеruch, Langainwen, and ſo into the ſea.

The nert fall we came vnto was called Maltrath, and it is produced by the confluence of two riuers,

the Geuennie and the Gint, who ioine not farre from Langrestoll. This also last rehearsed hath his head neere to Penmoneth, the other being forked riseth in the hillie soile aboue Tregaton and Langwithlog: so that part of the Iland obteineth no small commoditie and benefit by their passage. Next vnto this we came vnto the Fraw, whose head is neere to Langinewen, and passage by Cap Maer; after which it falleth into a lake, from whence it goeth east of Aberfraw, and so into the sea. The next riuer hath no name to my knowledge: yet hath it a longer course than that which I last described. For it riseth two or three miles aboue Hanegloste: and passing from thence to Trealghmaic, after the descent of foure miles, it falleth into the sea. After this we came to an other, which riseth more to Cap legan ferwie, and falleth into the sea southeast of the little Iland, which is called Ynis Wealt. It is nameless also as the other was, and therefore hauing small delight to write thereof, we passed ouer the salt creeke by a bridge into Cair Bibie, which by the same, is as it were cut from the maine Iland, and in some respect not vnworthie to be taken for an Ile. In the north side therefore of Cair Bibie is a little rill or creeke: but whether the water thereof be fresh or salt, as yet I do not remember.

Fraw.

This place being viewed, I came backe againe by the aforesaid bridge, into the maine of Anglesete, and going northwards I find a fall inforced by three riuerets, each one hauing his course almost south from other; and the last falling into the confluence of the two first, not halfe a mile from the west, where I first espied the streame. The name of the most northerlie is Linon, of the second Allo; but the third is altogither nameless for aught that I can learne, wherefore it shall not be necessarie to spend anie time in the further searching of his course. Being past this, we went northwards till we came to the point, and then going eastward, we butted vpon the fall of a certeine confluence growing by the ioining of the Nathanon and the Geger, which meet beneath and neere to the Langechell. And after the same we passed on somewhat declining southward by the Hillarie point, toward the southeast, till we came to the Dulesse, and from thence to Pentraeth water: after which we turned northward, then eastward; and finallie southward, till we came to Langurdun; from whence vnto Beaumarise (where began our voiage) we find not anie water worthie to be remembred. And thence I go forward with the description of the Dee.

Linon. Allo.

Dee or Dena. The Dee or Dena (as Ptolomie calleth it) is a noble riuer, & breeder of the best trout, whose head is in Merioneth shire, about three miles aboue the lake, situate in the countie of Penthlin, and called Lin Tegnis, whose streame yet verie small, by reason of the shortnesse of his course, falleth into the said lake, not far from Lanullin. There are sundrie other waters that come also into the said lake, which is foure or fiue miles in length, and about two miles ouer; as one from by south, whose fall is east, and not manie furlongs from the Dee: another hath his issue into the same by Langower: the third on the north side of Lanullin named Lete: the fourth at Glanlintegid called the Iauerne, the lake it selfe ending about Bala, and from thence running into the Trowerin, a pretie streame, and not a little augmented by the Kelme and Monach which fall by north into the same, and ioineth with the Dee south of Lanuair; from whence forth it loseth the name, and is afterward called Dee. East of Bala in like sort it receiueth the Ruddoch, then the Cleton, and so passing on by Landright to Langar, it meeteth with a confluence proceeding from the Alwen and the Giron, of which this riseth in the hils aboue Langham, the other in the mounteins about fiue or six miles by northwest of Lanihangle in Denbighshire, where (as I gesse) it falleth into the ground; and afterward rising againe betweene Lanihangle and Bettus, it holdeth on about two miles, and then ioineth with the Giron, full six miles aboue Dole, and before it come to the Dee. From hence the Dee goeth by Lansanfraid, and the marches of Merioneth into Denbighshire, and so to Langellon, Dinas, Bren, &c: keeping his course by certeine windlesses, till he receiue the Cristioneth, descending by Ruabon, then another est of the same; the third, from by west called Keriog (whose head is not farre from the bounds of Merioneth and course by Lanarmon, Lansanfraid, and Chirke) the fourth from south east out of Shropshire, called Morlais, and so passeth as bounds betweene Denbighshire, and the outliggand of Flintshire, to wit by Bilstocke on the one side and Bangor on the other, till it come to Worthenburie: whereabout it receiueth a chanell descending from foure influences, of which one commeth by Penlie chappell, the second from Hannere, which goeth downe by Emberhall, and falleth in a little by east of the other; the third from Blackmere (by Whitchurch) &c: and the fourth from betweene Chad and Worsall. These two later meeting aboue nether Durtwich, do hold on to Talerne, as mine information instructeth me.

Cristioneth. Keriog.

From Wrothenburie the Dee goeth northwestwards toward Shocklige, meeting by the waie with the confluence of the Cluedoch (or Dedoch originall mother to those trouts for which the Dee is commended) and descendeth from Capell Poinglath) and the Gwinrogh, that runneth through Wrerham, both ioining a mile and more beneath Wrerham, not far from Hantwerne. Sone after also our maine riuer receiueth another becke from by east, which is bound on the northwest side to the outliggand of Flintshire, and so passeth on betweene Holt castell and Ferneton, Almere and Pulton, as march betweene Denbighshire and Chelshire, and then taketh in the Alaunus or Alen; a pretie riuer and worthie to be described. The head of this Alen therefore is in Denbighshire, and so disposed that it riseth in two seuerall places, each being two miles from other, the one called Alen Mawr, the other Alen Uehan, as I do find reported. They meet also beneath Landegleie, and run northwards till they come beyond Lanuerres, where meeting with a rill comming from by west, it runneth on to the Mold to Horsheth, and so in and out to Greseford, taking the Cagidog from southwest with it by the waie; then to Traue Alen, and so into the Dee, a mile and more aboue the fall of Polton becke, which also descendeth from southwest out of Flintshire, and is march vnto the same, euen from the verie head. After which confluence the Dee hauing Chestershire on both sides, goeth to Aldford with a swift course, where it meeteth with the Beston broke, whereof I do find this description following.

Cluedoch. Gwinrogh. Alaunus.

Beston. The Beston water riseth in the woddie soile betweene Sprunston and Beston castell with a forked head, and leauing Beston towne on the northeast, it goeth to Tarneton, and to Hakesleie, where it diuideth it selfe in such wise, that one branch thereof runneth by Totnall, Goldburne, and Leehall, to Alford, and so into the Dee, the other by Stapleford, Terwine, Barrow, Picton, and Therton, where it branceth againe, sending forth one arme by Stanneie pole, and the parke side into Merseie arme, toward the northwest, and another by southwest, which commeth as it were backe againe, by Stoke, Croughton, Backeford, Charleton, Upton, the Waites, and so vnder a bridge to Chester ward, where

Trowerin. Ruddoch. Cleton.

"where it falleth into the Dée arme at Flockes brooke, "excluding Wirall on the northwest as an Iland, "which lieth out like a leg betweene the Merseie and "the Dée armes, and including and making another "fresh Iland within the same, whose limits by north-"west are betweene Thorneton, Chester, & Aldford, on "the northeast Thorneton and Hakesleie, and on the "southeast Hakesleie and Aldford, whereby the forme "thereof doth in part resemble a triangle. And thus much of the Dée, which is a troublesome streame when the wind is at southwest, and verie dangerous, in so much that few dare passe thereon. Sometimes also in harvest time it sendeth downe such store of water, when the wind bloweth in the same quarter, that it drowneth all their grasse and corne that groweth in the lower grounds neere vnto the bankes thereof. Certes it is about three hundred foot, at his departure from the Tigme, and worthilie called a litigious streame; because that by often alteration of chanell, it inforceth men to seeke new bounds vnto their lands, for here it laieth new ground, and there translateth and taketh awaie the old, so that there is nothing more vnconstant than the course of the said water. Of the monasterie Bangor also, by which it passeth after it hath left Dixton bridge, I find this note, which I will not omit, because of the slaughter of monks made sometime neere vnto the same. For although the place require it not, yet I am not willing altogither to omit it.

The situation of monaste-rie of Bangor.

This abbeie of Bangor stood sometime in English Pailor, by hither and south of the riuer Dée. It is now ploughed ground where that house stood, by the space of a Welsh mile (which reacheth vnto a mile and an halfe English) and to this day the tillers of the soile there do plow vp bones (as they saie) of those monks that were slaine in the quarrell of Augustine, and within the memorie of man some of them were taken vp in their rotten weeds, which were much like vnto those of our late blacke monks, as Leland set it downe: yet Erasmus is of the opinion, that the apparell of the Benedictine monks was such as most men did weare generallie at their first institution. But to proceed. This abbeie stood in a valleie, and in those times the riuer ran hard by it. The compasse thereof likewise was as the circuit of a walled towne, and to this daie two of the gates may easilie be discerned, of which the one is named Port Hogan lieng by north, the other Port Clais situat vpon the south. But the Dée hauing now changed his chanell, runneth through the verie middest of the house betwixt those two gates, the one being at the left a full halfe mile from the other. As for the squared stone that is found hereabout, and the Romane coine, there is no such necessitie of the rehersall thereof, but that I may passe it ouer well inough without anie further mention.

Being past the Dée we sailed about Wirall, passing by Hilbrie or Hilbrée Iland, and Leuerpole, Nasse, making our entrie into Merseie arme by Leuerpole hauen, where we find a water falling out betweene Seacombe and the Ferie, which doth in maner cut off the point from the maine of Wirall. For rising neere to the northwest shore, it holdeth a course directlie toward the southeast by Wallasey and Poton, and so leaueth all the north part beyond that water a peninsula, the same being three square, inuironed on two sides with the Ocean, & on the third with the aforesaid brooke, whose course is well neere three miles except I be deceiued. Frõ hence entring further into the hauen, we find another fall betweene Webington and Brombro chappell, descending from the hilles, which are seene to lie not farre from the shore, and thence crossing the fall of the Beston water, we come next of all vnto the Wiuer, than the which I read of no riuer in England that fetcheth more or halfe so many windlesses and crinklings, before it come at the sea. It riseth at Buckle hilles, which lie betweene Ridleie and Buckle townes, and some after making a lake of a mile & more in length called Ridleie pole, it runneth by Ridleie to Chalmondlie.

Thence it goeth to Wrenburie, where it taketh in a water out of a more that commeth from Marburie: and beneth Sandford bridge the Combrus from Combermer or Comber lake: and finallie the third that commeth from about Moneton, and runneth by Langerslaw, then betweene Shenton and Atherlie parkes, and so into the Wiuer, which watereth all the west part of England, and is no lesse notable than the fift Auon or third Duze, whereof I haue spoken alreadie. After these confluences it hasteth also to Audlem, Hawklow, and at Barderton crosseth the Betleie water, that runneth by Duddington, Wildenberie, and so by Barderton into the aforesaid streame. Thence it goeth to Nantwich, but yer it come at Marchford bridge, it meeteth with a rill called Salopbrooke (as I gesse) comming from Caluerleie ward, and likewise beneath the said bridge, with the Lée and the Wuluarne both in one chanell, whereof the first riseth at Weston, the other goeth by Copnall. From thence the Wiuer runneth on to Minchion and Cardeswise, and the next water that falleth into it is the Ashe (which passeth by Darnall Grange) and afterward going to Warke, the vale Rotall, and Eaton, it commeth finallie to Northwich where it receiueth the Dane, to be described as followeth. The Dane riseth in the verie edges of Chester, Darbishire, & Staffordshire, and comming by Wharneford, Swithamleie and Bosleie, is a limit betweene Stafford and Darbie shires, almost euen from the verie head, which is in Marwell forrest.

Combrus. Betleis. Salop. Lée and Wuluarne. Ashe. Dane.

It is not long also yer it do meet with the Bidle water, that commeth by Congerton, and after the confluence goeth vnto Swetham, the Heremitage, Cotton and Crorton, there taking in two great waters, whereof the one is called Whelocke, which comming from the edge of the countie by Morton to Sandbach, crosseth another that descendeth from church Cawhlton, and after the confluence goeth to Warmingham, ioining also beneath Midlewish with the Croco or Crorston, the second great water, whose head commeth out of a lake aboue Bruerton (as I heare) and thence both the Whelocke and the Croco go as one vnto the Dane, at Crorton, as the Dane doth from thence to Bostocke, Dauenham, Shebruch, Shurlach, and at Northwich into the foresaid Wiuer. After this confluence the Wiuer runneth on to Barneton, and there in like sort receiueth two brookes in one chanell, whereof one commeth from aboue Allostocke, by Holme & Lastocke, the other from beyond Birtles mill, by Chelford (where it taketh in a rill called Piuereie) thence to ouer Peuer, Holford, and there crossing the Waterlesse brooke (growing of two becks and ioining at nether Tableie) it goeth forth to Winshambridge, and then meeting with the other, after this confluence they proceed till they come almost at Barneton, where the said chanell ioineth with a pretie water running thorough two lakes, whereof the greatest lieth betweene Comberbach, Rudworth and Warburie. But to go forward with the course of the maine riuer. After these confluences our Wiuer goeth to Warham, Actonbridge, and Dutton, ouer against which towne, on the other side it meeteth with a rill, comming from Cuddington: also the second going by Morleie, and Gritton, finallie the third some after from Kimsleie, and then procedeth on in his passage by Asheton chappell, Frodesham, Rockesauage, and

Croco. Piuereie. waterlesse.

so

ſo into the ſea: and this is all that I dw find of the Wiuer, whoſe influences might haue bæne mozе largelie ſet dowme, if mine iniunctions had bæne amplie deliuered, yet this I hope may ſuffice foz his deſcription, and knowledge of his courſe.

Merſeie. The Merſeie riſeth among the Peke hils, and from thence going dowme to the Woodhouſe, and taking ſundzie rilles withall by the waie, it becommeth the confines betwæne Cheſter and Darbiſhires. Going alſo toward Goitehall, it mæteth with a faire bzoke increaſed by ſundzie waters called Goite, whereof I find this ſhozt and briefe deſcription. The Goite riſeth not far from the Shire mære hill (wherein the Doue and the Dane haue their oziginall) that parteth Darbiſhire and Cheſterſhire in ſunder, and thence commeth dowme to Goite houſes, Duerton, Tarhall, Shawcroſſe, and at Weibzidge taketh in the Frith, and beneath Berdhall, the Set that riſeth aboue Therſethall and runneth by Duerſet. After this confluence alſo the Merſeie goeth to Goite hall, & at Stockfozd oz Stopfozd towne mæteth with the Tame, which diuideth Cheſterſhire and Lancaſterſhire in ſunder, and whoſe head is in the verie edge of Yozkeſhire, from whence it goeth ſouthward to Sadleworth Firth, then to Pukelhirſt, Stalie hall, Aſhdon Underline, Dunkenfield, Denton, Reddiſh, and ſo at Stockfozd into the Merſeie ſtreame, which paſſeth fozth in like ſozt to Diddeſbirie, receiuing a bzoke by the waie that commeth from Lime parke, by Bzumhall parke and Chedle.

Goite. Tame. Frith. Set.

Irwell. From Diddeſbirie it procædeth to Nozden, Aſhton, Aiſton, Flirſton, where it receiueth the Irwell a notable water, and therefoze his deſcription is not to be omitted before I dw go fozward anie further with the Merſeie, although it be not nauigable by reaſon of ſundzie rockes and ſhalowes that lie diſperſed in the ſame. It riſeth aboue Bacop, and goeth thence to Roſendale, and in the waie to Aitenfield it taketh in a water from Haſelden. After this confluence it goeth to Newhall, Bzandleſham, Bzurie, and aboue Ratcliffe ioineth with the Rache water, a faire ſtreame and to be deſcribed when I haue finiſhed the Irwell, as alſo the nert vnto it beneath Ratcliffe, bicauſe I would not haue ſo manie ends at once in hand wherewith to trouble my readers. Being therfoze paſt theſe two, our Irwell goeth on to Clifton, Hollond, Edgecroft, Strengwaies, and to Manchеſter, where it vniteth it ſelfe with the Yzke, that runneth therein to by Roiton Nidleton, Yeaton hill, and Blackeleie. Beneath Manchеſter alſo it mæteth with the Medlocke, that commeth thither from the nozтheaſt ſide of Oldham, and betwæne Claiton and Garret Halles, and ſo betwæne two parkes, falling into it about Holne. Thence our Irwell going fozward to Wodſall, Whicleſwic, Ecles, Barton, and Deuelhom, it falleth nære vnto Flirton, into the water of Merſeie, where I will ſtaie a while withall, till I haue bzought the other vnto ſome paſſe, of which I ſpake befoze.

Ræus, oz Rache. Leland ſpeaketh of the Cozne water about Manchеſter; but I know nothing of his courſe. Yrke. Medlocke. Rache. Belle. Spzotton. Sudleie. Bzadſha. walmeſleie.

The Rache, Rech oz Riſh conſiſteth of ſundzie waters, whereof ech one in maner hath a pzoper name, but the greateſt of all is Rache it ſelfe, which riſeth among the blacke ſtonie hils, from whence it goeth to Littlebzough, and being paſt Clegge, receiueth the Belle, that commeth thither by Milneraw chappell. After this confluence alſo, it mæteth with a rill nære vnto Rachedale, and ſoone after with the Spzotton water, and then the Sudleie bzoke, whereby his chanell is not a little increaſed, which goeth from thence to Griſehirſt and ſo into the Irwell, before it come at Ratcliffe. The ſecond ſtreame is called Bzadſha. It riſeth of two heds, aboue Tureton church, whence it runneth to Bzadſha, and yet long taking in the Walmeſleie becke, they go in one chanell till they come beneath Bolton in the Moze. From hence (receiuing a water that commeth from the roots of Rauenpike hill by the way) it goeth by Deane and Bolton in the Moze, and ſo into Bzadſha water, which taketh his waie to Leuermoze, Farnworth, Leuerleſſe, and finallie into the Irwell, which I befoze deſcribed, and whereof I find theſe two verſes to be added at the laſt:

*Irke, Irwell, Medlocke, and Tame,*
*When they meet with the Merſeie, do looſe their name.*

Gles. Now therefoze to reſume our Merſeie, you ſhall vnderſtand that after his confluence with the Irwell, he runneth to Partington, and not farre from thence interteineth the Gles, oz Gleſbzoke water, increaſed with ſundzie armes, wherof one commeth from Lodward, another from aboue Houghton, the third from Hulton parke, and the fourth from Shakerleie: and being all vnited nære vnto Leigh, the confluence goeth to Holcroft, and aboue Holling græne into the ſwift Merſeie. After this increaſe the ſaid ſtreame in like ſozt runneth to Rigſton, & there admitteth the Bollein oz Bolling bzoke water into his ſocietie, which riſing nære the Chamber in Marwell foreſt goeth to Ridge, Sutton, Bollington, Pzeſtbirie, and Newton, where it taketh in a water comming from abont Pot Chappell, which runneth from thence by Adlington, Wodfozd, Wilmeſleie, Ringeie, and Aſhleie, there receiuing the Birkin bzoke that commeth from betwæne Allerton and Marchall, by Mawberleie, and ſone after the Marus oz Mar, that commeth thereinto from Mar towne, by Rawſozne, and after theſe confluences goeth on to Dowmham, and ouer againſt Kirton beneath Croſſozd bzidge into the Merſeie water, which procæding on, admitteth not another that mæteth with all nære Lim befoze it go to Thelwall. Thence alſo it goeth by Bzuche and ſo to Warrington, a little beneath croſſing a bzoke that commeth from Par by Bzowſeie, Bzadleie, and Saukeie on the one ſide, and another on the other that commeth thither from Gropenhall, and with theſe it runneth on to nether Walton, Acton grange, and ſo to Penkith, where it interteineth the Bold, and ſone after the Grundich water on the other ſide, that paſſeth by Pzeſton, and Dareſbirie. Finallie our Merſeie going by Moulton, it falleth into Lirepole, oz as it was called of old Liuerpole hauen, when it is paſt Runcozne. And thus much of the Merſeie, comparable vnto the Wiuer, and of no leſſe fame than moſt riuers of this Iland.

Bollein bzoke. Birkin. Mar. Bold. Grundich.

Tarbocke. Being paſt theſe two, we come nert of all to the Tarbocke water, that falleth into the ſea at Harbocke, without finding anie mo till we be paſt all Wirall, out of Lirepole hauen, and from the blacke rockes that lie vpon the nozth point of the afozeſaid Iland. Then come we to the Altmouth, whoſe freſh riſing not far into the land, commeth to Feſton, and ſone after receiuing another on the right hand, that paſſeth into it by Aughton, it is increaſed no mozе befoze it come at the ſea. Neither find I anie other falles till I meet with the mouth of the Yarrow and Dugleſſe, which haue their recourſe to the ſea in one chanell as I take it. The Dugleſſe commeth from by weſt of Rauenſpike hill, and yet long runneth by Andertonfozd to Wozthington, and ſo (taking in two oz thzée rilles by the waie) to Wigen, where it receiueth two waters in one chanell, of which one commeth in ſouth from Bzin parke, the other from nozтheaſt. Being paſt this, it receiueth one on the nozth ſide from Standiſh, and another by ſouth from Hollond, and then goeth on toward Rukford chappell taking the Taud withall, that deſcendeth from aboue Skelmerſdale towne, and goeth through Lathan parke, belonging (as I heare) vnto the earle of Derbie.

Alt oz Alt. Dugleſſe oz Duleſſe. Taud oz Skelmere.

Derton. Derbie. It meeteth alſo on the ſame ſide, with Derton meres water, in which mere is one Iland called Netholme beſide other, and when it is paſt the hanging bridge, it is not long yer it fall into the Parrow.

Yerrow. Bagen. The Parrow riſeth of two heads, whereof the ſecond is called Bagen broke, and making a confluence beneath Helbie wood, it goeth on to Burgh, Egleſtan, Croſton, and then toineth next of all with the Dugglelle, after which confluence, the maine ſtreame goeth forth to Bankehall, Charleton, Holw, Heſket, and ſo into the ſea. Leland writing of the Parrow, ſaith thus of the ſame, ſo farre as I now remember. Into the Dugglelle alſo runneth the Parrow, which commeth within a mile or thereabout of Chorleton towne, that parteth Lelandſhire from Derbieſhire. Under the foot of Chorle alſo I find a rill named Ceorle, and about a mile and a halfe from thence a notable quarreie of ſtones, whereof the inhabitants do make a great boaſt and price. And hitherto Leland.

Ribble. The Ribble, a riuer verie rich of ſalmon and lamprete, doth in manner inuiron Preſton in Anderneſſe, and it riſeth neere to Ribbeſdale aboue Giſborne, from whence it goeth to Sawleie or Salleie, Chathburne, Wodington, Clithero caſtell, and beneath Pitton meeteth the Odder at northweſt, which riſeth not farre from the croſſe of Great in Yorkeſhire, and going thence to Shilburne, Newton, Radholme parke, and Stonie hirſt, it falleth yer long into the Ribble water. From hence the Ribble water hath not gone farre, but it meeteth with the Calder from ſoutheaſt. This broke riſeth aboue Holme church in Yorkeſhire, which lieth by eaſt of Lancaſterſhire, and goeth by Towleie and Burneleie, where it receiueth a trifling rill, thence to Higham, and yer long croſſing one water that commeth from Wicoler by Colne, and another by and by named Pidle broke, that runneth by New church in the Pidle, it meeteth with the Calder, which paſſeth forth to Paniam; and thence receiuing a becke on the other ſide, it runneth on to Altham, and ſo to Hartholme, where the Henburne broke doth ioine withall, that goeth by Akington chappell, Dunkinhalgh, Riſhton, and ſo into the Calder, as I haue ſaid before. The Calder therefore being thus inlarged, runneth forth to Reade, where maiſter Nowell dwelleth, to Whallie, and ſone after into Ribble, that goeth from this confluence to Saliſburie hall, Ribcheſter, Oſbaſtin, Samburie, Keuerden, Law, Ribbles bridge, & then taketh in the Darwent, before it goeth by Pontwarth or Pentwarth into the maine ſea. The Darwent diuideth Lelandſhire from Anderneſſe, and it riſeth by eaſt aboue Darwent chappell; and ſone after uniting it ſelfe with the Blackeburne, and Rodleſworth water, it goeth through Houghton parke, by Houghton towne, to Walton hall, and ſo into the Ribble. As for the Sannocke broke, it riſeth ſomewhat aboue Longridge chappell, goeth to Broughton towne, Cotham, Lee hall, and ſo into Ribble. And here is all that I haue to ſaie of this riuer.

Odder. Darwent. Blackeburne Rodleſworth. Sannocke.

Wire. The Wire riſeth eight or ten miles from Garſtan, out of an hill in Wireſdale forreſt, from whence it runneth by Shireſhed chappell, and then going by Wadland, or Waddiler, Grenelaw caſtell (which belongeth to the erle of Darbie) Garſtan, and Kirkland hall, it firſt receiueth the ſecond Calder, that commeth downe by Edmerſeie chappell, then another chanell increaſed with ſundrie waters, which I will here deſcribe before I proceed anie further with the Wire. I ſuppoſe that the firſt water is called Plimpton broke, it riſeth ſouth of Goſner, and commeth by Cawford hall, and yer long receiuing the Barton becke, it proceedeth forward till it ioineth with the Broke rill that commeth from Bowland forreſt, by Claughton hall, where maſter Brokehales doth lie, & ſo through Merſco forreſt. After this confluence the Plime or Plimpton water meeteth with the Calder, and then with the Wire, which paſſeth forth to Michaell church, and the Raw cliffes, and aboue Thorneton croſſeth the Skipton that goeth by Potton, then into the Wire rode, and finallie through the ſands into the ſea, according to his nature. When we were paſt the fall of the Wire, we coaſted vp by the ſalt cotes, to Coker mouth, whoſe head, though it be in Wareſdale forreſt, not far from that of the Wire, yet the ſhortneſſe of courſe deſerueth no deſcription. The next is Cowdar, which is comming out of Wire dale, as I take it, is not increaſed with anie other waters more than Coker, and therefore I will rid my hands thereof ſo much we ſooner.

Calder. Calder. 2. Plimpton. Barton. Broke. Skipton. Coker. Cowdar.

Being paſt theſe two, I came to a notable riuer called the Lune or Loine, or (as the booke of ſtatutes hath) Lonwire *Anno* 13 Ric. 2 cap. 19, and giueth name to Lancaſter, Lonecaſter, or Luneca-ſter, where much Romane monie is found, and that of diuerſe ſtamps, whoſe courſe doth reſt to be deſcribed as followeth; and whereof I haue two deſcriptions. The firſt being ſet downe by Leland, as maſter Moore of Catharine hall in Cambridge deliuered it vnto him. The nert I exhibit as it was giuen vnto me, by one that hath taken paines (as he ſaith) to ſearch out and view the ſame, but verie latelie to ſpeake of. The Lune (ſaith maſter Moore) of ſome commonlie called the Loine, riſeth at Croſſeho, in Dent dale, in the edge of Richmondſhire out of three heads. North alſo from Dent dale is Garſdale, an vplandiſh towne, wherein are ſeene manie times great ſtore of red deere that come downe to feed from the mounteins into the vallies, and thereby runneth a water, which afterward commeth to Sebbar vale, where likewiſe is a broke meeting with Garſdale water, ſo that a little lower they go as one into Dent dale becke, which is the riuer that afterward is called Lune, or Lane, as I haue verie often noted it. Beſide theſe waters alſo before mentioned, it receiueth at the foot of Sebbar vale, a great broke, which commeth out of the Worth, betweene Weſtmerland and Richmondſhire, which taking with him the aforeſaid chanels, doth run ſeauen miles yer it come to Dent dale foot. From hence it entreth into Lanſdale, corruptlie ſo called, peraduenture for Luneſdale, & runneth therein eight or nine miles ſouthward, and in this dale is Kirbie. Hitherto maſter Moore, as Leland hath exemplified that parcell of his letters. But mine other note writeth hereof in this manner. Burbecke water riſeth at Wuſtall head, by weſt, and going by Wuſtall foot to Skaleg, it admitteth the Breder that deſcendeth thither from Breder dale. From hence our Burbecke goeth to Breder dale foot, & ſo to Tibarie, where it meeteth with foure rilles in one bottome, of which one commeth from beſides Orton, another from betweene Raſebecke and Sunbiggin, the third and fourth from each ſide of Langdale: and after the generall confluence made, goeth toward Roundſwath, aboue which it uniteth it ſelfe with the Barrow. Thence it runneth to Holwgill, Delaker, Firrebanke, and Killington, beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from the Worull hilles, and afterward croſſing the Dent broke, that runneth thither from Dent towne, beneath Sebbar, they continue their courſe as one into the Burbecke, from whence it is called Lune. From hence it goeth to Burbon chappell, where it taketh in another rill comming from by eaſt, then to Kirbie, Lanſdale, and aboue Whittenton croſſeth a broke

Lune. Burdecke. Breder. Barrow. Dent.

comming

comming from the countie stone by Burros, and
Greteie. sone after beneath Tunstall and Greteie, which descending from about Ingelborow hill, passeth by Twiselton, Ingleton, Thorneton, Burton, Wratton, and nere Thurland castell, toucheth finallie with the Lune, which brancheth, and sone after uniteth it selfe againe. After this also it goeth on toward New
Wennie. parke, and receiueth the Wennie, and the Hinburne
Hinburne. both in one chanell, of which this riseth north of the
Rheburne. crosse of Greteie, and going by Benthams and Roberts hill, aboue Wraie taketh in the Rheburne that riseth north of Wulfecrag. After this confluence also aboue New parke, it maketh his gate by Aughton, Laughton, Skirton, Lancaster, Ercliffe, Alcliffe, Soddaie, Orton, and so into the sea. Thus haue you both the descriptions of Lune, make your conference or election at your pleasure, for I am sworne to neither of them both.

Docker. The next fall is called Docker, and peraduen-
Kerie. ture the same that Leland doth call the Kerie, which is not farre from Wharton, where the rich Kitson was borne, it riseth north of Docker towne, and going by Barwise hall, it is not increased before it come at the sea, where it falleth into the Lune water at Lunesands. Nert of all we come to Bitham becke, which riseth not far from Bitham towne and parke, in the hilles, where about are great numbers of goates kept and mainteined, and by all likelihod resorteth in the end to Linsands.

Being past this, we find a forked arme of the sea called Kensands: into the first of which diuerse waters do run in one chanell, as it were from foure principall heads, one of them comming from Grarig hall, another frō by west of Whinfield, & ioining with the first on the east side of Skelmere parke.
Sprota. The third called Sprot or Sprota riseth at Slod-
dale, & commeth downe by west of Skelmer parke, so that these two brookes haue the aforesaid parke betweene them, & fall into the fourth east of Barneside, not verie farre in sunder. The fourth or last cal-
Ken. led Ken, commeth from Kentmers side, out of Ken moze, in a pole of a mile compasse, verie well stored with fish, the head whereof, as of all the baronie of Kendall is in Westmerland, & going to Stauelope, it taketh in a rill from Chappleton Inges. Then leauing Colnehead parke by east, it passeth by Barneside, to Kendall, Helsion, Sigath, Siggeswic, Lenenbridge, Milnethorpe, and so into the sea. Certes this Ken is a pretie deepe riuer, and yet not safelie to be aduentured vpon, with boates and balingers, by reason of rolling stones, & other huge substances that oft annoie & trouble the middest of the chanell
Winstar. there. The other peece of the forked arme, is called Winstar, the hed whereof is aboue Winstar chappell, & going downe almost by Carpmaunsell, & Nether-slake, it is not long yer it fall into the sea, or sands, for all this coast, & a gulfe from the Ramside point to the Pealenasse, is so pestered with sands, that it is almost incredible to see how they increase. Those also which inuiron the Kenmouth, are named Kensands: but such as receiue the descent from the Fosse, Winander, and Sparke, are called Leuesands, as I find by sufficient testimonie. The mouth or fall of the Dodon also is not farre from this impechment: wherefore it is to be thought, that these issues will yer long become verie noisome, if not choked vp altogither. The Winander water riseth about Cum-
Winander. balrasestones, from whence it goeth to Cangridge, where it maketh a meere: then to Ambleside, and taking in yer it come there, two rilles on the left hand, and one on the right that commeth by Clapergate, it maketh (as I take it) the greatest meere, or fresh water in England; for I read it is ten miles in length. Finallie, comming to one small chanell aboue Newbridge, it reacheth not aboue six miles yer fall into the sea. There is in like sort a water, called the Fosse that riseth nere vnto Arneside, and Fosse.
Tillerthwates, and goeth forth by Grisdale, Satrethwate, Rusland, Powbridge, Bowth, and so falleth with the Winander water into the maine sea. On the west side of the Fosse also commeth another through Furnesse felles, and from the hilles by north thereof, which yer long making the Thurstan lake not far from Hollinhow, and going by Bridge end, in a narrow chanell, passeth forth by Nibthwaits, Blareth, Cowlton, & Sparke bridge, and so into the
Sparke. sea. Hauing passed the Leuen or Conisands, or Conistonesands, or Winander fall (for all is one) I
Lew. come to the Lew, which riseth at Cewike chappell, and
Rawther. falleth into the sea beside Plumpton. The Rawther descending out of low Furnesse, hath two heads, whereof one commeth from Penniton, the other by Ulmerstone abbeie, and ioining both in one chanell, they hasten into the sea, whither all waters direct their voiage,. Then come we to another rill south-west of Aldingham, descending by Glaiston castell; and likewise the fourth that riseth neere Lindell, and running by Dalton castell and Furnesse abbeie, not farre from the Barrow head, it falleth into the sea ouer against Waueie and Waueie chappell, except mine aduertisements misleade me.

Dodon. The Dodon, which from the head is bound vnto Cumberland and Westmerland, commeth from the Shire stone hill bottome, and going by Blackehill, Southwake, S. Johns, Ulfaie parke, & Broughton, it falleth into the saltwater, betweene Kirbie, and Wallum castell. And thus are we now come vnto the Rauenglasse point, and well entred into Cumberland countie.

Comming to Rauenglasse, I find hard by the towne a water comming from two heads, and both of them in lakes or poles, whereof one issueth out of
Denocke. Denocke or Deuenocke meere, and is called Denocke water, the other named Eske from Eske pole
Eske. which runneth by Eskedale, Dalegarth, and sone after meeting with the Denocke, betweene Pawburthwate and Rauenglasse, falleth into the sea. On
Wite. the other side of Rauenglasse also commeth the Wite broke, from Witerdale as I read. Then find we another which commeth from the hils, and at the first is forked, but sone after making a lake, they gather againe into a smaller chanell: finallie meeting with
Brenge. the Brenge, they fall into the sea at Carleton south-
Cander. east, as I weene of Drig. The Cander, or (as Leland nameth it) the Calder, commeth out of Copeland forrest, by Cander, Sellefield, and so into the sea. Then come we to Euer water, descending out of a pole aboue Coswaldhow, and thence going by Euerdale, it crosseth a water from Arladon, and after procéedeth to Egremond, S. Johns, and taking in another rill from Hide, it is not long yer it méeteth with the sea.

The nert fall is at Moresbie, whereof I haue no skill. From thence therefore we cast about by saint Bees to Derwentset hauen, whose water is truelie
Dargwent, written Dargwent or Deruent. It riseth in the hils about Borrodale, from whence it goeth vnto the Grange, thence into a lake, in which are certeine Ilands, and so vnto Keswic, where it falleth into the
Burthmere. Bure, whereof the said lake is called Bursemere, or the Burthmere pole. In like sort the Bure or Burthmere water, rising among the hils goeth to Tegburthesworth, Forneside, S. Johns, and Threlcote: and
Grise. there meeting with a water from Grisdale, by Wakethwate, called Grise, it runneth to Burnelle, Keswic, and there receiueth the Darwent. From Keswic in like sort it goeth to Thorneswate (and there making a plash) to Armanswate, Isell, Huthwate and Cokermouth, and here it receiueth the Cokar,
Cokar. which

which rising among the hils commeth by Lowse-water, Brakenthwate, Lorton, and so to Cokar-mouth towne, from whence it hasteth to Bridge-ham, and receiuing a rill called the Wire, on the south side that runneth by Dein, it leaueth Sam-burne and Wirketon behind it, and entereth into the sea.

Wire. Leland saith that the Wire is a creeke where ships lie oft at rode, and that Wirketon or Wirkington towne doth take his name thereof. He addeth also that there is iron and coles, beside lead ore in Wire-dale. Neuertheless the water of this riuer is for the most part sore troubled, as comming thorough a sud-die or soddie more, so that little good fish is said to liue therein. But to proceed. The Elme riseth in the Elmus. mines aboue Amautree, and from Amautre goeth to Peresbie, Parbie, Brow, and there taking in a rill on the left hand comming by Torpennie, it goeth to Hatton castell, Alwarbie, Birthie, Dercham, and so into the sea. Thence we go about by the chappell at the point, and come to a baie serued with two fresh wa-ters, whereof one rising westward goeth by War-ton, Rabbie, Cotes, and so into the maine, taking in a rill withall from by south, called Croco, that com-Croco. meth from Crockdale, by Bromefield. The second is Mamus. named Wampole broke, & this riseth of two heads, whereof one is about Cardew. Thence in like sort it goeth to Thuresbie, Croston, Diwton, Gamlesbie, Wampall, the Larth, and betweene Whiteridge and Kirbie into the saltwater. From hence we double the Bowlnesse, and come to an estuarie, whither three notable riuers do resort, and this is named the Sol-ueie mouth. But of all, the first exceedeth, which is cal-led Eden, and whose description doth follow here at hand.

Eden. The Eden well fraught with samon, descendeth (as I heare) from the hils in Athelstane more at the fot of Hustat Rorell hill, where Swale also riseth, and southeast of Wallerstang forest. From thence in like maner it goeth to Wallerstang towne, Pen-dragon castell, Wharton hall, Netbie, Hartleie ca-stell, Kirkebie Stephan, and yet it come at great Pulgrane, it receiueth three waters, whereof one is Helbecke. called Helbecke, bicause it commeth from the Derne Bellow. and Elinge mounteins by a towne of the same de-nomination. The other is named Bellow, and descen-deth from the east mounteins by Sowarsbie, & these two on the northeast: the third falleth from Rauen-standale, by Newbiggin, Smardale, Soulbie, Bla-terne, and so into Eden, that goeth from thence by Dzne. Warcop; and taking in the Dzne about Burelles on the one side, and the Morton becke on the other, it ha-steth to Applebie, thence to Cowlbie, where it crosseth Morton. the Dztbecke, thence to Bolton, and Kirbie, and Dztbecke. there meeting with the Trowt becke, and beneath the Trowt becke. same with the Liuenet (whereinto falleth an other Liuenet. water from Thurenlie meeting withall beneath Cle-bron) it runneth finallie into Eden. After the confiu-ences also the Eden passeth to Temple, and sone af-ter meeting with the Milburne and Blincorne wa-Milburne. ters, in one chanell, it runneth to Winderwarth and Blincorne. Hornebie, where we will staie till I haue described the water that meeteth withall neere the aforesaid place called the Ulse.

Ulse. This water commeth out of a lake, which is fed with six rils, whereof one is called the Narke, and Narke. neere the fall thereof into the plash is a towne of the same name; the second hight Hartshop, & runneth Hartshop. from Hartshop hall by Depedale; the third is Pa-terdale rill; the fourth Glent Roden, the fift Glenk-Paterdale. Roden. guin, but the first runneth into the said lake, south of Glenkguin. Towthwate. Afterward when this lake commeth to-ward Pole towne, it runneth into a small chanell, & going by Barton, Dalamaine, it taketh in a rill by the waie from Daker castell. Thence it goeth to Stockebridge, Yonewoorth, and sone after meeteth with a pretie broke called Loder, comming from Loder. Thornethwate by Bauton, and heere a rill; then by Yelton, and there another; thence to Askham, Clif-ton, and so ioining with the other called Ulse, they go to Brougham castell, Nine churches, Hornebie, and so into Eden, taking in a rill (as it goeth) that com-meth downe from Pencath. Being past Hornebie, our Eden runneth to Langunbie, and sone after re-ceiuing a rill that commeth from two heads, and ioi-ning beneath Wingsell, it hasteth to Lasenbie, then to Kirke Oswald (on ech side whereof commeth in a rill from by east) thence to Nonnete, and there a rill, Anstable, Cotehill, Torbie castell, Wetherall, New-bie: where I will staie, till I haue described the Ir-ding, and such waters as fall into the same before I go to Carleill.

Irding. The Irding ariseth in a more in the borders of Tindale, neere vnto Horsle head crag, where it is Terne. called Terne becke; vntill it come to Spicrag hill, that diuideth Northumberland and Gillesland in sunder, from whence it is named Irding. Being therfore come to Duerhall, it receiueth the Pultrose Pultrose. becke, by east, and thence goeth on to Duerdenton, Netherdenton, Leuercost, and Castelstead, where it Cambocke. taketh in the Cambocke, that runneth by Kirke Cambocke, Askerton castell, Walton, and so into Irding, which goeth from thence to Irdington, Newbie, & so into Eden. But a little before it come there, it crosseth with the Gillie that commeth by Gillie. Tankin, and sone after falleth into it. After these confluences, our Eden goeth to Linstocke castell, (and here it interteineth a broke, comming from Cotehill ward by Aglionbie) and then vnto Car-leill, which is now almost inuironed with foure waters.

Pedar alias Logus. For beside the Eden it receiueth the Peder, which Leland calleth Logus from southeast. This Peder riseth in the hils southwest of Penruddocke, from whence it goeth to Penruddocke, then to Gra-stocke castell, Cateleie, and Kenderside hall, and then taking in a water from Unthanke, it goeth to Cath-wade, Pettrelwaie, Newbiggin, Carleton, and so into Eden, northeast of Carleill. But on the north side the Bruferth broke doth swiftlie make his en-Bruferth. trance, running by Leuerdale, Scalbie castell, and Housedon; as I am informed. The third is named Candan (if not Deua after Leland) which rising about the Skidlow hils, runneth to Nosedale, Caldbecke, Warnell, Saberham, Rose castell, Dawston, Brounston, Harrington, and west of Carleill falleth into Eden, which going from thence by Grimsdale, Kirke Andros, Beaumont, falleth into the sea be-neath the Rowcliffe castell. And thus much of the E-den, which Leland neuertheless describeth after an-other sort, whose words I will not let to set downe here in this place, as I find them in his commen-taries.

Ulse after Leland. The Eden, after it hath run a pretie space from his head, meeteth in time with the Ulse water, which is a great broke in Westmerland, and rising aboue Loder. Mare dale, a mile west of Loder, it commeth by the late dissolued house of Shape priorie, three miles Loder. from Shape, and by Brampton village into Loder or Lodon. Certes this streame within halfe a mile of the head, becommeth a great lake for two miles course, and afterward waring narrow againe, it runneth forth in a meane and indifferent bottome. The said Eden in like sort receiueth the Aimote a-Aimote. bout three miles beneath Brougham castell, and in-to the same Aimote falleth the Dacor becke (alreadie touched) which riseth by northwest in Waterdale hils, foure miles aboue Dacor castell, and then going Dacor.

through Dacor parke, it runneth by east a good mile lower into Ermote, a little beneath Delamaine, which standeth on the left side of Dacor. In one of his bookes also he saith, how Carleill standeth betweene two streames, that is to saie the Deua, which commeth thither from by southwest, and also the Logus that descendeth from the southeast. He addeth moreouer how the Deua in times past was named Vala or Bala, and that of the names of these two, Lugibala for Carrleill hath beene deriued, &c. And thus much out of Leland. But where he had the cause of this his coniecture as yet I haue not read. Of this am I certeine, that I vse the names of most riuers here and else-where described, accordinglie as they are called in my time, although I omit not to speake here and there of such as are more ancient, where iust occasion moueth me to remember them, for the better vnderstanding of our histories, as they do come to hand.

Deua.

Vala.

Blacke Leuen and white Leuen waters, fall into the sea in one chanell, and with them the Lamford and the Elke, the last confluence being not a full mile from the maine sea. The white and blacke Leuen ioining therfore aboue Bucknelle, the confluence goeth to Bracken hill, Kirkleuenton, and at Tomunt water meeteth with the Elke. In like sort the Kirsop ioining with the Lidde out of Scotland at Kirsop foot, running by Stangerdike side, Harlow, Hathwater, and taking in the Elke aboue the Pote, it loseth the former name, and is called Elke, vntill it come to the sea.

Leuen.
Lamford.
Elke.

Tomunt.
Kirsop.
Lidde.

Hauing thus gone thorough the riuers of England, now it resteth that we proceed with those which are to be found vpon the Scotish shore, in such order as we best may, vntill we haue fetched a compasse about the same, and come vnto Barwike, whence afterward it shall be easie for vs to make repaire vnto the Thames, from which we did set forward in the beginning of our voiage. The first riuer that I met withall on the Scotish coast, is the Elke, after I came past the Soluete, which hath his head in the Cheuiot hilles, runneth by Kirkinton, and falleth into the sea at Borow on the sands. This Elke hauing receiued the Ewis falleth into the Soluete first at Atterith. After this I passed ouer a little creeke from Kirthell, and so to Anand, whereof the vallie Anandale doth seeme to take the name. There is also the Nide, whereof commeth Nidsdale, the Ken, the Dee, the Crale, and the Bladnecke, and all these (besides diuerse other small rilles of lesse name) do lie vpon the south of Gallowaie.

Elke.

On the north side also we haue the Kuan, the Arde, the Castle Dune, the Burwin, the Clude (whereupon sometime stood the famous citie of Alclude, and whereinto runneth the Carath) the Hamell, the Dourglesse, and the Lame. From hence in like maner we came vnto the Leuind mouth, whereunto the Blake on the southwest and the Lomund lake, with his fleeting Iles and fish without finnes (yet verie holesome) doth seeme to make his issue. This lake of Lomund in calme weather ariseth sometimes so high, and swelleth with such terrible billowes, that it causeth the best marriners of Scotland to abide the leisure of this water, before they dare aduenture to hoise vp sailes on hie. The like is seene in windie weather, but much more perillous. There are certeine Iles also in the same, which moue and remoue, oftentimes by force of the water, but one of them especiallie, which otherwise is verie fruitfull for pasturage of cattell.

Lene.
Long.
Goile,
Heke.
Robinsele.

Nert vnto this is the Leue, the Rage, the Long, the Goile, & the Heke, which for the exceeding greatnesse of their heads, are called lakes. Then haue we the Robinsele, the Foreland, the Tarbat, the Lean, and the Abir, whereunto the Spanseie, the Loine, the Louth, the Arke, and the Teke do fall, there is also the Sell, the Yord, the Owin, the Newille, the Dine the Lang, the Drum, the Hew, the Brun, the Rell, the Dowr, the Faro, the Nesse, the Herre, the Con, the Glasse, the Maur, the Urdall, the Fers (that commeth out of the Caldell) the Fairsoke, which two latter lie a little by west of the Orchades, and are properlie called riuers, bicause they issue onelie from springs; but most of the other lakes, bicause they come from linnes and huge poles, or such low bottomes, fed with springs, as seeme to haue no accesse, but onelie recesse of waters, whereof there be manie in Scotland.

Foylen.
Tarbat.
Lean.
Abir.
Arke.
Teke.
Sell.
Yord.
Owin.
Newille.
Dine.
Lang.
Drum.
Hew.
Brun.
Rell.
Dowr.
Faro.
Nesse.
Herre.
Con.
Glasse.
Maur.
Urdall.
Fesse.
Calder.
Wisse.
Browze.
Clin.
Twin.
Shin.
Sillan.
Carew.
Nesse.
Narding.
Spaie.
Downe.
Dee.
Elke.

But to proceed. Hauing once past Dungisbie head in Cathnesse, we shall yet long come to the mouth of the Wisse, a prettie streame, comming by south of the mounteins called the Maidens pappes. Then to the Browze, the Clin, the Twin (whereinto runneth three riuers, the Shin, the Sillan, and Carew) the Nesse, which beside the plentie of samon found therein is neuer frosen, nor suffereth yce to remaine there, that is cast into the poole. From thence we come vnto the Narding, the Finderne, the Spaie (which receiues the Vine) the Fitch, the Bulich, the Arrian, the Leuin, and the Bogh, from whence we saile vntill we come about the Buquhan head, and so to the Downe, and Dee: which two streames bring forth the greatest samons that are to be had in Scotland, and most plentie of the same. Then to the north Elke, whereinto the Esmond runneth aboue Brechin, the south Elke, then the Louen and the Taw, which is the finest riuer for water that is in all Scotland, and whereunto most riuers and lakes do run. As Farlake, Erth, Goure, Loich, Cannach, Linell, Loion, Irewer, Erne, and diuerse other besides small rillets which I did neuer loke vpon.

Then is there the lake Londors, vpon whose mouth saint Andrewes doth stand, the lake Lelwin, vnto whose streame two other lakes haue recourse in Filand, and then the Firth or Fortha, which some do call the Pictish and Scotish sea, whither the kingdome of the Northumbers was sometime extended, and with the riuer last mentioned (I meane that commeth from Londors) includeth all Fife, the said Fortha being full of oisters and all kinds of huge fish that vse to lie in the deepe. How manie waters run into the Firth, called by Ptolomie Lora, it is not in my power iustlie to declare: yet are there both riuers, rills, & lakes that fall into the same, as Clacke, Alon, Dune, Kerie, Cambell, Cumer, Tere, Man, Torkeson, Rosham, Mushell, Blene, and diuerse other which I call by these names, partlie after information, and partlie of such townes as are neere vnto their heads. Finallie, when we are past the Haie, then are we come vnto the Twede, whereinto we entred, leauing Barwike on the right hand and his appurtenances, wherein Halidon hill standeth, and conteineth a triangle of so much ground beyond the said riuer, as is well neere foure miles in length, and three miles in bredth in the broad end: except mine information do faile me.

Clacke.
Alon.
Dune.
Kerie.
Cambell.
Cumer.
Tere.
Man.
Torkelan.
Rosham.
Mussell.
Blene.
Twede.

The Twede (which Ptolomie nameth Toualis or Toesis, & betweene which and the Tine the countie of Northumberland is in maner inclosed, and watred with sundrie noble riuers) is a noble streame and the limes or bound betweene England & Scotland, wherby those two kingdomes are now diuided in sunder. It riseth about Drimlar in Eusbale (or rather out of a faire well (as Leland saith) standing in the mosse of an hill called Airthane, or Hareskan in Twede dale ten miles from Pibble) and so comming by Pibble, Lander, Dribwgh, Lelse, Warke, Norham,

Norham and Hagarſtone, it falleth into the ſea beneath Barwike, as I heare. Thus ſaith Leland. But I not contented with this ſo ſhort a diſcourſe of ſo long a riuer & briefe deſcription of ſo faire a ſtreame, will ad ſomewhat more of the ſame concerning his race on the Engliſh ſide, and rehearſall of ſuch riuers as fall into it. Comming therefore to Ridam, it receiueth betweene that and Carham a becke, which deſcendeth from the hilles that lie by weſt of Windram. Going alſo from Ridam by Longbridgham (on the Scotiſh ſide) and to Carham, it haſteth immediatlie to Warke caſtell on the Engliſh, and by Spilaw on the other ſide, then to Cornewall, Cald ſtreame, and Tilmouth, where it receiueth ſundrie waters in one botome which is called the Till, and whoſe deſcription inſueth here at hand.

Till.

Certes there is no head of anie riuer that is named Till, but the iſſue of the furtheſt water that commeth hereinto, riſeth not farre from the head of Alwaie in the Cheuiot hilles, where it is called Brennich, whereof the kingdome of Brennicia did ſometime take the name. From thence it goeth to Hartſtoe, Ingram, Branton, Crawleie, Hedgeleie, Beueleie, and Belwiſe, beneath which it receiueth one water comming from Rodham by weſt, and ſone after a ſecond deſcending from the Middletons, and ſo they go as one with the Bromiſh, by Chatton to Folbreie (where they croſſe the third water falling downe by north from Howborne by Heſelbridge) thence to Woller, there alſo taking in a rill that riſeth about Middleton hall, and runneth by Hardleie, Whereleie, and the reſt afore remembred, wherby the water of Bromis is not a little increaſed, and after this latter confluence beneath Woller, no more called Bromis but the Till, vntill it come at the Twede. The Till paſſing therefore by Weteland and Dedington, meeteth ſone after with a faire ſtreame comming from by ſouthweſt, which moſt men call the Bowbent or Bobent.

Bromis.

Bobent.

It riſeth on the weſt ſide of the Cocklaw hill, and from thence haſteth to Hattons, beneath the which it ioineth from by ſoutheaſt with the Hellerborne, and then goeth to Pudſton, Downeham, Kilham, and a little by north of Newton Kirke, and betweene it and weſt Nelpton, it taketh in another water called Glin, comming from the Cheuiot hilles by Yethpole, and from thenceforth runneth on without anie further increaſe, by Copland Euart, and ſo in the Till. The Till for his part in like ſort after this confluence goeth to Broneridge, Fodcaſtell, Eatall caſtell, Yeaton, & north of Tilmouth into the Twede, or by weſt of Weſell, except my memorie doth faile me. After this alſo our aforeſaid water of Twede deſcendeth to Grotehugh, the Newbiggins, Norham caſtell, Ford, Lungridge, & croſſing the Whitaker on the other ſide from Scotland beneath Cawmill, it runneth to Ordo, to Barwike, and ſo into the Ocean, leaning (as I ſaid) ſo much Engliſh ground on the northweſt ripe, as lieth in manner of a triangle betweene Cawmils, Barwike, and Lammeton, which (as one noteth) is no more but two miles and an halfe euerie waie, or not much more, except he be deceiued.

Whitaker.

Being paſt this noble ſtreame, we came by a rill that deſcendeth from Bowſden by Barington. Then by the ſtrond which ariſeth betweene Middleton and Detchant or Dereham, and runneth by Eſkill and the Kolle, next of all to Warnemouth, of whoſe backe water I read as followeth. The Warne or Gwerne riſeth ſouthweſt of Crokelaw, and going by Warneford, Bradford, Spindleſtone, and Budle, it leaueth Newton on the right hand, and ſo falleth into the Ocean, after it hath run almoſt nine miles from the head within the land, and receiued a rill beneath Pellington, which commeth downe betweene Newland and Dicheſter, and hath a bridge beneath the confluence, which leadeth ouer the ſame. From Warnemouth, we ſailed by Bamborow caſtell, and came at laſt to a fall betweene Bedwell and Newton. The maine water that ſerueth this iſſue, riſeth about Carleton from the foot of an hill, which ſeemeth to part the head of this and that of Warne in ſunder. It runneth alſo by Carleton, Conleie, Dorford, Brunton, and Tuggell, and finallie into the ſea, as to his courſe appertaineth.

Warne.

From this water we went by Dunſtanburgh caſtell, vnto the Chaine or Alnemouth, which is ſerued with a pretie riueret called Alne, the head whereof riſeth in the hils weſt of Alnham towne, and called by Ptolomie, Celnius. From thenſe alſo it runneth by Rile, Bile, Eſlington, and Whittingham, where it croſſeth a rill comming from by ſouth, and beneath the ſame, the ſecond that deſcendeth from Eirchild at Brone, & likewiſe the third that riſeth at Newton, and runneth by Edlingham caſtell and Lemmaton (all on the ſoutheaſt ſide or right hand) and ſo paſſeth on further, till it mæt with the fourth, comming from aboue Shipleie from by north, after which confluence it goeth to Alnewiſe, & then to Dennyſe, receiuing there a rillet from by ſouth and a rill from by north, and thence going on to Bilton, betweene Ailmouth towne and Wlodon, it ſweepeth into the Ocean.

Alne, or Alue, alias Chaine.

The Cocket is a goodlie riuer, the head alſo thereof is in the roots of Kemblespeth hils, from whence it goeth to Whiteſide, and there meeting with the Alwaie (which deſcendeth from the north) it goeth a little further to Linbridge, and there receiueth the Ridleie by ſouthweſt, and after that with another, called (as I thinke) the Poc, which commeth from the Wodland and hillie ſoile by Allington, & falleth into the ſame, weſt of Parke head. It ioineth alſo yer long with the Ridland, which commeth in north by Bilſtone, and then hieth to Sharpton, to Yarbotle, where it croſſeth the Yardop water by ſouth, then to Wodhouſe, and ſwallowing in a litle becke by the waie from ſouthweſt, to Bickerton, to Tollons, Newton, and running apace toward Whitton towre, it taketh a broke withall that commeth in northweſt of Alnham, neere Elihaw, and goeth by Skarnewood, ouer nether Trewhet, Snitter, and Thrrton, and ſone after vniteth it ſelfe with the Cocket, from whence they go together to Rethburie, or Whitton towre, to Halie, to Brinkeborne, Welden, taking withall ſone after the Tod or burne called Tod, which falleth in from by ſouth, then to Elihaw, Felton (receiuing thereabout the Fareſlie broke, that goeth by Wintring by ſouth eaſt, and Sheldike water, that goeth by Haſon, to Brainſaugh by north) and from thence to Morricke Warkworth caſtell, and ſo into the ſea.

Cocket.

Alwaie.

Ridleie.

Yardop.

It may be Leland miſtaketh Tickington water for one of theſe.

There is furthermore a little fall, betweene Hawkeſlaw and Druriſh, which riſeth about Stokes wood, goeth by eaſt Cheuington, and Whittington caſtell; and afterward into the Ocean. The Lune is a pretie broke riſing weſt of Eſpleie, from whence it goeth to Tritlington, Agham, Linton, and yer long in the ſea. Wanſbecke (in old time Diua) is far greater than the Lune. It iſſueth vp weſt and by north of weſt Whelpington, thence it runneth to Kirke Whelpington, Wallington, Middleton, and Angerton. Heere it meeteth with a water running from about Farnelaw by the grange, and Hartburne on the north, and then going from Angerton, it runneth by Moſeden to Pitforth, and there in like maner croſſeth the Font, which iſſuing out of the ground about Newbiggin, goeth by Nonneie Kirke, Witton caſtell, Stanton, Nunriding, Newton, and ſo into the Wanſbecke, which runneth in like maner from Pitford to Morpheth caſtell (within two miles whereof it

Lune.

Wanſbecke.

Font.

ebbeth and floweth) the new Chappell, Wottle castell, Shepwash, and so into the sea, three miles from the next hauen which is called Blithe.

Blithe. Blithe water riseth about kirke Heaton, and goeth by Belse, Ogle, and (receiuing the Port *alias* the Brocket, that springeth east of S. Oswolds) passeth by Portgate, Whittington, Fennike hall, Hadsennes, Hawkewell, the Grange, & Dissingtons. After it hath taken in the Pont from the east (whose head is not farre from that of Hartleie streame) and is past Barwise on the hill, it runneth by Harford, Bedlington, Cowpon, and at Blithes nuke, into the deepe Ocean. Hartleie streamelet riseth in Weetslade parioch, goeth by Halliwell, and at Hartleie towne yeldeth to the sea.

North Tine. The Tine or Tinna, a riuer notablie stored with samon, and other good fish, and in old time called Alan, riseth of two heads, whereof that called north Tine, is the first that followeth to be described. It springeth vp aboue Belkirke in the hils, & thence goeth to Butterhawgh (where it receiueth a confluence of Kirsop and the Shele) thence to Cragsheles, Leapelish (receiuing on the south a rill out of Tindale) then to Shilburne, against which it taketh in a becke that commeth out of Tindale called Shill, also two other on the same side, betweene Parro and Fawlton hall, and the third at Thorneburne, and so goeth on to Grenested, and there carrieth withall a fall, from by north also made by the confluence of one rill comming by Thecam, and another that passeth by Holinhead, and likewise another on the south comming from Tindale, by Chuden, Dalacastell, and Brokes: after which our north Tine goeth by Hellaside, to Billingham, and at Rhedes mouth meeteth with the Ridde, a verie prettie water, whose description is giuen me after this maner.

Shele. Hartleie.

Ridde. The Ridde therefore riseth within three miles of the Scotish march, as Leland saith, & commeth through Riddesdale, whereunto it giueth the name. Another writeth how it riseth in the roots of the Carter, and Redsquibe hilles, and yet it hath gone farre from the head, beside a few little rilles it taketh in the Spelhop or Petop from the north and the Chelop on the south, beside sundrie other wild rils nameless and obscure, as one on the north side next vnto the Petop or Spelhop; another by south out of Riddesdale, the third west of Burdop, the fourth runneth by Wullaw to Rochester, then two from southwest, another from by north which goeth by Durtburne, and is called Durt or Durth, then the Smalburne from the west. Next to the same is the Otter or Otterburne on the north side also the Duereie, and finallie the last which descendeth from Ellesdon hilles, by Punkrige and ioineth with our Ridde, northwest of Nudhowgh, after which the said Ridde goeth by Woodburne, Kilingham, Leame, and so into the Tine, a little lower than Belingham or Bilingham, which standeth somewhat aloofe from north Tine, and is (as I take it) ten miles at the least aboue the towne of Herham. After this confluence it passeth to Leehall, to Carehouse (crossing Shitlington becke by west which also receiueth the Pare on the south side of Shitlington) another also beneath this on the same side, made by the confluence of Worksburne, and Middleburne, at Roseburne, beside the third called Worleis or Worlee aboue, and Simons burne beneath Shepechase, and likewise the Swine from by north that runneth by Swinburne castell, next of all the Riall from the northeast, which commeth by Errington, & so holding his course directlie southwards, it goeth by S. Oswolds through the Pictishwall, to Wall, and so into south Tine, beneath Accam, and northwest (as I doo weene) of Herham.

Shelhop. Chelop. S. Burnes. Shitlington.

Tine. S. The south Tine ariseth in the Cheuiot hils, and yer it hath gone farre from the head, it meeteth with Elgill on the east, and another rill on the west, and so going by the houses toward Awsten moore, it ioineth with Schud from by west, and sone after with the Went from by east aboue Lowbier. From Lowbier it goeth to Whitehalton, to Kirke Haugh (crossing the Gilders becke on the one side, and the Aine on the other) to Thornehope, where it is inlarged with a water on each side, to Williamstone, and almost at Knaresdale, taketh in the Knare, and then runneth withall to Fetherstone angle. At Fetherstone angle likewise it meeteth with Hartleie water, by southwest comming from Sibins or Sibbenes, another a little beneath from southeast, and thence when it commeth to Billester castell, it carieth another withall from by west, Thirlewall called Rippall which riseth in the forrest of Lowes, and goeth by the Waltowne, Blinkinsop, & Wildon, and after which confluence it taketh in another from by north rising west of Swinsheld, which goeth by Grenelegh to Haltwestell: thence going by Anthanke, it crosseth another rill from by south, descending from the hilles that lie north of Todlewood, and then proceeding vnto Wilmotteswic, it admitteth the Wilmots becke from the south, and another running by Bradleie hall on the north side of Beltingham; after which it meeteth with the Alen a proper water, and described after this maner.

Elgill. Went. Gilders beck. Knare.

East Alen. The Alen or Alon hath two heads, whereof one is called east Alen, the other west Alen. The first of them riseth southeast of Sibton Sheles, & going by Sundorp, it taketh in a rill withall from by est; after which confluence it runneth to Newshele, Allington, Caddon, Old towne, & in the course to Stauertpele, meeteth with the west Alen. The west Alen riseth in Killop low hilles aboue Whetelete sheles, from whence it goeth to Spartwell, Hawcopole, Diwton, and taking in a rill thereabouts, it procedeth on to Permandbie, and crossing there another rill in like maner from by west, it goeth by Whitefield, and ioining sone after with the est Alen, they run as one to Stauert pole, Plankford, and so into the Tine betweene Beltingham and Lees, from whence the Tine runneth on by Lees Haddon, Woodhall, Diwners, Whernebie, Costlete, & so by Warden, till it crosse the north Tine, and come to Herham, from whence it goeth to Dilstan, crossing two waters by the waie, whereof one commeth from by south, and is called the Wolsh, which holdeth his course by Stelehall, and Newbiggin receiueth another comming from Grimbridge: the other called Dill somewhat lower descending from Hedlete, and running by Kiling, till it fall into the south side of our streame from Dilstan, it goeth to Bywell castell, ouer against which it receiueth a rill that runneth by Hindlete, thence it hasteth to Eltingham, Prudhoe, Willam, (and there it meeteth with another becke) then to Reton, Blaidon, and next of all ioineth with the Darwent, from by south.

West Alen.

Darwent. This riuer riseth aboue Knewdon, and Rudlamhope in Northumberland, from two heads: the northerlie being called Dere, and the southerlie the Guent: and ioining so well yer long in chanell as in name, they runne on to Hunsterworth, new Biggin, Blankeland, Acton, Aspersheles, Blackheadlie, Brentfield side, Panscheles, Ebchester, and there taking in a water from Hedlete in Northumberland, neere to Blacke hall in the bishoprike, it goeth on to Spen, Hollinside, Wickham, Swalwell, and so into Tine, which passeth from thence by Elswic, and meeting with another water comming from Shotaw, by Rauensworth castell to Redhugh, it goeth on to Newcastell, Fellin, Netherheworth, Walker, Walwon, Pedburne, and next to Jerro or Girwie, where

where Beda dwelled in an abbeie; now a gentlemans place (although the church be made a parish church, whereunto diuerse townes resort, as monke Eaton where Beda was borne, which is a mile from thence, Southshieles, Harton, Westhow, Hebburne, Hedworth, Wardleie, Fellin, Follinsbie, the Hewoorthes) and from thence to the south and Northshieles, and so into the sea, fiue miles by northwest of Weremouth, and (as I gesse) somewhat more.

Beneath the confluence in like sort of both the Tines, standeth Corbridge, a towne sometime inhabited by the Romans, and about twelue miles from Newcastell, and hereby doth the Corue run, that meeteth yer long with the Tine. Not farre off also is a place called Colchester, whereby Leland gesseth that the name of the broke should rather be Cole than Corue, and in my iudgement his coniecture is verie likelie; for in the life of S. Oswyn (otherwise a feeble authoritie) the word Colbridge is alwaies vsed for Corbridge, whereof I thought good to leaue this short aduertisement. In this countrie also are the three vales or dales, whereof men haue doubted whether theeues or true men do most abound in them, that is to saie, Riddesdale, Tuidale, and Liddesdale: this last being for the most part Scotish, and without the marches of England. Neuertheless, sithens that by the diligence chiefelie of maister Gilpin, and finallie of other learned preachers, the grace of God working with them, they haue been called to some obedience and zeale vnto the word, it is found that they haue so well profited by the same, that at this present their former sauage demeanour is verie much abated, and their barbarous wildnesse and fiercenesse is qualified, that there is great hope left of their reduction vnto ciuilitie, and better order of behauiour than hitherto they haue been acquainted withall. But to proceed with the rest.

Corue.

Ptolomie, writing of the Were, calleth it Uedra, a riuer well knowne vnto Beda the famous preest, who was brought vp in a monasterie that stood vpon the bankes thereof. It riseth of three heads in Kellop-pellaw hill, whereof the most southerlie is called Burdop, the middlemost Wallop, and the northerliest Kellop, which vniting themselues about S. Johns chappell, or a little by west thereof, their confluence runneth through Stanhope parke, by east Pare, and so to Frosterleie. But yer it come there, it receiueth three rilles from the north in Weredale, whereof one commeth in by Stanhope, another west of Woodcroft hall, and the third at Frosterleie afore mentioned. And a little beneath these, I find yet a fourth on the south side, which descendeth from southwest by Wollop, Bishopsleie, Pilhouses, and Landew, as I haue been informed. Being therefore vnited all with the Were, this streame goeth on to Walsingham, there taking in the Walscropburne, beside another at Bradleie, the third at Harpleie hall (and these on the north side) and the fourth betweene Witton and Witton castell called Bedburne, comming by Hamsterleie, whereby this riuer doth now war verie great. Going therefore from hence, it hasteth to Bishops Akeland, and beneath it receiueth the Garondelle, which (as Leland saith) riseth six miles by west of Akeland castell, and running south thereof, passeth by west Akeland, S. Helens Akeland, S. Andrewes Akeland, and bishops Akeland, and then into the Were which goeth to Newfield, and Willington. Neere vnto this place also and somewhat beneath Sunderland, the Were, crosseth one broke from southest by Yet, Crorleie, Cronefurth, Tursdale, and Cordale, and two other from by northwest in one botome, whereof the first commeth from aboue Ash by Langleie: the other called Coue, from aboue Kinchleie by Newbiggin, Lanchester, north Langlie, and through Beare parke, & so meeting beneath Kelleie or Hedleie with the other, they fall both as one into the Were, betweene south Sunderland and Burnall. From hence our riuer goeth on to Holwghwell, Shirkeleie, old Dureme (and there taking in the Pidding broke by northeast) it goeth to Dureme, Finkeleie, Harbarhouse, Lumleie castell (where it meeteth with the Pilis, whose heads are vnited betweene Pelton and Whitwell (and after called Hedleie) and from thence to Lampton, Harroton, the Bedikes, Ufferton, Hilton parke, Bishops, Weremouth, and so into the sea, betweene north Sunderland and north Weremouth towne, which now is called monke Weremouth of the monasterie sometime standing there, wherin Beda read & wrote manie of his bookes, as to the world appeareth. This mouth of Were is eight miles from Durham, and six from Newcastell. Being thus passed the Were, & entered into the Bishoprie, yer we come at the mouth of the These, almost by two miles, ouer passing a rill that runneth by castell Eden, and Hardwic, and likewise Hartlepole towne, which lieth ouer into the sea in maner of a byland or peninsula, we meet with a prettie fall, which groweth by a riuer that is increased with two waters, whereof one riseth by northwest about Moretons, and goeth by Stotfeld and Clarton; the other at Dawlton, going by Beerton, Dwtham, and Grettam, finallie ioining within two miles of the sea, they make a prettie portlet: but I know not of what securitie.

Pidding broke. Pilis.

The These, a riuer that beareth and feedeth an excellent samon, riseth in the Blacke lowes, aboue two miles flat west of the southerlie head of Were called Burdop, and south of the head of west Alen, and thence runneth through Tildale forrest: and taking in the Langdon water from northwest it runneth to Durtpit chappell, to Newbiggin, and so to Middleton, receiuing by west of each of these a rill comming from by north (of which the last is called Hude) and likewise the Lune afterward by southwest that riseth at three seuerall places, whereof the first is in the borders of Westmerland and there called Arnegill becke, the second more southerlie, named Lunebecke, and the third by south at Bandor Skarth hill, and meeting all aboue Arnegill house, they run togither in one bottome to Lathekirke bridge, and then into the These. Hauing therefore met with these, it runneth to Pickelton (& there taking in the Skirkwith water) it goeth to Rombald kirke (crossing there also one rill and the Bander broke by south west) and then going to Morewood hag, and Morewood parke, till it come to Bernards castell.

Thelis. Hude. Lune. Arnegill. Skirkewith. Wander.

Here also it receiueth the Thureslgill water comming east of Kere crosse in Yorkeshire, from the spittle in Stanmore by Crag almost southwest, and being vnited with the These; it goeth by Stratford, Eglesdon, Rokesbie, Thorpe, Wickliffe, Quington, Winston, and betweene Barfurth and Gainfurth meeteth with another rill, that commeth from Langleie forest, betweene Rabie castell and Standorpe, of whose name I haue no knowledge. But to proceed. The These being past Ramforth, runneth betweene Perbore and Cliffe, and in the waie to Crofts bridge taketh in the Skerne a prettie water, which riseth about Trimdon, and goeth by Fishburne, Bradburie, Preston, Brafarton, Skirmingham, the Burdons, Haughton and Darlington, & there finallie meeting with the Cocke becke or Dare, it falleth in the These beneath Stapleton, before it come at Crofts bridge, and (as it should seeme) is the same which Leland calleth Gretteie or Grettie. From thence it runneth to Sockburne, nether Dunsleie, Middleton row, Newsham, Parne (crossing a broke from Leuen bridge) called Leuen or Leuinus in Latine, whose crinkling

Kere crosse. Skerne.

course is notable, and the streame of some called Thorpe, which I find described in this maner.

Thorpe alias Leuand.

The Thorpe riseth of sundrie heads, whereof one is aboue Pinching Thorpe, from whence it goeth to Nonnethorpe, and so to Stokesleie. The second hath two branches, and so placed, that Kildale standeth betweene them both: finallie, meeting beneath Easbie they go by Eaton, and likewise vnto Stokesleie. The last hath also two branches, whereof one commeth from Inglesbie, and meeteth with the second beneath Broughton; going from thence to Stokesleie, they meet with the Thorpe aboue the towne, as the other fall into it somewhat beneath the same. From hence it goeth to Kidbie, and there taketh in another rill comming from Potto, thence to Crawthorne broke, Leuenton, Milton, Yilton, Inglesbie, and so into the Wese, betweene Yarne and Barwike, whereof I made mention before. After this confluence our Wese hasteth on to Barwike, Preston, Thorne abbeie, and Arsham, which standeth on the southeast side of the riuer almost betweene the falles of two waters, whereof one descendeth from west Hartburne by long Newton, Elton, & Stockton; the other from Stillington, or Shilkington, by Whitton, Thorpe, Blackestone, Billingham, and Norton. From Arsham finallie it goeth to Bellasis, Middlebrough, and so into the sea. Leland describing this riuer speaketh of the Wiske, which should come thereinto from by south vnder Wiske bridge, by Danbie, and Northallerton, and should ioine with a greater streame: but as yet I find no certeine place where to bestow the same.

Crawthorne.

Next of all we come vnto the high Cliffe water, which rising aboue Yutton, goeth by Gisborow, and there receiueth another streame comming from by southwall, and then continuing on his course, it is not long yer it fall into the sea. The next is the Scaling water, which descendeth from Scaling towne, from whence we come to the Polemouth, not farre from whose head standeth Wolgraue castell: then to Sandford creeke, and next of all to Eske mouth, which riseth aboue Danbie wood, and so goeth to Castelton, there meeting by the waie with another rill comming from about Westerdale by Danbie, and so they go on togither by Armar and Ywate castell, till they ioine with another water aboue Glasdale chappell, thence to new Biggin, taking yet another broke with them, running from Goodland ward, and likewise the Ibur, and so go on without ante further increase by Buswoorth, yer long into the sea.

Eske.

Ibur.

There is also a creeke on each side of Robin Whodes baie, of whose names and courses I haue no skill, sauing that Fillingale the towne doth stand betweene them both. There is another not far from Scarborow, on the north side called the Harwood broke. It runneth through Harwood dale by Cloughton, Buntston, and soone after meeting with another rill on the southwest, they run as one into the ocean sea. From Scarborow to Bridlington, by Flamborow head, we met with no more falles. This water therefore that we saw at Bridlington, riseth at Duggledie, from whence it goeth to Kirbie, Helperthorpe, Butterwike, Boithorpe, Forhole, (where it falleth into the ground, and riseth vp againe at Rudston) Thorpe, Cathorpe, Bridlington, and so into the Ocean.

Being come about the Spurne head, I meete yet long with a riuer that riseth short of Withersie, and goeth by Fodringham and Wilsted, from thence to another that commeth by Rosse, Halsham, Carmingham: then to the third, which riseth aboue Humbleton, and goeth to Esterwike, Yeddon, and so into the Humber. The fourth springeth short of Sprotleie, goeth by Witton, and falleth into the water of Humber at Merflete, as I heare.

The nert of all is the Hull water, which I will describe also here, and then crosse ouer vnto the southerlie shore. The furthest head of Hull water riseth at Bilham, from whence it goeth to Lewthorpe creeke, and so to Fodringham, a little beneath which it meeteth with sundrie waters, whereof one falleth in on the northest side, comming from about Lisset; the second on the northwest banke from Nafferton; the third from Emmeswell and Kirkeburne: for it hath two heads which ioined beneth little Driffield, and the fourth which falleth into the same: so that these two latter run vnto the maine riuer both in one chanell, as experience hath confirmed. From hence then our Hull goeth to to Ratsleie, to Godalehouse, and then taking in a water from Horneside mere, it goeth on through Beuerleie medowes, by Warron, Stoneferrie, Hull, and finallie into the Humber. Of the rill that falleth into this water from south Netherwike, by Skirlow, and the two rilles that come from Cottingham and Woluerton, I saie no more, sith it is enough to name them in their order.

Hull.

## The description of the Humber *or Isis, and such water-courses as* doo increase hir chanell.

### Chap. 15.

THere is no riuer called Humber from the bed. Wherfore that which we now call Humber, Ptolomie Abie, Leland Aber, as he gesseth, hath the same denomination no higher than the confluence of Trent with the Duze, as beside Leland sundrie ancient writers haue noted before vs both. Certes it is a noble arme of the sea, and although it be properlie to be called Duze or Ocellus euen to the Nuke beneath Ancolme, yet are we contented to call it Humber of Humbrus or Umar, a king of the Scithians, who inuaded this Ile in the time of Locrinus, thinking to make himselfe monarch of the same. But as God hath from time to time singularlie prouided for the benefit of Britaine, so in this businesse it came to passe, that Humber was put to flight, his men slaine: and furthermore, whilest he attempted to saue himselfe by hasting to his ships (such was the preasse of his nobilitie that followed him into his owne vessell, and the rage of weather which hastened on his fatall daie) that both he and they were drowned togither in that arme. And this is the onelie cause wherefore it hath beene called Humber, as our writers saie; and whereof I find these verses:

Humber.

*Dum fugit obstat ei flumen sulmergitur illic,*
*Deque suo tribuit nomine nomen aquæ.*

This riuer in old time parted Lhoegres or England from Albania, which was the portion of Albanactus, the yongest sonne of Brute. But since that time the limits of Lhoegres haue beene so inlarged, first by the prowesse of the Romans, then by the conquests of the English, that at this present daie, the Twede on the one side, & the Solue on the other, be taken for the principall bounds betweene vs and those of Scotland. In describing therefore the Humber, I must needs begin with the Duze, whose water bringeth forth a verie sweet, fat and delicat samon, as I haue beene informed, beside sundrie other kinds of fish, which we want here on the south

and

and ſouthweſt coaſts & riuers of our land, whereof I may take occaſion to ſpeake more at large hereafter.

Ure aliàs Duze, or Iſis.

The Ure therfore riſeth in the furtheſt parts of all Richmondſhire, among the Coterine hilles, in a moſſe, toward the weſt fourteene miles beyond Middleham. Being therefore iſſued out of the ground, it goeth to Holbecke, Hardraw, Hawſhouſe, Butterſide, Aſkebridge (which Leland calleth the Aſkaran, and ſaith thereof and the Bainham, that they are but obſcure bridges) then to Aſkarth, through Manleſſe parke, Wenſeleie bridge (made two hundred yeares ſince, by Alwin, parſon of Winſlaw) New parke, Spennithorne, Danbie, Geruiſe abbeie, Cliſton and Walham. When it is come to Walham, it receiueth the Burne, by ſouth weſt (as it did the Wiſe, from verie deepe ſcarrie rockes, before at Aſkaran) and diuerſe other wild rilles not worthie to be remembred. From Walham, it haſteth vnto Tanfield (taking in by the waie a rill by ſouthweſt) then to another Tanfield, to Newton hall, and Northbridge, at the higher end of Ripon, and ſo to Ynickes bridge. But yer it come there it meeteth with the Skell, which being incorporat with the ſame, they run as one to Thorpe, then to Alborow, and ſome after receiue the Swale.

Burne.

Skell.

Swale.

Here (ſaith Leland) I am brought into no little ſtreict, what to coniecture of the meeting of Iſis and Ure, for ſome ſaie that the Iſis and the Ure do meet at Borowbridge, which to me doth ſeeme to be verie vnlikelie, ſith Iſurium taketh his denomination of Iſis and Vro, for it is often ſeene that the leſſe riuers do mingle their names with the greater, as in the Thameſis and other is eaſie to be found. Neither is there any more mention of the Ure after his paſſage vnder Borowbridge, but onelie of Iſis or the Duze in theſe daies, although in old time it held vnto Yorke it ſelfe, which of the Ure is truelie called Urewiſe (or Yorke ſhort) or elſe my perſuaſion doth faile me. I haue red alſo Ewerwiſe and Yorwiſe. But to proceed, and leaue this ſuperfluous diſcourſe.

From Borowbridge, the Duze goeth to Aldborough, and (receiuing the Swale by the waie) to Aldworke, taking in Aſburne water, from the ſouthweſt, then to Linton vpon Duze, to Newton vpon Duze, and to Munketun, meeting with the Nid yer long, and ſo going withall to the Redhouſes, to Popleton, Cliſton, Yorke (where it croſſeth the Foſſe) to Foulforth, Middlethorpe, Acaſter, & Acaſter, Kelfleet, Welehall, Barelebie, Selbie, Turmonhall, Skurthall, Yokelath, Yoke, Sandhall, Rednelle, Whitegift, Allet, Blacketoft, Forfleet, Brownfleet, and ſo into Humber.

Foſſe.

Duze.

The courſe of the Duze being thus deſcribed, and as it were ſimplie without his influences, now will I touch ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame alſo by themſelues, contrarie to my former proceeding, imagining a voiage from the Rauenſpurne, vntill I come neere to the head of Theſe, & ſo ſouthwards about againe by the bottome of the hillie ſoile vntill I get to Burſton, Sheffeld, Scrobie, & the verie ſouth point of Humber mouth, whereby I ſhall croſſe them all that are to be found in this walke, & leaue (I doubt) ſome eſpeciall notice of their ſeuerall heads and courſes. The courſe of the Hull, a ſtreame abounding with ſturgeon and lamprete, as alſo the riuers which haue their iſſue into the ſame, being (as I ſay) alreadie deſcribed, I thinke it not amiſſe, as by the waie to ſet downe what Leland ſaith thereof, to the end that his trauell ſhall not altogither be loſt in this behalfe; and for that it is ſhort, and hath one or two things worthie to be remembred conteined in the ſame.

Hull or Hulne.

The Hulne (ſaith he) riſeth of three ſeuerall heads, whereof the greateſt is not far from Driefield, now a ſmall village ſixteene miles from Hull. Certes it hath beene a goodlie towne, and therein was the palace of Egbright king of the Northumbers, and place of ſepulture of Alfred the noble king ſometime of that nation, who died there 727, the nineteene Cal. of Julie, the twentith of his reigne, and whoſe tombe or monument doth yet remaine (for ought that I doo know) to the contrarie with an inſcription vpon the ſame written in Latine letters. Neere vnto this towne alſo is the Daneſield, wherein great numbers of Danes were ſlaine, and buried in thers hils, which yet remaine there to be ſeene ouer their bones and carcaſſes. The ſecond head (ſaith he) is at Eſburne, and the third at Emmeſwell, and meeting all togither not farre from Drifield, the water there beginneth to be called Hulne, as I haue ſaid alreadie.

From hence alſo it goeth through Beuerleie medowes, and comming at the laſt not farre from an arme led from the Hulne by mans hand (and able to beare great veſſels) almoſt to Beuerleie towne, which in old time either hight or ſtood in Deirwald, vntill John of Beuerleie (whom Leland nameth out of an old author to be the firſt doctor or teacher of diuinitie that euer was in Orford, and (as it ſhould ſeeme alſo by an ancient monument yet remaining) to be of an hoſtell where the vniuerſitie college now ſtandeth; & therfore they write him, Somtime fellow of that houſe) began to be of fame, of whom it is called Beuerleie (as ſome affirme) to this daie. Indeed all the countrie betweene the Deirwent & the Humber was ſometime called Deira, and the lower part Caua Deira in reſpect of the higher ſoile, but now it is named the eaſt Riding. But what is this to my purpoſe? The Hulne therefore being come almoſt to Beuerleie towne, & meeting thereabout alſo with the Cottingham becke comming from Weſtwood by the waie, it haſteth to Kingſton vpon Hulne or Hull, and ſo into the Humber without anie maner impeachment.

Cottingham.

The Fowlneie riſeth about Godmanham, from whence it goeth by Wighton, Hareſwell, Scton, Williams bridge, and ſome after ſpreading it ſelfe, one arme called Skelfleet goeth by Cane Cawſcie to Brownefleet and ſo into the Duze. The other paſſeth by Sandholme, Gilberts dike, Scalbie chapell, Blacketoft, and ſo into the aforeſaid Duze, leauing a verie prettie Iland, which is a parcell (as I heare) of Walding fen more, though otherwiſe obſcure to vs that dwell here in the ſouth.

Fowlneie.

Skelfleet.

The Darwent riſeth in the hilles that lie weſt of Robin Whodes baie, or two miles aboue Aiton bridge, weſt from Scarborow as Leland ſaith: and yer it hath run farre from the head, it receiueth two rilles in one bottome from by weſt, which ioine withall about Longdale end. Thence they go togither to Borrie, and at Hackneſſe take in another water comming from about Silſeie. Afterward it commeth to Aiton, then to Haibridge, and there croſſeth the Renford that deſcendeth from Robertſton. After this alſo it goeth on to Poterſbrumton where it taketh in one rill, as it doth another beneath running from Shirburne, and the third yet lower on the further banke, that deſcendeth from Brumton. From theſe confluences it runneth to Fowlbridge, Arbridge, Yeldingham bridge, & ſo to Cotehouſe, receiuing by the waie manie waters, & yeelding great plentie of delicate ſamons to ſuch as fiſh vpon the ſame. Leland reckoning vp the names of the ſeuerall brookes, numbreth them confuſedlie after his accuſtomed order. The Darwent (ſaith he) receiueth diuerſe ſtreames, as the Shirhutton. The ſecond is the Crambecke, deſcending from Hunderſkell caſtell (ſo called *Tanquam à centum fontibus*, or multitude of ſprings

Darwent.

Renford.

Shirhutton.
Crambecke.

Rie. Ricoll. Seuen. Costeie. Pickering.

springs that rise about the same) and goeth to Rie, which comming out of the Blackemoore, passeth by Kiuers abbeie, taking in the Ricoll on the left hand, then the Seuen, the Costeie, and Pickering broke. The Sethin also (saith he) riseth in the side of Blackemoore, and thence goeth by Sinnington foure miles from Pickering, and about a mile aboue a certeine bridge ouer Rie goeth into the streame. The Costeie in like sort springeth in the verie edge of Pickering towne, at a place called Keld head, and goeth into the Rie two miles beneath Pickering, about Kirbie minster. Finallie, Pickering water ariseth in Blackemoore, and halfe a mile beneath Pickering falleth into Costeie, meeting by the way with the Pocklington becke, and an other small rill or two, of whose names I haue no knowledge. Hitherto Leland. But in mine opinion, it had beene far better to haue described them thus. Of those waters that fall into the Darwent beneath Cotehouse, the first commeth from Swenton, the second from Ebberston, the third from Allerston, the fourth from Thorneton & Pickering, and the fift on the other side that commeth thither from Wintringham. For so should he haue dealt in better order, and rid his hands of them with more expedition, referring the rest also vnto their proper places.

Pocklington.

But to proceed after mine owne maner. Being past Cotehouse, & yer the Darwent come at Wickham, it crosseth the Rie, which riseth of two heads, and ioining west of Loton they run through Glansbie parke. Finallie, receiuing the Costeie, it meeteth at the last with an other streame increased by the fals of sir waters and more yer it come into the Darwent. The most easterlie of these is called Seuen, and riseth (as is aforesaid) in Blackemoore, from whence it goeth by Sinnington, Purton, Normanbie, Newsound, Yow, and so into the Rie. The second named Don hath his originall likewise in Blackemoore, and descending by Kasmore, Keldon and Edston (where it receiueth the Yodgebecke, that commeth by Bernesdale, Kirkedale, & Welburne) it goeth to Sawlton, and there taketh in first the Ricoll, that goeth by Careton, and whereof Ridall (as some thinke, but falslie) doth seeme to take the name. Then Felle, which riseth aboue Bilisdale chappell, and meeteth with the Rie at the Shaking bridge, from whence they go together vnder the Rie bridge, to Kinis abbeie, and thence (after it hath crossed a becke from the west) through a parke of the earle of Rutlands to Newton, Puniton, and so to Sawton or Sawlton, as I doo find it written. Here also it taketh in the Yolbecke broke, that commeth thither from by west by Gilling castell, and Stangraue, from whence it goeth on to Brabie, nert into the Seuen, then into the Rie, and so into the Darwent, which from thence doth run to Wickham.

Rie. Costeie. Seuen. Don or Done. Yodgebecke. Ricoll. Felle. Yolbecke.

Being past Wickham, it meeteth with a water that commeth thereinto from Grinston to Setterington at southeast, and thence it goeth on to Walton and Walton (where the prouerbe saith that a bushell of rie and an other of malt is worth but sixpence, carie awaie whilest you may, so as you can keepe them from running through the sackes) Sutton, Wellam, Furbie, and Kirkeham, receiuing by the waie one rill on the one side and an other on the other, whereof this commeth from Burdsall, that other from Conisthorpe. From Kirkeham it goeth to Cramburne and Diusham bridge (crossing by the waie an other broke comming from saint Edwards gore, by Fasson) then to Aldbie, Buttercram (*alias* Butterham) bridge, Stamford bridge, Kerbie bridge Sutton, Ellerton, Aughton, Bubwith, Wressill, Babthorpe, and so into the Ouze, wherewith I finish the description of Darwent: sauing that I haue to let you vnderstand how Leland heard that an arme ran some time from the head of Darwent also to Scarborow, till such time as two hils betwixt which it ran, did shalder and so choke vp his course.

The Folle (a slow streame yet able to beare a good vessell) riseth in *Nemore Calateria*, that is, Galters wood or Calwood, among the woddie hilles, and in his descent from the higher ground, he leaueth Crake castell, on his west side: thence he goeth by Marton abbeie, Marton, Stillington, Farlington, Towthorpe, Erswic, Huntington, & at Yorke into the Ouze. The Kile riseth flat north at Newborow, from whence it goeth by Thorneton on the hill, Ruskell parke, Awne, Tollerton, and so into the Ouze about Newton vpon Ouze. The Swale is a right noble riuer, & march in some places betweene Richmondshire and Westmerland, it riseth not far from Pendragon castell in the hilles aboue Kirkedale, and from this towne it goeth to Kelde chappell, Carret house, Crackepot, Whiteside, and neere vnto Yalen taketh in the Barneie water, which commeth from the north east. Thence it goeth by Yarnside to Reth (where it meeteth with the Arcleis) and so to Flemington, Grinton, Parrike (taking in the Holgate that commeth from by south: and in the waie to Thorpe, the Parike becke, or peraduenture Aplegarth water, as Leland calleth it, that descendeth from the north) then to Thorpe, Aplegarth, Richmond, Easbie and Brunton.

Folle. Kile. Swale. Barneie. Arcleis. Holgate. Parike becke.

Here by north it interteineth two or three waters in one chanell, called Rauenswath water, whereof the two furthest doo ioine not farre from the Dawtons, and so go by Rauenswath, Hartforth, Gilling, and at Skebie meet with the third, comming from Richmond beaconward. By west also of Brunton, the Swale meeteth with the Rhe, running from Resdale, and being past Brunton, it goeth to Caterisc bridge beneath Brunton, then to Ellerton, Kirkebie, Langton parua, Thirtoft, Anderbie steeple: and before it come vnto Gatenbie, it meeteth with the Bedall broke, *alias* Lemings becke, that commeth west of Kellirbie, by Cunstable, Burton, Langthorpe, Bedall, and Leming chappell. From Gattenbie likewise it goeth to Nawbie, & at Brakenbirie receiueth the Wiske, which is a great water, rising betweene two parkes aboue Swanbie in one place, and southeast of Mountgrace abbeie in another; and after the confluence which is about Sidlebridge, goeth on betweene the Rughtons to Appleton, the Smetons, Birtbie, Hutton Conters, Danbie, Wisc, Yafford, Warlabie, and taking in there a rill from Brunton Aluerton, it procedeth to Otterington, Newlie, Kirbie Wiske, Newson, and Blackenburie, there meeting (as I said) with the Swale, that runneth from thence by Skipton bridge, Catton, Topcliffe, and Kaniton, and aboue Eldmire meeteth with sundrie other rilles in one bottome, whereof the northwesterlie is called Cawdeber: the south easterlie Rebecke, which ioine est of Thorneton more, and so go to Thorneton in the street, Kilnington, Thruske, Sowerbie, Grastwic, and soone after crossing another growing of the mirture of the Willow, and likewise of the Cuckewold beckes, which ioine aboue Brodforth, and running on till it come almost at Dawlton, it maketh confluence with the Swale, and go thence as one with all their samons by Thorneton bridge, Pitton vpon Swale, and so into the Ouze.

Wedall alias Leming. Wiske. Cawdeber Rebecke. Cuckwolds becke.

The Skell riseth out of the west two miles from Founteines abbeie, and commeth (as Leland saith) with a faire course by the one side of Ripon, as the Vre doth on the other. And on the bankes hereof stood the famous abbeie called Founteines or Adfontes, so much renowmed for the lustie monks that sometimes

Skell.

ſometimes dwelled in the ſame. It receiueth alſo the Lauer water (which riſeth three miles from Kirbie, and meeteth withall neere vnto Kippon) and finallie falleth into the Vre, a quarter of a mile beneath Kippon towne, & almoſt midwaie betweene the North and Haicke bridges. Lauer.

The Nidde, which the booke of ſtatutes called Nidor (anno 13. Edw. 1.) and thereto noteth it to be inriched with ſtore of ſamon, as are alſo the Wheof and Aire, riſeth among thoſe hilles that lie by weſt northweſt of Gnarreſborow, fiue miles aboue Pakeleie bridge, and going in ſhort proceſſe of time by Weſthouſes, Lodgehouſes, Woodhall, Newhouſes, Widleſmore, Kaunſgill, Cowthouſe, Gowthwall, Bureleie, Brimham, Hampeſwale, and ſone after meeting with the Killingale becke, it goeth after the confluence by Bilton parke, Gnareſbridge, Waſhford, Cathall, Willeſthorpe, Munketon, or Nonmocke, and ſo into the Ouze, foureteene miles beneath Gnareſborow, being increaſed by the waie with verie few or no waters of anie countenauce. Leland hauing ſaid thus much of the Nidde, addeth herevnto the names of two other waters, that is to ſaie, the Couer and the Burne, which do fall likewiſe into the Vre or Ouze. But as he ſaith little of the ſame, ſo among all my pamphlets, I can gather no more of them, than that the firſt riſeth ſix miles aboue Couerham by weſt, and falleth into the Vre, a little beneath Middleham bridge, which is two miles beneath the towne of Couerham. As for the Burne, it riſeth at More hilles, and falleth into the ſaid riuer a little beneath Maſſham bridge. And ſo much of theſe two. Nidde. Killingale. Couer. Burne.

The Wharfe or Gwerfe ariſeth aboue Aghterſhaw, from whence it runneth to Beggermons, Roſemill, Yubberham, Backden, Starbotton, Kettlewell, Cunniſton in Kettlewell, and here it meeteth with a rill comming from Yaltongill chappell, by Arnecliffe, and ioining withall northeaſt of Bilneſeie crag, it palleth ouer by the lower grounds to Girſington, and receiuing a rill there alſo from Treſfeld parke, it proceedeth on to Brunſall bridge. Furthermore at Appletreewic, it meeteth with a rill from by north, and thence goeth to Barden towre, Bolton, Beth and Miſlete hall, where it croſſeth a rill comming from by weſt, thence to Addingham, taking in there alſo another from by weſt, and ſo to Ikeleie, and receiuing yet long another by north from Denton hall, it haſteth to Weſton Manaſour, Oteleie, and Letheleie, where it taketh in the Padſide, & the Waſhburne (both in one ſtreame from Lindleie ward) and thence to Caſtete chappell, and there it croſſeth one from by north, and another yet long from by ſouth, and ſo to Pardwod caſtell, Kerebie, Woodhall, Collingham, Linton, Wetherbie, Thorpatch, Newton, Tadcaſter, and when it hath receiued the Cockebecke from ſouthweſt, that goeth by Barwic, Aberforth, Leadhall, and Grimſton, it runneth to Erton, Kirbie Wharfe, Uſkell, Rither, Munapleton, & ſo into the Ouze beneath Caiwod, a caſtell belonging to the archbiſhop of Yorke, where he vſeth oft to lie when he refreſheth himſelfe with change of aire and ſhift of habitation, for the auoiding of ſuch infection as may otherwiſe ingender by his long abode in one place, for want of due purgation and airing of his houſe. Padſide. Waſhburne. Cockebecke.

The Air or Arre riſeth out of a lake or tarne ſouth of Warnbrooke, wherein (as I heare) is none other fiſh but red trowt, and perch. Leland ſaith it riſeth neere vnto Orton in Crauen, wherfore the odds is but little. It goeth therefore from thence to Pawlam, Hamlith, Kirbie, Woldale, Calton hall, Areton, and ſo forth till it come almoſt to Gargraue, there croſſing the Otterburne water on the weſt, and the Winterburne on the north, which at Flaſbie receiueth a rill from Yelton, as I heare. Being paſt Gargraue, our Air goeth on to Eſhton, Elſwod, and ſo forth on, firſt receiuing a broke from ſouthweſt (whereof one branch commeth by Parton, the other by Thorneton, which meete about Broughton) then another from northeaſt, that runneth by Skipton caſtell. After this confluence it haſteth by manifold windleſſes, which cauſed thirteene bridges at the laſt to be ouer the ſame within a little ſpace, to Newbiggin, Bradleie, and Kildwiſe, by ſouth eaſt whereof it meeteth with one water from Pawlis, and Gluſburne or Glukeſburne, called Glike; another likewiſe a little beneath from Seton, beſide two rilles from by north, after which confluence it runneth by Keddleſden, and ouer againſt this towne the Lacocke and the Worth do meet withall in one chanell, as the Moreton water doth on the north, although it be somewhat lower. Thence it goeth to Kilſworth hall, and ſo to Bungleie, where it taketh a rill from Denholme parke to Shipeleie, and there croſſing another from Thorneton, Leuenthorpe, and Bradleie, it goeth to Caluerleie, to Chriſtall, and ſo to Leedes, where one water runneth thereinto by north from Wettlewod, & two other from by ſouth in one chanell, wherof the firſt hath two armes, of which the one commeth from Pudſeie chappell, the other from Adwalton, their confluence being made aboue Farneſleie hall. The other likewiſe hath two heads, whereof one is aboue Morleie, the other commeth from Domingleie, and meeting with the firſt not far ſouthweſt of Leedes, they fall both into the Air, and ſo run with the ſame to Swillington, and there taking in the Rodwell becke ſouth of the bridge, it proceedeth to Allerton, Caſtleford, Brotherton & Ferribridge, there receiuing the Went, a becke from Pontefract or Pomfret, which riſeth of diuerſe heads, wherof one is among the cole pits. Thence to Beall, Berkin, Kellington, middle Hodleſete, Templehirſt, Gowldall, Snath, Rawcliffe, Newland, Armie, and ſo into the Ouze with an indifferent courſe. Of all the riuers in the north, Leland (in ſo manie of his bookes as I haue ſeene) ſaith leaſt of this. Mine annotations alſo are verie ſlender in the particular waters wherbie it is increaſed: wherfore I was compelled of neceſſitie to conclude euen thus with the deſcription of the ſame, and had ſo left it in deed, if I had not receiued one other note more to ad vnto it (euen when the leafe was at the preſſe) which ſaith as followeth in maner word for word. Otterburne. Winterburne. Lacocke. Worth. Moreton. Redwell. Went.

There is a noble water that falleth into Air, whoſe head (as I take it) is about Stanford. From whence it goeth to Creſſon chappell, to Lingfield, and there about receiuing one rill neere Elſrabright bridge, and alſo the Hebden by northweſt, it goeth to Brearleie hall, and ſo taking in the third by north, it proceedeth on eaſtward by Norſbie bridge chappell (and there a rill from ſouthweſt) and ſo to Coppelete hall. Beneath this place I find alſo that it receiueth one rill from Halifax, which riſeth from two heads, and two other from ſouthweſt, of which one commeth by Bareſland, and Staneland in one chanell, as I read. So that after this confluence the aforeſaid water goeth on toward Cowford bridge, and as it taketh in two rilles aboue the ſame on the north ſide, ſo beneath that bridge there falleth into it a prettie arme increaſed by ſundrie waters coming from by ſouth, as from Parlheden chappell, from Holmeſworth chappell, and Kirke Heton, each one growing of ſundrie heads; whereof I would ſaie more, if I had more intelligence of their ſeuerall gates and paſſages. Hebden.

But to proceed. From Cowford bridge it runneth to Munſeld, and receiuing yet long one rill from Leuerſage hall, and another from Burſhall by Dewſburie, it goeth on northeaſt of Thornehull, ſouth

south of Horbirie thornes, and thereabout crossing one rill from by south from Woller by new Milner Dam, and sone after another from northwest, called Chald, rising in the Peke hils, whereon Wakefield standeth, and likewise the third from southeast, and Waterton hall, it goeth by Warmefield, Newland, Altoftes, and finallie into the Aire, west of Castelworth, as I learne. What the name of this riuer should be as yet I heare not, and therefore no maruell that I do not set it downe, yet is it certeine that it is called Chald, after his cõfluence with the Chald, and finallie Chaldair or Chaldar after it hath ioined with the Air or Ar. But what is this for his denominations from the head? It shall suffice therefore thus farre to haue shewed the course thereof: and as for the name I passe it ouer vntill another time.

Chald.

Trent. The Trent is one of the most excellent riuers in the land, not onelie for store of samon, sturgeon, and sundrie other kinds of delicate fish wherewith it doth abound, but also for that it is increased with so manie waters, as for that onelie cause it may be compared either with the Duze or Sauerne, I meane the second Duze, whose course I haue latelie described. It riseth of two heads which ioine beneath Norton in the moore, and from thence goeth to Hilton abbeie, Bucknell church, and aboue Stoke receiueth in the Foulebrooke water, which commeth thither from Tunstall, by Shelton, and finallie making a confluence they go to Hanlest, where they met with another on the same side, that descendeth from Newcastell vnder Line, which Leland taketh to be the verie Trent it selfe, saieng: that it riseth in the hils aboue Newcastell, as may be seene by his commentaries.

Foulebrooke.

But to proceed. At Trentham, or not farre from thence, it crossech a riueret from northeast, whose name I know not, & thence going to Stone Aston, Stoke Burston, the Sandons and Weston, a little aboue Shubburne & Hawood, it receiueth the Sow, a great chanell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe, leauing the Trent at Shubburne, till I come backe againe. The Sow descendeth from the hilles, aboue Whitemoore chappell, and goeth by Charleton, and Stawne, and beneath Shalford ioineth with another by northeast that commeth from bishops Offeleie, Egleshall, Chesbie, Raunton. After this confluence also it runneth by Bridgeford, Tillington, & Stafford, beneath which towne it crosseth the Penke becke, that riseth aboue Nigleton, & Berwood, & aboue Penke bridge vniteth it selfe with another comming from Knightleie ward, by Gnashall church, Eaton: and so going forth as one, it is not long yer they fall into Sow, after they haue passed Draiton, Dunstan, Acton, and Banswich, where losing their names, they with the Sow & the Sow with them do ioine with the Trent, at Shubburne, vpon the southerlie banke.

Sow.

Penke.

From Shubburne the Trent goeth on to little Harwood (meeting by the waie one rill at Dusleie bridge, and another south of Riddlesleie) thence by Hawksberie, Mauestane, Ridware, and so toward Yorhall; where I must staie a while to consider of other waters, wherewith I meet in this voiage. Of these therefore the lesser commeth in by south from Farwall, the other from by west, a faire streame, and increased with two brooks, whereof the first riseth in Pedewood forrest, northeast of Haggersleie parke, whereinto falleth another west of Hamsted Ridware, called Blith, which riseth among the hilles in Whateleie moore, aboue Weston Conie, and thence going to the same towne, it commeth to Draicote, *alias* Draycote, Painsleie, Gratwitch, Grimleie, Aldmaston, Hamsted, Ridware, and finallie into the Trent, directlie west of Yorhall, which runneth also

Blith.

from thence, & leauing kings Bromleie in a parke (as I take it) on the left hand, and the Blacke water comming from Southton and Lichfield on the right, goeth streightwaie to Catton, where it meeteth with the Tame, whose course I describe as followeth.

Tame.

It riseth in Staffordshire (as I remember) not farre from Petteshall, and goeth forth by Hamsted, toward Pirihall and Brimichams Aston, taking in by the waie a rill on each side, whereof the first groweth through a confluence of two waters, the one of them comming from Tipton, the other from Aldburie, and so running as one by Wedburie till they fall into the same. The latter commeth from Wolfhall, and ioineth with it on the left hand. After this, and when it is past the aforesaid places, it crosseth in like sort a rill from Smethike ward: thence it goeth to Yarneton hall, beneath which it meeteth with the Rhée, and thence through the parke, at Parke hall by Watercote, crossing finallie the Cole, whose head is in the forrest by Kingesnorton wood, and hath this course, whereof I now giue notice. It riseth (as I said) in the forrest by Kingesnorton wood, and going by Yareleie and Kingeshirst, it meeteth betweene that and the parke, with a water running betweene Yelmedon and Sheldon.

Rhée. Cole.

Thence it passeth on to Coleshull, by east whereof it ioineth with a brooke, mounting southwest of Golthull called Blith, which going by Henwood and Barston, crosseth on ech side of Temple Balshall, a rill, whereof one commeth thorough the Queenes parke or chase that lieth by west of Kenelworth, & the other by Kenelworth castell it selfe, from about Haselie parke. After which confluences it procedeth in like maner to Hampton in Arden, and the Packingtons, and so to Coleshull, where it meeteth with the Cole, that going a little further, vniteth it selfe with the Burne on the one side (whereinto runneth a water comming from Ansleie on the east) and sone after on the other doth fall into the Tame, that which some call the Rhee, a common name to all waters that moue and run from their head. For ῥέω in Greeke is to flow and run, although in truth it is proper to the sea onelie to flow. Leland nameth the Brimicham water, whose head (as I heare) is aboue Northfield, so that his course should be by Kingesnorton, Bremicham, Budston hall, till it fall beneath Yarneton into the Tame it selfe, that runneth after these confluences on by Lee, Kingesbirie parke, and going by east of Draiton, Basset parke, to Falkesleie bridge, it meeteth with another water called Burne, also comming from Hammerwich church, by Chesterford, Shenton, Thickebrowne, and the north side of Draiton, Basset parke, whereof I spake before. From hence our Tame runneth on to Tamworth, there taking in the Anchor by east, whose description I had in this maner deliuered vnto me.

Burne. Rhée.

It riseth aboue Burton, from whence it goeth by Nonneaton, Witherleie and Atherstone. Yer long also it taketh in a water from northeast, which commeth by Huglescote, Shapton, Cunston, Twicrosse (uniting it selfe with a water from Boswoorth) Ratcliffe, & so to the Anchor; which after this confluence passeth by Whittendon, Crindon, Polleswoorth, Armington, Tamworth, & so into Tame, that hasteth to Hopwash, Comberford hall, Telford, and sone after crossing a rill that riseth short of Swinfrid hall, and commeth by Festirike, it runneth not farre from Crorhall, and so to Catton, thereabout receiuing his last increase not worthie to be omitted. This brooke is named Mese, and it riseth in the great parke that lieth betweene Wolthington and Smethike, from whence also it goeth by Ashbie de la Souche, Packington, Pelham, and Stretton, and therabout crossing

Anchor. Mese.

ſing a rill about Netherſale grange, from Ouerſale by eaſt, it proceedeth by Chilcote, Cliſton, Croxall, into the Thame, and both out of hand into the maine riuer a mile aboue Repton. Leland writing of this riuer (as I earſt noted) ſaith thereof in this wiſe. Into the Thame alſo runneth the Bremicham broke, which riſeth foure or fiue miles about Brentcham in the Blacke hils in Worceſterſhire, and goeth into the aforeſaid water a mile aboue Crudworth bridge. Certes (ſaith he) this Bremicham is a towne maintained chieflie by ſmiths, nailers, cutlers, edgetoole forgers, lorimers or bitmakers, which haue their iron out of Stafford and Warwicſhires, and toles alſo out of the firſt countie. Hitherto Leland. Now to reſume the Trent, which being growen to ſome greatneſſe, goeth on to Walton, Drakelow, and there crolling a water that commeth by Newbold hall, it runneth to Stapenell, Winſhull, Wightmere, and Newton Souch, where it receiueth two chanels within a ſhort ſpace, to be deſcribed apart.

Don. The firſt of theſe is called the Don or Doue, it riſeth about the three ſhires meere, and is as it were limes betweene Stafford and Darbiſhires, vntill it come at the Trent. Deſcending therefore from the head, it goeth by Carleſwath, Pilſburie grange, Partington, Wolſcot, Eaton, Dunſington grange, Wanifold. and aboue Thorpe receiueth the Wanifold water, ſo called, bicauſe of the ſundrie crinckling rills that it receiueth, and turnagaines that it ſelfe ſheweth before it come at the Don. Riſing therefore not farre from Are edge croſſe (in the bottome thereby) it runneth from thence to Longmore, Sheene, Warſlow chappell, and Welton. Beneath Welton alſo it taketh in the Hanſleie water, Hanſleie. that commeth out of Blackemore hilles to Waterſall, where it falleth into the ground: and afterward mounting againe is receiued into the Wanifold, north of Throwleie (as I heare) which goeth from thence to Ilam, and aboue Thorpe doth caſt it ſelfe into Don. Hauing therefore met together after this maner, the Don procedeth on to Waplington, beneath which it croſſeth one water deſcending from Brallington by Fennie Bentleie, and another ſomewhat lower that commeth from Hoſton hall by Hognaſton and Aſhburne, and then going to Watterfield, Narburie, Ellaſton, Kawſton Rowdeſter, it meeteth with the Churne, Churne. euen here to be deſcribed before I go anie further. It riſeth a good waie aboue Delacraſſe abbie, and comming thither by Helleſbie wood, it taketh in the Dunſmere, Dunſmere. betweene Harracraſſe and Leike.

Thence it goeth to the Walgrange, and a little beneath receiueth the Yendor that commeth from aboue Harton, thence to Cheddleton, and hauing croſſed the Aſhenhirſt broke aboue Cnutes hall, it runneth by Ypſton, Frogball, Below hill, Alton caſtell, Yendor. Aula Canuti. Aſhenhirſt. Preeſtwood, and at Rowceſter falleth into the Don, which yet long alſo receiueth a rill from Crowlden, and then going to Eton meeteth firſt with the Teine Teine. that commeth thither from each ſide of Chedleie by Teinetwone, Bramhirſt and Stranehill. Secondlie with the Anceſter or Attoxeter water, and then going on to Merchington, Sidberie, Cawlton, it croſſeth a broke from Sidnaſter college, by Saperton. Attoxeter or Anceſter. From this confluence in like ſort it palleth forth to Tilberie caſtell, Parſton, and at Edergton meeteth with the water that commeth from Yelderſleie by Longford (whereinto runneth another that commeth from Hollington) and ſo to Hilton. Theſe waters being thus ioined, and manie ends brought into one, the Don it ſelfe falleth yer long likewiſe into the Trent, aboue Newton Souch. So that the maine riuer being thus inlarged, goeth onwards with his courſe, and betweene Willington and Repton meeteth with two waters on ſundrie ſides, whereof that which falleth in by Willington, riſeth neere Dawberie Lies, and runneth by Truſſelie and Aſhe: the other that entereth aboue Repton, deſcendeth from Yartesborne, ſo that the Trent being paſt theſe, haſteth to Twiford, Inglebie, Staunton, Weſton, Newton, and Aſton, yet long alſo meeting with the Darwent; next of all to be diſpatched. The Darwent, or (to vſe the verie Britiſh word) Dowr gwine (but in Latine *Fluuius Derenantanus*) riſeth plaine weſt, neere vnto the edge of Darbiſhire, aboue Blackwell a market towne, and from the head runneth to the New chappell, within a few miles after it be riſen. From hence moreouer it goeth by Yowden houſe, Darwent chappell, Yorkeſhire bridge, and at Witham bridge doth croſſe the Neue or Nouius that commeth from Newſtole hill, by Netherburgh, Hope (croſſing there one rill from Caſtelton, another from Bradwell, and the third at Hacherſage, from Stonie ridge hill) and ſo goeth on to Padleie, Stockehall, receiuing a rill by the waie from by weſt, to Stonie Middleton, and Baſlow, and hauing here taken in the Burbroke on the one ſide, and another from Yalſop on the other, it goeth to Chatworth and to Rowſeleie, where it is increaſed with the Wie comming from by weſt, and alſo a rill on the eaſt, a little higher. But I will deſcribe the Wie before I go anie further.

Darwent. Neue. Burbroke.

The Wie riſeth aboue Burſton well, and there is increaſed with the Yawkeſhow, and the Wile broke, whoſe heads are alſo further diſtant from the edge of Darbiſhire than that of Wie, and races ſomwhat longer, though neither of them be worthie to be accompted long. For the Wile, hauing two heads, the one of them is not farre aboue the place where Wilebecke abbeie ſtood, the other is further off by weſt, about Wilebecke towne: and finallie ioining in one they runne to Cucknete billage, where receiuing a becke that commeth downe from by weſt, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the ſecond rill, and ſo reſort to Ruſford, or the Wanbecke. Vnto this alſo do other two rills repaire, wherof the one goeth through and the other hard by Waunſfield, of which two alſo this latter riſeth weſt about foure miles, and runneth forth to Clipſton (three miles lower) and ſo likewiſe to Ruſford, whereof I will ſpeake hereafter. In the meane time to returne againe to the Wie. From Burſton well, it runneth to Staddon, Cowdale, Cowlow, New medow, Milhouſes, Bankewell, and Haddon hall, beneath which it receiueth the Lathkell, that runneth by Duerhaddon, and the Bradford, both in one bottome after they be ioined in one at Alport. And this is the firſt great water that our Darwent doth meet withall. Being therefore paſt the Rowſleies, the ſaid Darwent goeth to Stancliffe, Darleie in the peake, Wenſleie, Smitterton hall, and at Matlocke taketh in a rill by northeaſt, as it doth another at Crumford that goeth by Botelhall.

Wie. Hawkeſhow. Wile. Ruſford alias Wanbecke. Lathkell. Bradford.

From Matlocke, it procedeth to Watſton, or Watford, Well bridge, Alderwaſh, and ioineth with another ſtreame called Amber comming in from by north by Amber bridge, whoſe deſcription ſhall inſue in this wiſe, as I find it. The head of Amber is aboue Edleſton hall, or (as Leland ſaith) eſt of Cheſterfield, and comming from thence by Middleton to Ogſton hall, it taketh withall another broke, deſcending from Hardwiſe wood, by Alton and Streton. Thence it goeth to Higham, Brackenfield, and aboue Dale bridge meeteth with a broke running from Hucknalward to Shireland parke ſide, there croſſing the Moreton becke, and ſo to Alferton, except I name it wrong. From Dale bridge it goeth by Wingfeld, to Hedge, Fritchlin, and ſo into

Amber. Moreton.

Dar-

Darwent, taking the water withall that descendeth from Swanswyc by Pentridge, as Leland doth remember. From this confluence likewise it runneth to Belper, where it meeteth with a rill comming from Morleie parke: thence to Pakenie, and at Dukfeld, receiueth the Eglesburne, which ariseth about Wirkesworth or Dresworth, but in the same parish out of a rocke, and commeth in by Turnedich. From Dukfeld, it passeth to Bradsall, Darleie abbeie, and at Darbie taketh in a rill comming from Pirkaston by Weston vnderwood, Kidleston and Perton. If a man should say that Darwent riuer giueth name to Darbie towne, he should not well know how euerie one would take it, and peraduenture therby he might happen to offend some. In the meane time I beleeue it, let other iudge as pleaseth them, sith my coniecture can preiudice none. To proceed therefore. From Darbie it runneth on by Aluaston, Ambaston, the Welles, and so into Trent, which goeth from hence to Sawleie, and north of Thrumpton taketh in the Soze, a faire streame, and not worthie to be ouerpassed.

Eglesburne.

Soze, or Surus.

It riseth in Leicestershire aboue Wligton, and thence goeth to Sharneford, Sapcote, and beneath Staunton taketh in a rill that commeth by Dounton and Broughton Astleie. Thence to Parlebrow, and before it come to Elton, crosseth another on the same side (descending by Burton, Glen, Winstow, Kilbie and Blabie) then to Leircester towne, Belgraue, Burstall, Wanlip; and yer it come at Cullington or Coliton, crosseth the Eie, which riseth neere Occam aboue Bramston, going by Knawstow, Somerbie, Pickwell, Whitesonden; and beneath (a litle) receiueth a rill on the right hand from Coldnorton. Thence to Stapleford, & sone after crossing a broke from aboue Sprorton, Colson, Garthorpe and Sarbie, it runneth to Wiuerbie, Brentingbie; and yer it come at Milton, meeteth with two other small rilles, from the right hand whereof one commeth from about Caldwell by Thorpe Arnold, and Waltham in the Would; the other from Skaleford ward, and from Melton goeth by Silsonbie, there meeting with another from northeast ouer against Kirbie Vellars, after which time the name of Eie is changed into Warke or Urke, and so continueth vntill it come at the Soure. From hence also it goeth to Asterbie, Radgale, Habie, Trussington, Ratcliffe; and sone after crosseth sundrie waters not verie farre in sunder, whereof one commeth from Quesson, by Twiford, Athbie, and Gadesbie; another from Loscbie, by Baggraue, and Crawston, and ioining with the first at Quenniholw, it is not long yer they fall into the Warke. The second runneth from Engarsbie, by Barkelete, and Silson. But the third and greatest of the three, is a chanell increased with three waters, whereof one commeth from Norton by Burton, Kilbie, Foston and Blabie, the other from Dounton by Broughton and Astleie, and meeting with the third from Sapcoth, and Stonie Staunton, they run together by Harborow, and sone after ioining aboue Elston, with the first of the three, they go as one by Elston to Leircester, Belgraue, Wanlip, and aboue Cullington do fall into the Warke, and sone after into the Soure. The Soure in like sort going from thence to mount Sorrell, & taking in another broke southwest from Leircester forrest, by Glenfield, Austie, Thurcaston and Rodelie, ioineth with the Soure, which goeth from thence to mount Sorrell, and Quarendon (where it taketh in a water comming from Charnelwod forrest, and goeth by Bradegate and Swithland) and then proceedeth to Cotes, Lughborow and Stanford, there also taking in one rill out of Notinghamshire by northeast; and sone after another from southwest, comming from Braceden to Shepesheued, Garrington, & Dighlie grange, and likewise the third from Worthington, by Diswoth, long Whitton, and Wathorne. Finallie, after these confluences, it hasteth to Sutton, Kingston, and Ratcliffe, and so into the Trent.

Leland calleth one of these rilles Croco.

Warke, Urke, or Wreke.

These things being thus brought together, and we now resuming the discourse of the same riuer, it doth after his meeting with the Soure, proceed withall to Barton, where it taketh in the Erwash, which riseth about Kirbie, and thence goeth to Selston, Wansbie, Codnor castell, Eswod, and crossing a water from Beuall, runneth to Coshall, Trowell (and there taking in another rill comming from Henor by Shipleie) it procedeth on to Stapleford, long Eaton, and so into the Trent. This being done it goeth to Clifton, and yer it come at Wilford, it meeteth with a broke that passeth from Staunton by Bonnie and Rodington, and thence to Notingham, where it crosseth the Line, which riseth aboue Newsted; and passing by Papplewic, Hucknall, Basford, Radford and Linton, nert of all to Thorpe & Farmdon, where it brancheth and maketh an Iland, and into the smaller of them goeth a broke from Beuer castell, which rising betweene east Well and Eaton in Leircester is called the Dene, and from thence runneth by Bramston to Knipton, & beneath Knipton meeteth with a broke that commeth by west of Crorston, and thence holdeth on with his course, betweene Willesthorpe and Beuer castell aforesaid, and so to Botteswoth, Normanton, Killington, Shilton, there receiuing the Snite from by south (whose head is neere Clauston, & course from thence by Hickling, Langer, Whalton, Orston, and Flareborow) and yer long another comming from Bingham, and Sibthorpe. Thence our Trent runneth to Coram, Hawton, Newarke castell, and so to Winthorpe, where the branches are reunited, and thence go on by Holme to Cromwell (and sone after taking in a broke comming from Bilsthorpe, by Kersall, Cawnton, Norwell and Willowbie) to Carlton, and to Sutton, there making a litle Ile, then to Grinton, where it toucheth a streame on ech side, whereof one commeth from Morehouse by Weston & Gresthorpe, another from Langthorpe, by Collingham, and Bolthorpe. From hence likewise it passeth to Clifton, Newton, Kettlethorpe, Torkesie, Knath, Gainsborow, Waltrith, Stockwith; and leauing Arholme on the left hand, it taketh withall Hogdike water out of the Ile, and so goeth forth to Wildsworth, Eastferrie, Frusworth, Burringham, Gunnets, Hirburgh, Burton, Walcote, and at Ankerburie into the Humber, receiuing the swift Doue by the waie, which for his nobleneste is not to be ouerpassed, especiallie for that *Anno* 1536 *Hen.*8, 28, it was (by Gods prouidence) a staie of great bloudshed like to haue fallen out betweene the kings side and the rebelles of the north, in a quarrell about religion. For the night before the battell should haue beene stricken, and without anie apparent cause (a little showre of raine excepted farre vnpossible vpon such a sudden to haue made so great a water) the said riuer arose so high, & ran with such vehemencie, that on the morow the armies could not ioine to trie & fight it out: after which a pacification insued, and those countries were left in quiet. Secondlie, the description hereof is not to be ouerpassed, because of the fine grasse which groweth vpon the banks thereof, which is so fine and batable, that there goeth a prouerbe vpon the same; so oft as a man will commend his pasture, to say that there is no better feed on Doue banke: that maketh it also the more famous.

Erwash.

Snite.

A miracle.

The Doue therefore riseth in Yorkeshire among the Peke hilles, and hauing receiued a water comming by Ingbirchworth (where the colour thereof is verie

Dene.

Done.

verie blacke) it goeth to Pennistone, which is foure miles from the head: then by Drspring to Thurgoland, and sone after (ioining by the waie with the Widhop water, that runneth by Widhop chappell, and Wondsheife) it meeteth with another comming from Bowsterston chappell. Then goeth it by Waddesleie wood to Waddesleie bridge, and at Aluerton receiueth the Bradfeld water. Then passeth it to Crokes, and so to Sheffeld castell (by east whereof it receiueth a broke from by south that commeth through Sheffeld parke.) Thence it procéedeth to Westford bridge, Brikstie bridge: and southwest of Timsleie receiueth the Cowleie streame that runneth by Ecclesfield. Nert of all it goeth to Rotheram, where it méeteth with the Rother, a goodlie water, whose head is in Darbieshire about Pilsleie, from whence it goeth vnder the name of Doleie, till it come at Rotheram, by north Winfield church, Wingerworth, and Forland hall, twelue miles from Rotheram, to Chesterford, where it méeteth with the Iber, and Brampton water that commeth by Holme hall, both in one chanell. Thence it runneth to Topton castell, and yer long crossing one water comming from Dronefeld by Whittington on the one side, and the second from aboue Brimington on the other, it goeth through Stalie parke, and sone after méeteth with the Crawleie becke, whereof I find this note.

The Crawleie riseth not farre from Hardwic, and going by Stanesbie and Woodhouse, it receiueth aboue Netherhorpe, one water on the one side comming from the Old parke, and another from Barlborow hill on the other, that runneth not farre from Woodthorpe. After this confluence likewise they run as one into the Rother, which hasteth from thence to Eckington (there crossing a rill that runneth by Birleie hill) and so to Kilmarsh, in the confines of Darbieshire, where it taketh in the Gunno from by east. Thence to Boughton, uniting it selfe therabout with another by west from Gledles, called Wesebroke, which diuideth Yorkeshire from Darbieshire, and so runneth to Treton, Whiston, there taking in a rill from Aston, and so to Rotheram, where it méeteth with the Doue, and from whence our Doue (yéelding plentie of samon all the waie as it passeth) hasteth to Aldwarke, Swaiton, Werburge, there taking in the Darne, which I will nert describe, and staie with the Doue, vntill I haue finished the same. It riseth at Combworth, and so commeth about by Bretton hall, to Darton ward, where it crosseth a water that runneth from Gonthwake hall, by Cawthorne united of two heads. From hence it goeth to Burton grange, then to Drar, where it toucheth with a water from southwest, & then goeth to Derfield and Goldthorpe: but yer it come to Sprotborow, it uniteth it selfe with a faire riuer, increased by diuerse waters, before it come at the Doue, & whereinto it falleth (as I heare) northeast of Werburgh. After this confluence likewise the Doue goeth by Sprotborow, to Warnesworth, Doncaster, Wheatleie (there méeting with the Hampall créeke on the northeast side, which riseth east of Kirbie) thence to Sandall, Kirke Sandall, Branwith ferrie, Stanford, Fishlake, and so to Thuorne or Thurne, where it crosseth the Idle (whose description followeth) and finallie into Trent, and so into the Humber.

But before I deale with the description of the Idle, I will adde somewhat of the Rume, a faire water. For though the description thereof be not so exactlie deliuered me as I looked for; yet such as it is I will set downe, conferring it with Lelands booke, and helping their defect so much as to me is possible. It riseth by south of Waunsfield, fiue miles from Rumford abbeie, and when the streame commeth nære the abbeie, it casteth it selfe abroad and maketh a faire lake. After this it commeth againe into a narrow chanell, and so goeth on to Rumford village, carrieng the Budbie and the Gerberton waters withall. From thence, and with a méetlie long course, it goeth to Bawtrie or Vautrie, a market towne in Nottinghamshire, fiue miles from Doncaster, and so into the Trent. Beneath Rumford also commeth in the Girt, which goeth vnto Southwell milles, and so into the Trent. Now as concerning our Idle.

Budbie. Gerberton. Girt.

The Idle, which some call Brier streame, riseth at Sutton in Ashfield, from whence it runneth to Waunsfield, Clipston & Allerton, where it taketh in a water that riseth in the forrest, one mile north of Bledworth, and runneth on by Rughford abbeie, till it come to Allerton. The forresters call this Wanbecke, whereof Leland also speaketh, who describeth it in this maner. Wanbroke riseth somewhere about Linthirst wood, from whence it goeth to Blisthorpe, and so to Allerton. But to procéed. The Idle hauing taken in the Wanbecke, it runneth to Bothomsall, by Boughton, & Perlethorpe: but yer it come there, it méeteth the Weding Waiden, or Widding broke, which rising about Teuersall, goeth to Pleasleie, Nettleworth, Sawcan, Warsop, Budleie, Thursbie, Bothomsall, and so into the Idle. After this it procéedeth to Houghton, west Draiton, but yer it touch at Graunston or Gaunston, it taketh in the Wilie, which commeth from Clowne, to Creswell, Holbecke, Woodhouse, Wilebecke, Normenton, Elsleie, Graunston, and so into the Idle. Being thus increased, the Idle runneth on to Idleton, Ordsall, Retford, Bollam, Tilneie, Patterseie abbeie, and so to Bawtrie, where it méeteth another from the shire Okes, that riseth aboue Geitford, passeth on to Worksop (or Radfurth) Osberton, Wilbie, and Blith, there uniting it selfe with three rilles in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Waldingwell to Careleton, and so thorough a parke to Blith towne, another from by west Furbecke three miles, and so to Blith: but the third out of the White water nére to Blith, and there being united they passe on to Scrobie, and so into the Idle.

Sandbecke. Wanbecke. Weding becke. Wilie. Blith.

From hence it runneth on to Pilsen, to Sadlers bridge, and nert of all to Santoft, where it méeteth with the Sandbecke, which rising not farre from Sandbecke towne, passeth by Tickhill, Rosington bridge, Brampton, Kilholme, Lindholme, and one mile south of Santoft into the Idle water, which runneth from thence to Thorne, where it méeteth with the Doue, and so with it to Crowleie. Finallie, inuironing the Ile of Areholme, it goeth vnto Garthorpe, Focorbie, & so into the Trent. Leland writing of the Wilie, Wile, or Gwilie (as some write it) saith thus therof. The Wile hath two heads, whereof one is not farre aboue the place where Wilbecke abbeie stood; the other riseth further off by west aboue Welbecke or Wilebecke towne: finallie ioining in one, they runne to Cuckencie village, where crossing a becke that commeth in from by west, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the second rill, and so resort to Rufford. To this riuer likewise (saith he) do two other waters repaire, whereof the one goeth hard by Waunsfield (rising foure miles from thence by west) and then commeth three miles lower to Rufford; the other (so far as I remember) goeth quite through the towne.

## Of ſuch falles of waters as ioine with the ſea, betweene Humber and the Thames.

### Chap. 16.

HAuing in this maner deſcribed the Ouze, and ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame: now it reſteth that I proceed in my voiage toward the Thames, according to my former order. Being therefore come againe into the maine ſea, I find no water of anie countenance or courſe (to my remembrance) till I come vnto the Ancolme a goodlie water, which riſeth eaſt of Percate Raſing, and from thence goeth by middle Raſing. Then receiuing a ſhort rill from by ſouth, it runneth on vnder two bridges, by the waie, till it come to Wingall, northeaſt; where alſo it meeteth with another broke, from Aſſelbie that commeth thither by Areſbie, goeth by Cadneie (taking in the two rilles in one bottome, that deſcend from Howſham, and north Leiſeie) and thence to Newſted, Glanford, Wardeleie, Thorneham, Applebie, Horſlow, north Ferribie, and ſo into the ſea.

Ancolme.

Being paſt Ancolme, we go about the Neſſe, and ſo to the fall of the water which commeth from Kelebie, by Cotham abbeie, Nerſham abbeie, Thorneton, and leauing Corbill by weſt, it falleth into the Ocean. The nert is the fall of another broke comming from Fleting, all alongſt by Stallingburne. Then croſſed we Grimſbie gullet, which iſſuing aboue Erebie commeth to Laſcbie, the two Cotes, and then into the ſea. After this we paſſed by another portlet, whoſe backwater deſcendeth from Baleſbie by Aſhbie, Briggeſteie, Wlath, and Towneie, and finallie to the nert iſſue, before we come at Saltfleet, which branching at the laſt, leaueth a prettie Iland wherein Comſholme village ſtandeth. This water riſeth short (as I heare) of Tathewell, from whence it goeth to Rathbie, Hallington, Eſſington, Lowth, Kidirington, Auingham, and then branching aboue north Somerton, one arme meeteth with the ſea, by Grauethorpe, the other by north of Somercote.

Kilis.

Saltfleet water hath but a ſhort courſe: for riſing among the Cockeringtons, it commeth to the ſea, at Saltfleet hauen: howbeit the nert vnto it is of a longer race, for it riſeth (as I take it) at Cawthorpe paroch, and deſcendeth by Legburne, the Carletons, the weſt middle and eaſt Saltfletes, and ſo into the Ocean. The water that riſeth aboue Ormeſbie and Orbie, goeth to Cawſbie, Swabie abbeie, Clathorpe, Belew, Tattle, Witherne, Stane, and northeaſt of Thetilthorpe into the maine ſea.

Saltfleet.

Maplethorpe water riſeth at Thareſthorpe, and going by Markeleie, Folethorpe, and Truthorpe, it is not long per it meet with the Germane Ocean. Then come we to the iſſue that commeth from aboue Hotoft, and thence to Mumbie chappell, whither the water comming from Clarbie, Willowbie, and Slouthbie (and wherevnto another rill falleth) doth runne, as there to do homage vnto their lord and ſouereigne. As for Ingold mill creeke, I paſſe it ouer, and come ſtreight to another water, deſcending from Burge by Skegnes. From hence I go to the iſſue of a faire broke, which (as I heare) doth riſe at Tetford, and thence goeth by Somerbie, Bagenderbie, Aſhwardbie, Sawſthorpe, Partneie, Aſhbie, the Stepings, Thorpe croſt, and ſo into the ſea. As for Wainflete water, it commeth from the eaſt ſea, and goeth betweene S. Maries & Alhallowes by Wainflete towne, and treading the path of his predeceſſors, emptieth his chanell to the maintenance of the ſea.

Maplethorpe.

Now come I to the courſe of the Witham, a famous riuer, whereof goeth the biword, frequented of old, and alſo of Ancolme, which I before deſcribed:

Ancolme eele, and Witham pike,
Search all England and find not the like.

Leland calleth it Lindis, diuerſe the Rhe, and I haue read all theſe names my ſelfe: and thereto that the Lincolneſhire men were called in old time Coritani, and their head citie Lindus, Lindon, or Linodunum, in which region alſo Ptolomie placeth Rage, which ſome take to be Notingham, except my memorie do faile me. It riſeth among the Wickhams, in the edge of Lincolnſhire, and (as I take it) in ſouth-Wickham paroch, from whence it goeth to Colſterworth, Caſton, Birkeſtoke Paunton, and Paunton Houghton, and at Grantham taketh in a rill from by ſouthweſt, as I heare. From Grantham it runneth to Pan, Thorpe, Bolton, and Barneſton, where croſſing a becke from northeaſt, it proceedeth further ſouthweſt ward by Pereſton, toward Faſton (there alſo taking in a broke that riſeth about Denton, and goeth by Sidbroke) it haſteth to Dodington, Clapale, Barmebie, Beckingham, Stapleford, Ballingham, Thurſbie, and beneath Amburgh croſſeth a water that commeth from Stogilthorpe by Somerton caſtell.

Lindis, Witham, Rhe.

Pan.

After this confluence alſo, our Witham goeth ſtill forth on his waie to the Hickhams, Bolcham, Bracebridge, and Lincolne it ſelfe, for which the Normans write Nicholl by tranſpoſition of the letters, or (as I may better ſaie) corruption of the word. But yer it come there, it maketh certeine poles (whereof one is called Swan pole) and ſone after dividing it ſelfe into armes, they run both thorough the lower part of Lincolne, each of them having a bridge of ſtone ouer it, thereby to paſſe through the principall ſtreet: and as the bigger arme is well able to beare their fiſher botes, ſo the leſſer is not without his ſeuerall commodities. At Lincolne alſo this noble riuer meeteth with the Foſſe dike, whereby in great floods veſſels may come from the Trents ſide to Lincolne. For betweene Torkſeie, where it beginneth, and Lincolne citie, where it endeth, are not aboue ſeuen miles, as Leland hath remembred. Biſhop Atwater began to cleanſe this ditch, thinking to bring great veſſels from Trent to Lincolne in his time: but ſith he died before it was performed, there hath no man beene ſince ſo well minded as to proſecute his purpoſe. The courſe moreouer of this our ſtreame following, from Lincolne to Boſton is fiftie miles by water: but if you mind to ferrie, you ſhall haue but 24. For there are foure common places where men are ferried ouer; as Short ferrie, fiue miles from Lincolne, Taterſall ferrie, eight miles from Short ferrie, Dogdike ferrie a mile, Langreth ferrie fiue miles, and ſo manie finallie to Boſton.

Wol
boro
Sc
prin

Foſſe dike.

But to go forward with the courſe of Lindis (whereof the whole prouince hath beene called Lindeſeie) when it is paſt Lincolne, it goeth by Shepewaſh, Wallingburg, Fiſkerton, and ſone after taketh in ſundrie riuers in one chanell, whereby his greatneſſe is verie much increaſed. From this confluence it goeth to Bardolfe, and there receiuing a rill (deſcending from betweene Sotbie and Randbie, and going by Harton) it ſlideth forth by Tupham to Taterſall caſtell, taking vp there in like ſort three ſmall rills by the waie, whereof I haue ſmall notice as yet: and therefore I referre them vnto a further conſideration to be had of them hereafter, if it ſhall pleaſe God that I may liue to haue the filing of theſe rude pamphlets yet once againe, & ſomewhat more leaſure to peruſe them than at this time is granted. Finallie, being paſt Taterſall, and Dogdike ferrie,

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ferrie, the Witham goeth toward Boston, & thence into the sea. Thus haue I briefly dispatched this noble riuer Witham. But hauing another note deliuered me thereof from a frend, I will yeeld so farre vnto his gratification, that I will remember his trauell here, and set downe also what he hath written thereof, although the riuer be sufficientlie described alredie.

Into Witham therefore from by north, and seuen miles beneath Lincolne, there falleth a faire water, the head whereof is at Hakethorne, from whence it goeth by Hanworth, Snarford, Kesbie, Stainton, and at Bullington meeteth with a water on ech side, whereof one commeth from Haiton and Turrington, the other from Sudbrooke, and likewise beneath Birlings with the third comming from Barkeworth by Stansted, and ioining all in one, some after it is not long yer it fall into the chanell of Witham, and so are neuer more heard of. There is also a brooke by southwest, that commeth from Kirbie to Catelcie, Billingams, and the Ferrie. At Caterfall it meeteth with the Bane, which riseth aboue Burgh, and nere vnto Ludford goeth downe to Dunnington, Stanigod, Hemmingsbie, Bamburgh, Fillington, Horne castell (where it crosseth a rill from Belchworth) Thornton, Marton, Halton, Kirkebie, Comlbie, Caterfall, and so to Dogdike ferrie.

Aboue Boston likewise it taketh in a water comming from Lusebie by Bolingbrooke, Stickeford, Stickneie, Sibbeseie and Hildrike. And to Boston towne it selfe doo finallie come sundrie brookes in one chanell, called Hammond becke, which rising at Donesbie, runneth on to Wrightbold, where it casteth one arme into Holiwell water. Thence it hasteth toward Dunnington, receiuing foure brookes by the waie, whereof the first commeth from Milthorpe, the second from Fokingham, called Bollingborow, or (after some, I wote not vpon what occasion) Sempringham water, the third from Bridge end, the fourth from Sempringham, and afterwards the maine streame is found to run by Kirton holme, and so into the Witham. Into the Wiland likewise falleth the Holiwell, which riseth of a spring that runneth toward the east from Haliwell to Onebie, Elsonden, Gretford, and so to Catbridge, where it receiueth another rising at Witham and west of Manthorpe, and the second comming from Laund, and so run from thence togither to Willesthorpe and Catbridge, and then into the Haliwell, which after these confluences goeth to Tetford and Eastcote, where it meeteth with a draine, comming from Bourne, and so through the fennes to Pinchbecke, Surfleet, and Foldike, where it meeteth with the Welland, in the mouth of the Wash, as I haue noted vnto you.

Hauing thus set forth the riuers that fall into the Witham, now come we to the Wiland or Welland, wherevnto we repaire after we be past Boston, as drawing by litle and litle toward the Girwies, which inhabit in the fennes (for Gir in the old Saxon speach doth signifie deepe fennes and marishes) and these beginning at Peterborow eastward, extend themselues by the space of three score miles & more, as Hugh of Peterborow writeth. This streame riseth about Sibbertoft, and running betweene Boswoorth and Howthorpe, it goeth to Fedingworth, Merson, Bubberham, Trussell, Herborow (receiuing there the Braie, which commeth from Braiebrooke castell) to Bowton, Weston, Wiland, Ashleie, Wedburne, Rokingham, and Cawcot, where a riueret called little Eie meeteth withall, comming from east Norton by Alerstone, Stocke, Faston, and Dzie stocke. From Cawcot it goeth to Gritto, Harringworth, Seton, Wauerlie, Duddington, Collie Weston, Elton, and there ioineth with the third called Warke, not far from Ketton, which commeth from Lie by Preston, Wing, Lindon, Lukenham, &c. Thence it goeth on by Tinwell, to Stanford (crossing the Brooke water, and Whitnelbecke, both in one bottome) and from Stanford by Talington, Mareie, to Mercate, Deeping, Crowland (where it almost meeteth with the Auon) then to Spalding, Whapland, and so into the sea. Warke. Brooke water. Whitnell.

Leland writing of this Wiland, addeth these words which I will not omit, sith in mine opinion they are worthie to be noted, for better consideration to be had in the said water and his course. The Wiland (saith he) going by Crowland, at Newdrene diuideth it selfe into two branches, of which one goeth vp to Spalding called Newdrene, and so into the sea at Fosledike Stow: the other named the South into Wisbech. This latter also parteth it selfe two miles from Crowland, & sendeth a rill called Writhlake by Thorneie, where it meeteth with an arme of the Nene, that commeth from Peterborow, and holdeth course with the broad streame, till it be come to Murho, fiue miles from Wisbech, where it falleth into the South. Newdrene. South. Writhlake.

Out of the South in like sort falleth another arme called Shepes eie, and at Hopelode (which is foure teene miles from Lin) did fall into the sea. But now the course of that streame is ceased, wherevpon the inhabitants susteine manie grieuous flouds, because the mouth is stanched, by which it had accesse before into the sea. Hitherto Leland. Of the course of this riuer also from Stanford, I note this furthermore out of another writing in my time. Being past Stanton (saith he) it goeth by Burghleie, Uffington, Tallington, Mareie, Deeping, east Deeping, and comming to Waldram hall, it brancheth into two armes, whereof that which goeth to Singlesole, receiueth the Nene out of Cambridgeshire, and then going by Dowesdale, Trekenhole, and winding at last to Wisbech, it goeth by Liuerington, saint Maries, and so into the sea. The other arme hasteth to Crowland, Clowthouse, Brether house, Pikale, Cowbecke and Spalding. Here also it receiueth the Baston dreane, Longtoft dreane, Deeping dreane, and thence goeth by Wickham into the sea, taking withall on the right hand sundrie other dreanes. And thus farre he. Shepes eie.

Next of all, when we are past these, we come to another fall of water into the Wash, which descendeth directlie from Whaplade dreane to Whaplade towne in Holland: but because it is a water of small importance, I passe from thence, as hasting to the Nene, of both the more noble riuer: and about the middest thereof in place is a certeine swallow, so deepe and so cold in the middest of summer, that no man dare diue to the bottome thereof for coldnesse, and yet for all that in winter neuer found to haue beene touched with frost, much lesse to be couered with ise. The next therefore to be described is the Auon, otherwise called Nene, which the said author describeth after this maner. The Nene beginneth foure miles aboue Northampton in Nene meere, where it riseth out of two heads, which ioine about Northampton. Of this riuer the citie and countrie beareth the name, although we now pronounce Hampton for Auondune, which errour is committed also in south Auondune, as we may easilie see. In another place Leland describeth the said riuer after this maner. The Auon riseth in Nene meere field, and going by Dundale and Peterborow, it diuideth it selfe into three armes, whereof one goeth to Horneie, another to Wisbech, the third to Ramseie: and afterward being vnited againe, they fall into the sea not verie farre from Lin. Finallie, the descent of these waters leaue here a great sort of Ilands, wher- Auon. Nene.

of Elie, Crowland, and Wersland, are the chiefe. Hitherto Leland.

Howbeit, because neither of these descriptions touch the course of this riuer at the full, I will set downe the third, which shall supplie whatsoeuer the other do want. The Auon therefore arising in Nenemere field, is increased with manie rilles, before it come at Northhampton, & one aboue Kings thorpe, from whence it goeth to Dallington, and so to Northhampton, where it receiueth the Wedon. And here I will staie, till I haue described this riuer. The Wedon therefore riseth at Faulesse in maister Knightlies poles, and in Badbie plashes also are certeine springs that resort vnto this streame. Faulesse poles are a mile from Chareton, where the head of Chare riuer is, that runneth to Banberie. There is but an hill called Alberie hill betweene the heads of these two riuers.

Vedunus.

From the said hill therefore the Wedon directeth his course to Badbie, Newenham, Querton, Wedon, betwixt which and Flore towne, it receiueth the Florus (a prettie water rising of foure heads, whereof the one is at Dauentrie, another at Watford, the third at long Bucke, the fourth aboue Whilton) and then passeth on to Yelford, Killingberie, Upton, and so to Northhampton, where it falleth into the Auon, receiuing finallie by the waie the Bugbroke water at Yelford, Pathall water neere Killingberie, and finallie Preston water beneath Upton, which running from Preston by Wotton, meeteth at the last with Milton rill, and so fall into Auon. Now to resume the tractation of our Auon. From Northhampton therefore it runneth by Houghton, great Billing, Whitstone, Dodington, and Willingborow, where we must staie a while: for betweene Willingborow and Higham Ferries, it receiueth a prettie water comming from about Kilmarsh, which going by Ardingworth, Daisborow, Rusheton, Newton, Gaddington, Boughton, Warketon, Kettering, Berton, and Burton, meeteth there with Rothwell water, which runneth west of Kettering to Hisham, the greater Haridon, and then into the Auon.

Florus.

Bugius.

Kilis.

Rother.

Being therfore past Burton, our maine streame goeth to Higham Ferries, Artleborow, Kingsted, Wodford, and (meeting thereby with Cranford rill) to Thrarston, north whereof it ioineth also with the Ocleie water, that commeth from Sudborow and Lowicke, to old Umkles, Waden ho, Pilketon, Toke (where it taketh in the Liueden becke) and so to Dundell, Cotterstocke, Tansoner, and betweene Tothering and Warmington receiueth the Corbie water, which rising at Corbie, goeth by Weldon, Denethap, Bulwich, Bletherwic, Finethed, Arthorpe, Newton, Tothering, and so into the Auon. After this, the said Auon goeth to Elton, Passington, Perwell, Sutton, Castor, Allerton, and so to Peterborow, where it diuideth it selfe into sundrie armes, and those into seuerall branches and draines, among the fennes and medowes, not possible almost to be numbred, before it meet with the sea on the one side of the countrie, and fall into the Duze on the other.

Ocleie.

Corbie.

The Duze, which Leland calleth the third Isis, falleth into the sea betweene Wersland & Dowenham. The chiefe head of this riuer ariseth neere to Stanes, from whence it commeth to Brackleie (sometime a noble towne in Northampton shire, but now scarselie a good village) and there taking in on the left hand one water comming from the parke betweene Stsam and Astwell (which runneth by Whitfield and Tinwelton) and another on the right from Imleie, it goeth on by Westbirie, Fulwell, water Stretford, Buckingham, and Berton, beneath which towne the Erin falleth into it, whereof I find this short description to be inserted here. The Erin riseth not farre from Hardwic in Northamptonshire, from hence it goeth by Yeth, Erinford, Godderington, Twiford, Steeple Cladon, & yer it come at Padbrie, meeteth with the Garan broke descending from Garanburge, and so they go togither by Padbrie, till they fall into the Duze, which carieth them after the confluence to Thorneton bridge (where they crosse another fall of water comming from Whitlewod forrest by Lutteid, Lecamsted and Foscot) and so to Beachampton, Culuerton, Stonie Stratford, and Woluerton.

Isis 3.

Sisa.

Imeius.

Erin.

Garan.

Here the Duze meeteth with a water (called, as Leland coniectureth, the Mere or Were) on the left hand, as you go downewards, that commeth betweene Wedon and Werenham in Northamptonshire, and goeth by Towcester, and Alderton, and not farre from Woluerton and Yaucrsham into the foresaid Duze, which goeth also from hence to Newportpaganell, where in like sort I must staie a while till I haue described another water, named the Clee, by whose issue the said streame is not a little increased. This riuer riseth in the verie confines betweene Buckingham and Bedfordshires, not farre from Whipesnade, and going on toward the northwest, by Eaton and Laiton, it commeth to Linchlade, where it entreth wholie into Buckinghamshire, and so goeth on by Yammond, Brickle, Fennie Stratford, Simpson, Walton and Middleton, beneath which it receiueth the Saw from aboue Halcot, and so goeth on till it meet with the Duze neere vnto Newport, as I haue said. Being vnited therefore, we set forward from the said towne, and follow this noble riuer, to Lathbirie, Thuringham, Filgrane, Lawndon, Newington, Bradfield on the one side, and Turuein on the other, till it come at length to Bedford after manie windlesses, and then meeteth with another streame, which is increased with so manie waters, that I was inforced to make an imagined staie here also, and view their seuerall courses, supposing my selfe to looke downe from the highest steeple in Bedford, whence (as best meane to view anie countrie whersoeuer) I note the same as followeth.

Verus.

Clee alias Claius.

Saw.

Certes on the east side, where I began this speculation, I saw one that came from Potton, and met withall neere Beclisuade: another that grew of two waters, therof one descended from Baldocke, the other from Hitchin, which ioined beneth Arlesete, and thence went to Langford and Edworth. The third which I beheld had in like sort two heads, whereof one is not farre from Wod end, the other from Wodburne (or Yowburne) and ioining about Flitwic, they go to Flitton (where they receiue Antill broke) and so by Chiphill, and Chicksand, they come to Shafford, from whence taking the aforsaid Langford water with them, they go forth by Beclisuade, Sandie, Blumham, and neere vnto Themisford are vnited with the Duze. And now to our purpose againe.

These rise not far from Michelborow & one of them in Higham parke.

After this the Duze goeth by Berkeford, to Winteringham (meeting there with the Waresle becke) and so runneth to S. Neotes (or saint Nedes, in old time Goluesburg, as Capgraue saith *In vita Neoti*) to Parkton, Offordes, and so to Godmanchester, in old time called Gumicester, which (as it should seeme) hath beene a towne of farre greater countenance than at this present it is; for out of the ruines therof much Romane coine is found, and sometimes with the image of C. Antius which hath long haire, as the Romans had before they receiued barbars into their citie, and thereunto the bones of diuerse men of farre greater stature than is credible to be spoken of in these daies. But what stand I vpon these things? From hence therfore our water goeth on to

Verus or the were.

Stoueus.

Hun-

Huntingdon, Wilton, ſaint Iues, Holiwell, and Erith, receiueth in the meane time the Stow (neere vnto little Paxton) and likewiſe the Ellen, and the Emmer, in one chanell a little by weſt of Huntingdon.

Finallie, the maine ſtreame ſpreading abroad into the Fennes, I cannot tell into how manie branches, neither how manie Ilets are inforced by the ſame; although of Iles, Marſhland, Ancarig or Ancarte be the chiefe, and of which this later is called Crowland (as Crowland alſo hight thornie *A cruda terra*, or ſtore of buſhes ſaith Hugo le Blanc) ſometime growing in the ſame, and Ancartie becauſe ſundrie Ancres haue liued & borne great ſwaie therein. But howſoeuer this caſe ſtandeth, this is certeine, that after it hath thus delited it ſelfe with ranging a while about the pleaſant bottoms & lower grounds, it meeteth with the Granta, from whence it goeth with a ſwift courſe vnto Downeham. Betweene it alſo and the Auon, are ſundrie large meeres or plaſhes, by ſouthweſt of Peterborow full of powts and carpes, whereof Whittleſeie meere, and Ramſeie meere (whereinto the Riuall falleth, that commeth from aboue Broughton, Wilſton, and great Riuelleie) are ſaid to be greateſt. Of all the riuers that run into this ſtreame, that called Granta (whereof the whole countie in old time was called Grantabrycſhire, as appeereth by the regiſter of Henrie prior of Canturburie) is the moſt noble and excellent, which I will deſcribe euen in this place, notwithſtanding that I had earſt appointed it vnto my ſecond booke. But for ſomuch as a deſcription of Duze and Granta were deliuered me togither, I will for his ſake that gaue them me, not ſeparate them now in ſunder.

Ouſenus.

Elenus.

Almerus.

Riuelus.

Granta.

The verie furtheſt head and originall of this riuer is in Henham, a large parke belonging to the earle of Suſſex, wherein (as the townesmen ſaie) are foure ſprings that run foure ſundrie waies into the maine ſea. Leland ſought not the courſe of this water aboue Newport pond, and therefore in his commentaries vpon the ſong of the ſwan, he writeth thereof after this maner inſuing. Although doctor Iohn Caius the learned phyſician, and ſome other are of the opinion, that this riuer comming from Newport, is properlie to be called the Rhée: but I may not ſo eaſilie diſſent from Leland, whoſe iudgement in my mind is by a great deale the more likelie. Harken therefore what he ſaith.

The head of Grantha or Granta, is in the pond at Newport, a towne of the eaſt Saxons, which going in a bottome beſide the ſame, receiueth a prettie rill, which in the middeſt thereof doth driue a mill, and deſcendeth from Wickin Bonhant, that ſtandeth not farre from thence. Being paſt Newport, it goeth alongſt in the lower ground, vntill it come to Broke Walden, weſt of Chipping Walden (now Saffron Walden) hard by the lord Awdleis place, where the right honorable Thomas Howard with his houſhold do ſoiourne, and ſometime ſtood an abbeie of Benedictine monks, before their generall ſuppreſſion. From Awdleie end it goeth to Littleburie, the leſſe and greater Cheſterfords, Healdune, Hincſtone, Seoſton or Sawſon, and neere vnto Shalefoord receiueth the Babren that commeth by Linton, Abbington, Babrenham, and Stapleford: and ſo going forward it commeth at the laſt to Trompington, which is a mile from Cambridge. But yet it come altogither to Trompington, it meeteth with the Barrington water, as Leland calleth it, but ſome other the Rhée (a common name to all waters in the Saxon ſpeech) whereof I find this deſcription, to be touched by the waie. The Rhée riſeth ſhort of Aſhwell in Hertfordſhire, and paſſing vnder the bridge betweene Gilden Morden and Dowmton, and leauing Tadlow on the weſt ſide (as I remember) it goeth toward Crawden, Walton, Barrington, Haſelingfield, and ſo into Granta, taking ſundrie rills with him from ſouth and ſouthweſt, as Wendie water ſouthweſt of Crawden, Whaddon brooke ſouthweſt of Orwell, Wildred becke ſouthweſt of Walton, and finallie the Orme which commeth out of Armington or Ormendum well, and goeth by Fulmere and Foxton, and falleth into the ſame betweene Barrington and Harleſton, or Harſton; as they call it.

Babren.

Rhée.

Now to proceed with our Granta. From Trompington on the one ſide, and Grantceſter on the other, it haſteth to Cambridge ward, taking the Burne with it by the waie, which deſcendeth from a caſtell of the ſame denomination, wherein the Picotes and Peuerels ſometime did inhabit. Thence it goeth by ſundrie colleges in Cambridge, as the quænes college, the kings college, Clare hall, Trinitie college, S. Johns, &c: vnto the high bridge of Cambridge, and betweene the towne and the caſtell to Cheſterton, and receiuing by and by the Stoure, or Store (at whoſe bridge the moſt famous mart in England is yearelie holden and kept) from Cheſterton it goeth to Otton, Milton, and yer long meeting with two rilles (from Bottelham and Wilberham, in one bottome) it runneth to Horningſeie, & Water Bech: and finallie here ioining with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Dennie, and ſo forth into the Duze, fifteene miles from Cambridge, as Leland hath ſet downe. And thus much of the third Iſis or Duze, out of the aforeſaid author: whereunto I haue not onelie added ſomewhat of mine owne experience, but alſo of other mens notes, whoſe diligent obſeruation of the courſe of this riuer hath not a little helped me in the deſcription of the ſame. Now it reſteth that we come nearer to the coaſt of Northfolke, and ſet forth ſuch waters as we paſſe by vpon the ſame, wherein I will deale ſo preciſelie as I may: and ſo farre will I trauell therein, as I hope ſhall content euen the curious reader: or if anie fault be made, it ſhall not be ſo great, but that after ſome trauell in the finding, it ſhall with eaſe be corrected.

Sturus.

Bulbecke.

The firſt riuer that therefore we come vnto, after we be paſt the confluence of Granta, and the Duze, and within the iuriſdiction of Northfolke, is called the Burne. This ſtreame riſeth not verie farre from Burne Bradfield, aboue the greater Whelthan, and from thence it goeth on to Nawnton, Burie, Farneham Martin, Farneham Alhallowes, Farneham Genoueſa, Hengraue, Flemton, Lackeford, Icklingham, and to Wilden hall: a little beneath which, it meeteth with the Dale water, that ſpringeth not farre from Catilege, and going by Aſheleie, Moulton (a benefice as the report goeth not verie well prouided for) to Kenford, Kenet, Bradingham, Frekenham, it falleth at the laſt not farre from Iſelham into the Burne, from whence they go togither as one into the Duze. With the Burne alſo there ioineth a water comming from about Lidgate, a little beneath Iſelham, and not verie far from Wildenhall.

Burne.

Dale.

The Dune head, and riſing of Wauenhete, are not much in ſunder: for as it is ſuppoſed, they are both not farre diſtant from the bridge betweene Lotham and Ford, whereby the one runneth eaſt and the other weſt, as I haue beene informed. The Dune goeth firſt of all by Feltham, then to Hopton, & to Kinets hall, where it meeteth with a water cõming out of a lake ſhort of Banham (going by Quiddenham, Herling, Gaſthorpe) and ſo on, both in one chanell, they run to Ewſton. Here they meet in like

Dunus.

sort, with another descending from two heads, whereof the one is nere vnto Pakenham, the other to Tauestocke, as I heare. Certes these heads ioine aboue Ieswoorth, not farre from Stow Langtoft, from whence they go to Prworth, Thorpe, Berdwell, Hunnington, Fakenham, and so into the Dune at Ewston; as I said. From hence also they hasten to Dolweham, which of this riuer doth seeme to borow his name. South Kee rill I passe ouer as not worthie the description, because it is so small.

Bradunus forté.

Nert vnto this riuer on the south side is the Braden, or Bradunus, which riseth at Bradenham, and goeth by Necton, north Peckenham, south Peckenham, Kirsingham, Bedneie, Langford, Igbor, Munford, North Old, Stockebridge, Ferdham, Helgie, and so into the Duze. The nerest vnto this is another which riseth about Lukeham, and from thence commeth to Lerham, Massingham, Newton, the castell Acre, Acres, Nerboe, Pentneie, Wrongeie, Roughton (which at one time might haue bene my liuing if I would haue giuen sir Thomas Rugband monie inough, but now it belongeth to Gundeuill and Caius college in Cambridge) Westchurch, and so to Linne. As so doth also another by north of this, which commeth from the east hilles by Congenham, Crimston, Balseie, Gatwood, whereof let this suffice. And now giue eare to the rest sith I am past the Duze. Being past the mouth or fall of the Duze, we met nert of all with the Rising chase water, which Ptolomie (as some thinke) doth call Metaris, and descendeth from two heads, and also the Ingell that commeth from about Snetsham. From hence we go by the point of saint Edmund, and so hold on our course till we come vnto the Burne, which falleth into the sea by south from Waterden, and going betweene the Crakes to Burnham Thorpe, and Burnham Norton, it striketh at the last into the sea; east of Burnham Norton a mile at the least, except my coniecture do faile me. The Glow or Glowie riseth not far from Baconsthorpe, in the hundred of Tunsted; & going by and by into Holt hundred, it passeth by Hunworth, Thornage, Glawnsford, Blackneie, Clare, and so into the sea, receiuing there at hand also a rill by east, which descendeth from the hilles lieng betweene Killing towne and Watburne.

Rising.

Ingeli.

Glouius.

Wantsume.

The Wantsume riseth in Northfolke at Gatesend in Holt hundred, from whence it goeth to Watersend, Towton, Skelthorpe, Farneham, Penthorpe, Rieburg, Ellingham, and Billingford. And here it receiueth two waters in one bottome, of which the first goeth by Stanfield and Beteleie, the other by Wandling and Gressonhall, and so run on ech his owne wate, till they met at Houndlington, southwest of Billingford with the Wantsume. From hence they go all togither to Below, Ieng, Weston, and Norton; but yer it come to Norton, it meeteth with the Nowke, which (issuing about Perham) goeth by Watteshall and Barrow. After this the said Wantsume goeth on by Kingland, and so to Norwich the pontificall see of the bishop, to whome that iurisdiction appertaineth, which seemeth by this memoriall yet remaining in the corrupted name of the water, to be called in old time Venta, or (as Leland addeth) Venta Icenorum. But to proceed. Beneath Norwich also it receiueth two waters in one chanell, which I will seuerallie describe, according to their courses, noting their confluence to be at Birleie, within two miles of Norwich, except my annotation deceiue me. The first of these hath two heads whereof one mounteth vp southwest of Whinborow, goeth by Gernekon, and is the verie Hiere or Pare that drowneth the name of Wantsume, so soone as he meeteth withall. The other head riseth at Wood in Witford hundred, and after confluence with the Hiere at Caston, going by Brandon, Birton, Berford, Erleham, Cringlefield (not farre from Birleie as I said) doth meet with his companion, which is the second to be described as followeth. It hath two heads also that met northwest of Therstane; and hereof the one commeth from Findon hall, by Wrenningham from about Wotton, by Hemnall, Fretton, Stretton, and Tasborow, till they ioine at Therston, as I gaue notice aforehand. From Therston therefore they go togither in one to Newton, Shotesham, Dunston, Castor, Arminghale, Birleie, Lakenham, and Trowse, and then fall into the Wantsume beneath Norwich, which hereafter is named Hiere. The Hiere, Pare, or Gare therefore proceeding in his voiage, as it were to salute his grandame the Ocean, goeth from thence by Paswyc, Surlingham, Clarton, and Pardleie; and here it meeteth againe with another riueret descending from about Shotesham to Therstane, Shedgraue, Hockingham, and so into Gare or Pare, whereof Pardleie the towne receiueth denomination. After this it goeth to Frethorpe, and aboue Burgh castell meeteth with the Waueneie, and so into the sea.

Hierus. Gerne.

Waueneie.

Into this riuer also falleth the Bure, which rising at a towne of the same name, passeth by Milton, Buresdune, Corpesteis, Parington, Blekeling, Bure, Alesham, Brampton, Burton, Horsted, Werrham bridge, Horning, Kaneworth; and beneath Bastewic receiueth the Thurine which riseth aboue Kolesbie; then to Obie, Clipsbie (there also receiuing another from Filbie) Kimham, Castor, and by Yarmouth into the Ocean. The Waueneie afore mentioned, riseth on the south side of Brising-ham, and is a limit betweene Northfolke and Suffolke. Going therefore by Dis, Starton, not farre from Dice, it meeteth with the Eie, which riseth neere Dekold, or betweene it and Braisworth, & goeth on by Brome, Dice, and so into the Waueneie. From thence our Waueneie runneth by Silam, Brodish, Nedam, Harleston, Rednam, Alborow, Flixton, Bungeie, Sheepemedow, Barsham, Beckles, Albie, & at Whiteacre (as I heare) parteth in twaine, or receiuing Milford water (which is most likelie) it goeth along by Somerleie, Horningsert, S. Olaues, (there receiuing the Frithstane or Fristan broke, out of low or litle England) Fristan & Burgh castell, where it meeteth with the Hiere, & from thencefoorth accompanieth it (as I said) vnto the sea. Willingham water commeth by Hensted, Einsted, or Enistate, and falleth into the sea by south of Kesland.

Wauen.

Bure.

Thurinus.

Einus.

Fritha.

The Cokell riseth south southwest of Cokeleie towne in Blithe hundred, & nere vnto Haskelworth it meeteth with the rill that commeth from Willet, and so going on togither by Wenhaston, and Bliborow, it falleth into the sea at an hauen betweene Koldon and Walderswicke. A little rill runneth also thereinto from Eston by Sowold, and another from Dunwich, by Walderswicke: and hereby it wanteth little that Eston Nesse is not cut off and made a prettie Iland.

Cokelus.

The Ford riseth at Porford, and going by Forderleie, and Theberton, it falleth at last into the Wismere creeke. Into the Dreford hauen runneth one water comming from Aldborow ward, by a narrow passage from the north into the south. By west whereof (when we are past a little Ile) it receiueth the second, descending from betweene Talingston and Framingham in Plomes hundred; which coming at last to Parleford, meeteth with a rill southwest of Farnham called the Gleme (that commeth by Kendlesham, the Gleinhams) and so passing forth, it taketh another at Snapesbridge, comming from Carleton by Sarmundham, Sternefield & Snape. Then going to Iken (where it meeteth with the third rill

Ford.

Dæus.

Fromus.

Glema.

ken, or Ike.

rill at the west side) it fetcheth a compasse by Sudburne east of Oxford, and so into the hauen. Next vnto this by west of Oxford, there runneth vp another créeke by Butleie, whereinto the waters comming from Tellesford, and from the Ike, dow run both in one bottome. And thus much of Oxford hauen.

ena.

The Deue riseth in Debenham, in the hundred of Hertesmére, and from thence goeth to Wickford, Winston, Cretingham, Lethringham, Wickham, hitherto still créeping toward the south: but then going in maner full south, it runneth nére vnto Ash, Rendlesham, Ufford, Melton, and Woodbridge, beneath which it receiueth on the west side, a water comming of two heads, whereof one is by north from Otelcie, and the other by south from Henleis, which ioining west of Mertelsham, go vnto the said towne and so into the Deue, east of Mertelsham abouesaid. From thence the Deue goeth by Waldringfield and Henleie, and méeting sone after with Brightwell broke, it hasteth into the maine sea, leauing Bawdseie on the east, where the fall therof is called Bawdseie hauen.

Clarus fons.

Ure riseth not farre from Bacton, in Hertesmére hundred, and thense descendeth into Stow hundred by Gipping Newton, Dagworth, Stow (beneath which it méeteth with a water comming from Rattlesden, by one house) and so going on to Nedeham (through Bosmére and Claidon hundreds) to Blakenham, Bramford, Ypswich, receiuing beneath Stoke, which lieth ouer against Ypswich, the Chatsham water, that goeth by Belsted, and so into the Ure, at the mouth whereof is a maruellous déepe and large pit, whereof some marriners saie that they could neuer find the bottome, and therefore calling it a well, and ioining the name of the riuer withall, it commeth to passe that the hauen there is called Urewell, for which in these dates we dow pronounce it Orwell. Into this hauen also the Sture or Stoure hath readie passage, which remaineth in this treatise next of all to be described.

Arus.

Sturus.

The Sture or Stoure parteth Esser from Suffolke, as Houeden saith, and experience confirmeth. It ariseth in Suffolke, out of a lake nére vnto a towne called Stourmére. For although there come two rilles vnto the same, whereof the one descendeth from Thirlo, the Wratings and Ketton, the other from Horshed parke, by Hauerill, &c: yet in summer time they are often drie, so that they cannot be said to be perpetuall heads vnto the aforesaid riuer. The Stoure therefore (being, as I take it, called by Ptolomie, Edomania, for thereon toward the mouth standeth a prettie towne named Manitrée, which carieth some shadow of that ancient name thereof vnto this daie, if my coniecture be any thing) ariseth at Stouremére, which is a pole conteining twentie acres of ground at the least, the one side whereof is full of alders, the other of réeds, wherin the great store of fish there bred, is not a little succoured. From this méere also it goeth to Bathorne bridge, to Stocke clare, Cawndish, Pentlo, Paules Beauchampe, Milford, Forerth, Burelleie, Sudburie, Bures, Borsted, Stoke, Nailand, Lanham, Dedham, Strotford, east Barfold, Brampton, Manitrée, Catwade bridge, and so into the sea, where in the verie fall also it ioineth with Orwell hauen, so néere that of manie they are reputed as one, and parted but by a shingle that dooth run along betwéene them: neither dooth it passe cléere in this voiage, but as it were often occupied by the waie, in receiuing sundrie brookes and rilles not heere to be omitted.

For on Esser side it hath one from Hemsted, which goeth by Bumsted, and Birdbrooke: another rising short of Forerth, that runneth by water Beauchampe, Brundon, and falleth into the same at Badlington, west of Sudburie: and the third that glideth by Horkeslei, and méeteth withall west of Borsted. On the north, or vpon Suffolke side, it receiueth one descending from Catiledge, by Bradleie, Thurlow, Wratting, Kiddington, and at Hauerell falleth into this Sture. The second descendeth northward from Polling field, and ioineth therewith east of Clare. It was in old time called Cieux or Ceuxis, and it méeteth with the Stoure in such wise that they séeme to make a right angle, in the point almost whereof standeth a ruinous castell. Howbeit as sithence which time this water (in some mens iudgement) hath béene named Clarus (not so much for the greatnesse as clérenesse of the streame) euen so the Stoure it selfe was also called Ens as they say, and after their confluence the whole Clarens, which giueth denomination to a duchie of this Iland of no small fame and honour. But these are but meere fables, sith the word Clare is deriued from the towne, wherein was an house of religion erected to one Clara, and Clarens brought from the same, because of an honour the prince had in those parties: which may suffice to know from whence the name proceedeth. The third ariseth of two heads, whereof one commeth from Wickham brooke, the other from Chedbar in Risbie hundred, and ioining about Stanfield, it goeth by Hawton, Somerton, Borsted, Stansted, and north of Forerth falleth into Stoure. The fourth issueth from betwéene the Waldingfields, and goeth by Edwardstone, Borsted, Alington, Polsted, Stoke, and so at south Borsted falleth into the same. The fift riseth northwest of Cockefield, and goeth to Cockefield, Laneham, Brimsleie, Pidling, and receiuing Kettle Baston water southwest of Chelsworth (and likewise the Breton that commeth from Bretenham, by Hitcheham, and Billeton street on the south east of the same towne) it goeth in by Nedging, Aldham, Hadleie, Lainham, Shellie, Higham, and so into the Stoure. The sixt is a little rill descending southwest from Chappell. The seuenth riseth betweene Chappell and Bentleie, and going betwéene Tatingston, and Whetsted, Holbrooke, and Sutton, it falleth at length into Stoure, and from thence is neuer heard of.

Kettle baston

As for Ocleie Drill, that riseth betweene Ocleie, and Wikes parkes, and so goeth into the Stoure, on Esser side, west of Harwich, and east of Ree Ile; I passe it ouer, because it is of it selfe but a rill, and not of anie greatnesse, till it come to the mill aboue Ramseie bridge, where I was once almost drowned (by reason of the ruinous bridge which leadeth ouer the streame being there verie great) as an arme of the sea that continuallie ebbeth & floweth. Next vnto this, we came to another that runneth south of Beaumont by Mosse, and falleth into the sea about the middest of the Baie, betwixt Harwich and the Naze. Betwixt the Naze also and the mouth of Colne, is another rill, which riseth at little Bentleie, and thence goeth to Tendring thorpe, through Clacton parke by great Holland, and east of little Holland, into the déepe sea.

Ocleie.

Mosa.

Claco.

The Colne hath three heads, whereof one is at Ouington that goeth by Tilberie, and east of Yeldam falleth into the chiefe head which riseth about Redgewell in Esser, from whence also it goeth to Yeldam and Hedingham, otherwise called Yngham: also Hedningham or Heuedingham, or Heuedingham of the superioritie which accrued thereunto, because the chiefe lords of the same from time to time kept residence in the towne. For Heued or Hed signifieth The chiefe, in the old English language, which in the name of this and manie other townes and villages yet standing in England cannot cséilie be forgotten.

Colunus.

The

The third falleth in south of Peldam, and being once met all in one chanell, and called the Colne, it goeth (as I said) to Hedningham, Hawsted, Erles Colne, Wakes Colne, Fordon, Bardfold, Colchester, in old time Camalodunum, and so into the sea at Brickleseie. Some thinke that Colchester and Camalodunum are sundrie cities and situat in diuerse places, whereby Maldon (or Ithancester out of whose ruines the said towne of Maldon was erected) should rather be Camalodunum than Colchester, but hereof I cannot iudge. Indeed if (as Leland saith) Maldon should be written Malodunum, it were a likelihood that there assertions should be probable. Some reason also may be gathered for the same out of Dion, and such as make the Thames mouth to take his beginning at Colchester water. But I dare not presume to conclude any thing hereof, least I should séeme rashlie to take hold of euerie coniecture. This I relie vpon rather as a more certeintie, that in the first edition of this treatise I was persuaded, that the sea entring by the Colne made three séuerall passages frō thence into the land: but now I vnderstand that these are seuerall entrances and streames, of which the Colne is one, another is the Salcote water, which commeth in beneath the Stroud (a causeie that leadeth vnto Merseie Ile, ouer which the sea méeteth with a contrarie course) and the third the faire arme that floweth vnto Maldon, and all these three haue their falles either ouer against or néere vnto the aforesaid Ile, which at a low water is not halfe a mile from the shore. Into the Colne or Colunus also (whereof Leland thinketh Colchester to take his name, and not *A colonia Romanorum*, although I may not consent to him herein) do run manie salt crekes beneath Fingering ho, of whose names sith I do not know, nor whether they be serued with anie backewaters or not, I giue ouer to intreat anie further, & likewise of their positions. Into that of Maldon runneth manie faire waters, whereof I will saie so much as I know to be true in maner by experience.

Gwin or Pant.

There is a pretie water that beginneth néere vnto Gwinbach or Winbeche church in Eller, a towne of old, and yet belonging to the Fitzwaters, taking name of Gwin, which is beautifull or faire, & Bache that signifieth a wood: and not without cause, sith not onelie the hilles on ech side of the said rillet, but all the whole paroch hath sometime abounded in woods; but now in manner they are vtterlie decaied, as the like commoditie is euerie where, not onelie thorough excessiue building for pleasure more than profit, which is contrarie to the ancient end of building; but also for more increase of pasture & commoditie to the lords of the soile, through their sales of that emolument, whereby the poore tenants are inforced to buie their fewell, and yet haue their rents in triple maner inhanced. This said broke runneth directlie from thence vnto Radwinter, now a parcell of your lordships possessions in those parts, descended from the Chamberleins, who were sometime chéefe owners of the same. By the waie also it is increased with sundrie pretie springs, of which Pantwell is the chéefe (whereof some thinke the whole broke to be named Pant) and which (to saie the truth) hath manie a leasing fathered on the same. Certes by the report of common fame it hath béene a pretie water, and of such quantitie, that botes haue come in time past from Bilie abbeie beside Maldon vnto the mores in Radwinter forcorne. I haue heard also that an anchor was found there neere to a red willow, when the water-courses by act of parlement were surueied and reformed throughout England, which maketh not a little with the aforesaid relation. But this is strangest of all, that a lord sometime of Winbech (surnamed the great eater, because he would breake his fast with a whole calfe, and find no bones therein as the fable goeth) falling at contention with the lord Iohn of Radwinter, could worke him none other iniurie, but by stopping vp the head of Pantwell, to put by the vse of a mill which stood by the church of Radwinter, and was serued by that broke abundantlie. Certes I know the place where the mill stood, and some posts thereof do yet remaine. But see the malice of mankind, whereby one becommeth a woolfe vnto the other in their mischeuous modes. For when the lord saw his mill to be so spoiled, he in reuenge of his losse, brake the necke of his aduersarie, when he was going to horsebacke, as the constant report affirmeth. For the lord of Radwinter holding a parcell of his manour of Radwinter hall of the Fitzwaters, his sonne was to hold his stirrop at certeine times when he should demand the same. Shewing himselfe therefore prest on a time to do his said seruice, as the Fitzwater was readie to lift his leg ouer the saddle, he by putting backe his foot, gaue him such a thrust that he fell backward, and brake his necke: wherevpon insued great trouble, till the matter was taken vp by publike authoritie; and that seruile office conuerted into a pound of pepper, which is truelie paid to this daie. But to leaue these impertinent discourses, and returne againe to the springs whereby our Pant or Gwin is increased. There is likewise another in a pasture belonging to the Grange, now in possession of William Bird esquier, who holdeth the same in the right of his wife, but in time past belonging to Tiltеie abbeie. The third commeth out of the yard of one of your lordships manors there called Radwinter hall. The fourth from John Cockswets house, named the Rotherwell, which running vnder Rothers bridge, méeteth with the Gwin or Pant on the northwest end of Ferrants meade, southeast of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honours fauourable preferment.

I might take occasion to speake of another rill which falleth into the Rother from Bendish hall: but bicause it is for the most part drie in summer I passe it ouer. Yet I will not omit to speake also of the manor which was the chiefe lordship sometime of a parish or hamlet called Bendishes, now worne out of knowledge, and vnited partlie to Radwinter, and partlie to Ashdon. It belonged first to the Bendishes gentlemen of a verie ancient house yet extant, of which one lateng the said manour to morgage to the monks of Feuersham, at such time as K. Edward the third went to the siege of Calis, thereby to furnish himselfe the better toward the seruice of his prince, it came to passe that he staied longer beyond the sea than he supposed. Wherevpon he came before his daie to confer with his creditors, who commending his care to come out of debt, willed him in friendlie maner not to suspect anie hard dealing on their behalfes, considering his businesse in seruice of the king was of it selfe cause sufficient, to excuse his delaie of paiment vpon the daie assigned. Herevpon he went ouer againe vnto the siege of Calis. But when the day came, the monks for all this made seisure of the manour, and held it continuallie without anie further recompense, maugre all the friendship that the aforsaid Bendish could make. The said gentleman also tooke this cousening part in such choler, that he wrote a note yet to be séene among his euidences, whereby he admonisheth his posteritie to beware how they trust either knaue monke or knaue frier, as one of the name and descended from him by lineall descent hath more than once informed me. Now to resume our springs that méet and ioine with our Pant.

The next is named Froshwell. And of this spring doth

Froshwell.

doth the whole hundred beare the name, & after this confluence the riuer it selfe wher vnto it falleth (from by north) so farre as I remember. Certes, all these, sauing the first and second, are within your lordships towne afore said. The streame therfore running from hence (& now, as I said, called Froshwell, of Frosh, which signifieth a frog) hasteth immediatlie vnto old Sandford, then through new Sandford parke, and afterward with full streame (receiuing by the waie, the Finch broke that commeth thorough Finchingfield) to Shalford, Bocking, Stisted, Paswic, and so to Blackewater, where the name of Froshwell ceaseth, the water being from henceforth (as I heare) commonlie called Blackwater, vntill it come to Maldon, where it falleth into the salt arme of the sea that beateth vpon the towne; and which of some (except I be deceiued) is called also Pant: and so much the rather I make this coniecture, for that Ithancester stood somewhere vpon the banks thereof, & in the hundred of Danseie, whose ruines (as they saie) also are swalowed vp by the said streame, which can not be verified in our riuer that runneth from Pantwell, which at the mouth and fall into the great current, exceedeth not (to my coniecture) aboue one hundred fot. But to returne to our Pant, *aliàs* the Gwin. From Blackwater it goeth to Corall, Easterford, Braxted and Wickham, where it meeteth with the Barus, and so going togither as one, they descend to Heiebridge, and finallie into the salt water aboue Maldon, and at hand as is afore said. As for the Barus, it riseth in a statelie parke of Esser called Bardfield, belonging to sir Thomas Wroth whilest he liued, who hath it to him and his heires males for euer, from the crowne. Being risen, it hasteth directlie to old Saling Braintree, crossing a rillet by the waie comming from Raine, blacke Notleie, white Notleie, Falkeburne, Wittham, and falleth into the Blackewater beneath Braxted on the south.

Barus.

Beside this, the said Pant or Gwin receiueth the Chelme or Chelmer, which ariseth also in Wimbech afore said, where it hath two heads: of which the one is not farre from Brodockes (where master Thomas Wiseman esquier dwelleth) the other nigh vnto a farme called Highams in the same paroch, and ioining yer long in one chanell, they hie them toward Thacsted vnder Prowds bridge, meeting in the waie with a rill comming from Boiton end, whereby it is somewhat increased. Being past Thacsted, it goeth by Tilteie, and soone after receiueth one rill which riseth on the north side of Lindsell, & falleth into the Chelmer by northeast at Tilteie afore said, & another cõming from southwest, rising southeast from Lindsell at much Eiston. From thence then holding on still with the course, it goeth to Candsfield the more, Dunmow, little Dunmow, Falsted, Lies, both Waltams, Springfield, and so to Chelmeresford. Here vpon the south side I find the issue of a water that riseth fiue miles (or thereabouts) south and by west of the said towne, from whence it goeth to Punaling, Buttesburie (there receiuing a rill from by west, to Ingatstone, Parget Inge, Widford bridge, Writtle bridge, and so to Chelmeresford (crossing also the second water that descendeth from Rorford south west of Writtle by the waie) whereof let this suffice.

Chelmer. Lind's. Rorford. Lée.

From hence the Chelmer goeth directlie toward Maldon by Badow, Owting, Woodham water, Bilie, and so to Blackwater northwest of Maldon, receiuing neuertheless yer it come fullie thither, a becke also that goeth from Lée parke, to little Lées, great Lées, Hatfield, Peuerell, Owting, and so into Blackwater (whereof I spake before) as Maldon streame doth a rill from by south ouer against saint Osithes, and also another by Bradwell. After which the said streame growing also to be verie great, passeth by the Tolshunts, Tolleshie, and so forth into the maine sea nere vnto Mersete: betweene which fall and the place where Salute water entreth into the land, Plautus abode the comming of Claudius sometime into Britaine, when he being hardlie beset, did send vnto him for aid and spedie succour, who also being come did not onelie rescue his legat, but in like manner wan Colchester, and put it to the spoile, if it be Camalodunum.

The Burne riseth somewhere about Ronwell, and thence goeth to Hull bridge, south Fambridge, Kirkeshot ferrie, and so to Foulnesse. And as this is the short course of that riuer, so it brancheth, and the south arme thereof receiueth a water comming from Haukewell, to great Stanbridge, and beneath Pakesham doth meet by south with the said arme, and so finish vp his course, as we do our voiage also about the coast of England.

Burne.

Thus haue I finished the description of such riuers and streames as fall into the Ocean, according to my purpose, although not in so precise an order and manner of handling as I might, if information promised had been accordinglie performed; or others would, if they had taken the like in hand. But this will I saie of that which is here done, that from the Solueie by west, which parteth England & Scotland on that side; to the Twede, which separateth the said kingdoms on the east: if you go backeward, contrarie to the course of my description, you shall find it so exact, as beside a verie few by-riuers, you shall not need to vse anie further aduise for the finding and falles of the afore said streames. For such hath been my helpe of maister Sackfords cardes, and conference with other men about these, that I dare pronounce them to be perfect and exact. Furthermore, this I haue also to remember, that in the courses of our streames, I regard not so much to name the verie towne or church, as the limits of the paroch. And therefore if I saie it goeth by such a towne, I thinke my dutie discharged, if I hit vpon anie part or parcell of the paroch. This also hath not a little troubled me, I meane the euill writing of the names of manie townes and villages: of which I haue noted some one man, in the description of a riuer, to write one towne two or three manner of waies, whereby I was inforced to chose one (at aduenture most commonlie) that seemed the likeliest to be found in mine opinion and iudgement.

Finallie, whereas I minded to set downe an especiall chapter of ports and creeks, lieng on each coast of the English part of this Ile; and had prouided the same in such wise as I iudged most conuenient: it came to passe, that the greater part of my labour was taken from me by stealth, and therefore as discouraged to meddle with that argument, I would haue giuen ouer to set downe anie thing therefore at all: and so much the rather, for that I see it may proue a spurre vnto further mischefe, as things come to passe in these daies. Neuertheless, because a little thereof is passed in the beginning of the booke, I will set downe that parcell thereof which remaineth, leauing the supplie of the rest either to my selfe hereafter, (if I may come by it) or to some other that can better performe the same.

Of

## Of such ports and creeks as our sea-faring-men doo note for their benefit vpon the coasts of England.

### Chap. 17.

IT maie be that I haue in these former chapters omitted sundrie hauens to be found vpon the shore of England, and soms of them serued with backe waters, through want of sound and sufficient information from such as haue written vnto me of the same. In recompense whereof I haue thought good to adde this chapter of ports and creekes, whereby (so farre as to me is possible) I shall make satisfaction of mine ouersights. And albeit I cannot (being too too much abused by some that haue béereft me of my notes in this behalfe) bring my purpose to passe for all the whole coast of England round about, from Berwike to the Solue: yet I will not let to set downe so much as by good hap remaineth, whereby my countriemen shall not altogither want that benefit, hoping in time to recouer also the rest, if God grant life and good successe thereto.

Northumberland. In Northumberland therefore we haue Berwike, Holie Iland, Bamborow, Bedwell, Donstanborow, Cocket Iland, Warkeworth, Newbiggin, Almow, Blithes nuke, and Tinmouth hauen.

Durham. In the bishoprie, Sonderland, Stocketon, Hartlepole, Hese.

Yorkeshire. In Yorkeshire, Dapnam sands, Steningrene, Staies, Runswike, Robinhods baie, Whitbie, Scarborow, Fileie, Flamborow, Bricklington, Horneseie becke, Sisser kirke, Kelseie, Cliffe, Pattenton, Holmes, Kenningham, Pall, Hidon, Hulbrige, Beuerleie, Hull, Hasell, Northserebie, Bucke creke, Blackecoss, Wrethell, Howden.

Lincolneshire. In Lincolneshire, Selbie, Snepe, Turnebrige, Rodiffe, Catebie, Stockwith, Torkeseie, Gainsborow, Southserebie, Barton a good point, Barrow a good hauen, Skatermill a good port, Penningham, Stalingborow a good hauen, Guimsbie a good port, Clie, March chappell, Saltfléete, Wilgripe, Papleford, saint Clements, Wenfléete, Friscon, Tost, Skerbike, Boston, Frompton, Woluerton, Fossedike a good hauen.

Northfolke. In Northfolke, Linne a good hauen, Snatchham, Hitchham, Desingham good, Thunstone, Thorneham good, Brankester good, Burnham good, with diuers townes and villages thereto belonging, Welles good, Strikeie, Parston, Blakeleie towne, Withon Claie, Blakelie hauen good, Salthouse creke, Sheringham hith, Roughton, Cromer, Beston, Trinningham, Pounsleis, Bromwall, Hasseborow, Wakesham, Eckelles, Winterton, Custer, Helmesleie, Okell, Upton, Waibridge, Yarmouth, good all the waie to Norwich, with diuerse villages on the riuer side.

Suffolke. In Suffolke, Becles, Bongeie, Southton, Corton, Gorton, Laistow a good port, Kirtill, Pakefield, Kasseldon, Bliborow, Cosse hith, Elton, Walderswic, Donewich, Swold hauen, Sisewell, Thorpe, Alborow, Orford a good hauen, Balseie good, Felixstow, Colneie, Sproten, Ypswich, Downambridge good, Pinnemill, Shoteleie, Cataweie, Barfold.

Esser. In Esser we haue Dedham, Maning tree, Thorne, Wrabbesnes, Ramseie, Harwich, Douercourt, Handford, Okeleie, Kirbie, Thorpe, Brichwill, Walton mill, Walton hall, Ganfléete, Newhauen good, S. Olithes, Bentleie good, Bricleseie, Thorlington (where good ships of a hundred tun or more be made) Alsford, Wiuenhall, Colchester, Cold hith, Rough hedge, Fingering ho, east Perseie, west Perseie, Salcot, Goldanger, Borow, Maldon, Stanesgate, Sudmester, S. Peters, Burnham, Crirseie, Aldon, Clements greene, Hulbridge, Packleston, Barling, litle Wakering, much Wakering, south Sudburie, Wakeringham, Pelton, Paper hill, or Lee, Beamfléete, Pidseie range, Fobbing, Hadleie good, Pucking, Stanford, and Tilberie ferrie.

Kent. In Kent, Harling, Cliffe, Tanfléete, Stokehow, Snodlond, Pelhall, Paidston, Ailesford, New hith, Rochester, Gelingham, Reinham, Upchurch, Halsted, Quinborow, Milton, Feuersham, Whitstaple, Herne, Margate, Brodestaier, Ramsgate; and manie of these good créekes: also Sandwich, Douer, Hide, reasonable ports, although none of the best.

Sussex. In Sussex we haue Smalade with the créekes adioining to the same, Ridon, Appledoure, Rie a good hauen, and Winchelsei nothing at all inferiour to the same, and so manie shires onelie are left vnto me at this time, wherefore of force I must abruptlie leaue off to deale anie further with the rest, whose knowledge I am right sure would haue bene profitable: and for the which I hoped to haue reaped great thankes at the hands of such sea-faring-men, as should haue had vse hereof.

*Desunt cætera.*

## Of the aire, soile, and commodities of this Iland.

### Cap. 18.

The aire of Britaine. THe aire (for the most part) throughout the Iland is such, as by reason in maner of continuall clouds, is reputed to be grosse, and nothing so pleasant as that is of the maine. Howbeit, as they which affirme these things, haue onelie respect to the impediment or hinderance of the sunne beames, by the interposition of the clouds and oft ingrossed aire: so experience teacheth vs, that it is no lesse pure, wholesome, and commodious, than is that of other countries, and (as Cæsar himselfe hereto addeth) much more temperate in summer than that of the Galles, from whom he aduentured hither. Neither is there anie thing found in the aire of our region, that is not vsuallie séene amongst other nations lieng beyond the seas. Wherefore, we must néeds confesse, that the situation of our Iland (for benefit of the heauens) is nothing inferiour to that of anie countrie of the maine, where so euer it lie vnder the open firmament. And this Plutarch knew full well, who affirmeth a part of the Elisian fields to be found in Britaine, and the Iles that are situate about it in the Ocean.

The soile. The soile of Britaine is such, as by the testimonies and reports both of the old and new writers', and experience also of such as now inhabit the same, is verie fruitfull; and such in déed as bringeth forth manie commodities, whereof other countries haue néed, and yet it selfe (if fond niceneſſe were abolished) nédeſſe of those that are dailie brought from other places. Neuertheleſſe it is more inclined to féeding and grasing, than profitable for tillage, and bearing of corne; by reason whereof the countrie is wonderfullie replenished with neat, and all kind of cattell: and such store is there also of the same in euerie place, that the fourth part of the land is scarselie manured for the prouision and maintenance of graine. Certes this

this fruitfulnesse was not vnknowne vnto the Britons long before Cæsars time, which was the cause wherefore our predecessors liuing in those daies in maner neglected tillage, and liued by fæding and grasing onelie. The graziers themselues also then dwelled in moueable villages by companies, whose custome was to diuide the ground amongst them, and each one not to depart from the place where his lot laie (a thing much like to the Irish Criacht) till by eating vp of the countrie about him, he was inforced to remoue further, and seeke for better pasture. And this was the British custome (as I learne) at first. It hath beene commonlie reported, that the ground of Wales is neither so fruitfull as that of England, neither the soile of Scotland so bountifull as that of Wales: which is true, for corne and for the most part: otherwise, there is so good ground in some parts of Wales, as is in England, albeit the best of Scotland be scarselie comparable to the meane of either of both. Howbeit, as the bountie of the Scotish doth faile in some respect, so doth it surmount in other; God and nature hauing not appointed all countries to yeeld forth like commodities.

Criacht.

But where our ground is not so good as we would wish, we haue (if need be) sufficient helpe to cherish our ground withall, and to make it more fruitfull, For beside the compest that is carried out of the husbandmens yards, ditches, ponds, douehouses, or cities and great townes: we haue with vs a kind of white marle, which is of so great force, that if it be cast ouer a peece of land but once in three score years, it shall not need of anie further compelling. Hereof also doth Plinie speake, lib. 17. cap. 6, 7, 8, where he affirmeth that our marle indureth vpon the earth by the space of foure score yeares: insomuch that it is laid vpon the same but once in a mans life, whereby the owner shall not need to trauell twise in procuring to commend and better his soile. He calleth it Marga, and making diuerse kinds thereof, he finallie commendeth ours, and that of France, aboue all other, which lieth sometime a hundred foot deepe, and farre better than the scattering of chalke vpon the same, as the Hedui and Pictones did in his time, or as some of our daies also do practise: albeit diuerse do like better to cast on lime, but it will not so long indure, as I haue heard reported.

Marle.

There are also in this Iland great plentie of fresh riuers and streames, as you haue heard alreadie, and these throughlie fraught with all kinds of delicate fish accustomed to be found in riuers. The whole Ile likewise is verie full of hilles, of which some (though not verie manie) are of exceeding heigth, and diuerse extending themselues verie far from the beginning; as we may see by Shoters hill, which rising east of London, and not farre from the Thames, runneth along the south side of the Iland westward, vntill it come to Cornewall. Like vnto these also are the Crowdon hils, which though vnder diuers names (as also the other from the Peke) do run into the borders of Scotland. What should I speake of the Cheuot hilles, which reach twentie miles in length: of the blacke mounteines in Wales, which go from (*) to (*) miles at the least in length: of the Cle hilles in Shropshire, which come within foure miles of Ludlow, and are diuided from some part of Worcester by the Teme: of the Grames in Scotland, and of our Chiltren, which are eightéene miles at the least from one end of them, which reach from Henlie in Oxfordshire to Dunstable in Bedfordshire, and are verie well replenished with wood and corne: notwithstanding that the most part yeeld a sweet short grasse, profitable for sheepe. Wherein albeit they of Scotland do somewhat come behind vs, yet their outward defect is inwardlie recompensed, not onelie with plentie of quarries (and those of sundrie kinds of marble, hard stone, and fine alabaster) but also rich mines of mettall, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Plentie of riuers.

Hilles.

(*) Here lacks

In this Iland likewise the winds are commonlie more strong and fierce, than in anie other places of the maine, which Cardane also espied: and that is often seene vpon the naked hilles, not garded with trées to beare and keepe it off. That grieuous inconuenience also inforceth our nobilitie, gentrie, and communaltie, to build their houses in the vallies, leauing the high grounds vnto their corne and cattell, least the cold and stormie blasts of winter should breed them greater annoiance: whereas in other regions each one desireth to set his house aloft on the hill, not onlie to be seene a farre off, and cast forth his beames of statelie and curious workemanship into euerie quarter of the countrie; but also (in hot habitations) for coldnesse sake of the aire, sith the heat is neuer so vehement on the hill top as in the vallie, because the reuerberation of the sunne beames either reacheth not so farre as the highest, or else becommeth not so strong as when it is reflected vpon the lower soile.

Winds.

But to leaue our buildings vnto the purposed place (which notwithstanding haue verie much increased, I meane for curiositie and cost, in England, Wales, and Scotland, within these few yeares) and to returne to the soile againe. Certeinelie it is euen now in these our daies growne to be much more fruitfull, than it hath béene in times past. The cause is for that our countriemen are growne to be more painefull, skilfull, and carefull through recompense of gaine, than heretofore they haue béene: insomuch that my Synchroni or time fellows can reape at this present great commoditie in a little roome; whereas of late yeares, a great compasse hath yéelded but small profit, and this onelie through the idle and negligent occupation of such, as dailie manured and had the same in occupieng. I might set downe examples of these things out of all the parts of this Iland, that is to saie, manie of England, more out of Scotland, but most of all out of Wales: in which two last rehearsed, verie little other food and liuelihood was wont to be loked for (beside flesh) more than the soile of it selfe, and the cow gaue; the people in the meane time liuing idelie, dissolutelie, and by picking and stealing one from another. All which vices are now (for the most part) relinquished, so that each nation manureth hir owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before time.

Husbandrie amended.

The pasture of this Iland is according to the nature and bountie of the soile, whereby in most places it is plentifull, verie fine, batable, and such as either fatteth our cattell with speed, or yéeldeth great abundance of milke and creame: whereof the yellowest butter and finest chéese are made. But where the blue claie aboundeth (which hardlie drinketh vp the winters water in long season) there the grasse is spearie, rough, and verie apt for bushes: by which occasion it commeth nothing so profitable vnto the owner as the other. The best pasture ground of all England is in Wales, & of all the pasture in Wales that of Cardigan is the cheefe. I speake of the same which is to be found in the mounteines there, where the hundred part of the grasse growing is not eaten, but suffered to rot on the ground, whereby the soile becommeth matted, and diuerse bogges and quicke moores made withall in long continuance: because all the cattell in the countrie are not able to eat it downe. If it be to be accompted good soils, on which a man may laie a wand ouer night, and on the morrow find it hidden and ouergrowen with grasse: it is not hard to find plentie thereof in manie places of this land. Neuertheles, such is the fruitfulnes of the aforesaid

Pasture.

aforsaid countie that it farre surmounteth this proportion, whereby it may be compared for batablenesse with Italie, which in my time is called the paradise of the world, although by reason of the wickednesse of such as dwell therein it may be called the sinke and draine of hell: so that whereas they were wont to saie of vs that our land is good but our people euill, they did but onlie speake it; whereas we know by experience that the soile of Italie is a noble soile, but the dwellers therein farre off from anie vertue or goodnesse.

Meadowes. Our meadowes, are either bottomes (whereof we haue great store, and those verie large, bicause our soile is hillie) or else such as we call land meads, and borowed from the best & fattest pasturages. The first of them are yearelie & often ouerflowen by the rising of such streames as passe through the same, or violent falles of land-waters, that descend from the hils about them. The other are seldome or neuer ouerflowen, and that is the cause wherefore their grasse is shorter than that of the bottomes, and yet is it farre more fine, wholesome, and batable, sith the haie of our low meadowes is not onelie full of sandie cinder, which breedeth sundrie diseases in our cattell, but also more rowtie, foggie, and full of flags, and therefore not so profitable for stouer and forrage as the higher meads be. The difference furthermore in their commodities is great, for whereas in our land meadowes we haue not often aboue one good load of haie, or peraduenture a little more in an acre of ground (I vse the word Carrucata or Carruca which is a waine load, and, as I remember, vsed by Plinie lib. 33. cap. 11.) in low meadowes we haue sometimes three, but commonlie two or vpward, as experience hath oft confirmed.

Of such as are twise mowed I speake not, sith their later math is not so wholsome for cattell as the first; although in the mouth more pleasant for the time: for thereby they become oftentimes to be rotten, or to increase so fast in bloud, that the garget and other diseases do consume manie of them before the owners can seeke out any remedie, by Phlebotomie or otherwise. Some superstitious fooles suppose that they which die of the garget are ridden with the night mare, and therefore they hang vp stones which naturallie haue holes in them, and must be found vnlooked for; as if such a stone were an apt cockshot for the diuell to run through and solace himselfe withall, whilest the cattell go scotfree and are not molested by him. But if I should set downe but halfe the toies that superstition hath brought into our husbandmens heads in this and other behalfes, it would aske a greater volume than is conuenient for such a purpose, wherefore it shall suffice to haue said thus much of these things.

Corne. The yeeld of our corne-ground is also much after this rate following. Through out the land (if you please to make an estimat thereof by the acre) in meane and indifferent yeares, wherein each acre of rie or wheat, well tilled and dressed, will yeeld commonlie sirteene or twentie bushels, an acre of barlie sir and thirtie bushels, of otes and such like foure or fiue quarters, which proportion is notwithstanding oft abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes surmounted in the south. Of mixed corne, as peason and beanes, sowen togither, tares and otes (which they call bulmong) rie and wheat named miscelin here is no place to speake, yet their yeeld is neuertheless much after this proportion, as I haue often marked. And yet is not this our great foison comparable to that of hoter countries of the maine. But of all that euer I read, the increase which Eldred Danus writeth of in his *De imperio Iudæorum in Aethiopia* surmounteth, where he saith that in the field neere to the Sabbatike riuer, called in old time Gosan, the ground is so fertile, that euerie graine of barleie growing doth yeeld an hundred kernels at the least vnto the owner.

Of late yeares also we haue found and taken vp a great trade in planting of hops, whereof our maries hitherto and vnprofitable grounds do yeeld such plentie & increase, that their are few farmers or occupiers in the countrie, which haue not gardens and hops growing of their owne, and those farre better than do come from Flanders vnto vs. Certes the corruptions vsed by the Flemings, and forgerie dailie practised in this kind of ware, gaue vs occasion to plant them here at home: so that now we may spare and send manie ouer vnto them. And this I know by experience, that some one man by conuersion of his marie grounds into hoppards, wherof before he had no commoditie, doth raise yearelie by so little as twelue acres in compasse two hundred markes; all charges borne toward the maintenance of his familie. Which industrie God continue! though some secret frends of Flemings let not to exclaime against this commoditie, as a spoile of wood, by reason of the poles, which neuertheless after three yeares do also come to the fire, and spare their other fewell.

Cattell. The cattell which we breed are commonlie such, as for greatnesse of bone, sweetnesse of flesh, and other benefits to be reaped by the same, giue place vnto none other: as may appeare first by our oxen, whose largenesse, height, weight, tallow, hides, and hornes are such, as none of anie other nation do commonlie or may easilie exceed them. Our sheepe likewise for good tast of flesh, quantitie of lims, finesse of fleece caused by their hardnesse of pasturage, and abundance of increase (for in manie places they bring forth two or three at an eaning) giue no place vnto anie, more than do our goates, who in like sort do follow the same order, and our deere come not behind. As for our conies, I haue seene them so fat in some soiles, especiallie about Peall and Dilnege, that the grease of one being weighed, hath peised verie neere six or seuen ounces. All which benefits we first refer to the grace and goodnesse of God, and next of all vnto the bountie of our soile, which he hath indued with so notable and commodious fruitfulnesse.

Peall and Dilnege.

But as I meane to intreat of these things more largelie hereafter, so will I touch in this place one benefit which our nation wanteth, and that is wine; the fault whereof is not in our soile, but the negligence of our countriemen (especiallie of the south partes) who do not inure the same to this commoditie, and which by reason of long discontinuance, is now become vnapt to beare anie grapes almost for pleasure & shadow, much lesse then the plaine fields or seuerall vineyards for aduantage and commoditie. Yet of late time some haue assaied to deale for wine, as to your lordship also is right well knowen. But sith that liquor when it commeth to the drinking hath bin found more hard, than that which is brought from beyond the sea, and the cost of planting and keeping thereof so chargeable, that they may buie it far better cheape from other countries: they haue giuen ouer their enterprises without anie consideration, that as in all other things, so neither the ground it selfe in the beginning, nor successe of their trauell can answer their expectation at the first, vntill such time as the soile be brought as it were into acquaintance with this commoditie, and that prouision may be made for the more easinesse of charge, to be imploied vpon the same.

Wine.

If it be true, that where wine doth last and indure well, there it will grow no worse: I muse not a little wherefore the planting of vines should be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue growne in this

this Iland heretofore, first the charter that Probus the emperour gaue equallie to vs, the Galles, and Spaniards, is one sufficient testimonie. And that it did growe here, beside the testimonie of Beda lib. 1. cap. 1. the old notes of tithes for wine that yet remaine in the accompts of some parsons and vicars in Kent, elsewhere, besides the records of sundrie sutes, commensed in diuerse ecclesiasticall courts, both in Kent, Surrie, &c: also the inclosed parcels almost in euerie abbeie yet called the vineyardes, may be a notable witnesse, as also the plot which we now call east Smithfield in London giuen by Canutus sometime king of this land, with other soile there about vnto certeine of his knights, with the libertie of a Guild which therof was called Knighton Guild. The truth is (saith John Stow our countrie man, and diligent trauceller in the old estate of this my natiue citie) that it is now named Port soken ward, and giuen in time past to the religious house within Aldgate. Howbeit first Otwell, the Archouell, Otto, & finallie Geffrie erle of Eller constables of the Tower of London, withheld that portion frō the said house, vntill the reigne of king Stephan, and thereof made a vineyard to their great commoditie and lucre. The Ile of Elie also was in the first times of the Normans called Le Ile des vignes. And good record appeereth, that the bishop there had yearelie three or foure tunne at the least giuen him *Nomine decimæ*, beside whatsoeuer ouer-summe of the liquor did accrue to him by leases and other ercheats, whereof also I haue seene mention. Wherefore our soile is not to be blamed, as though our nights were so exceeding short, that in August and September the moone which is ladie of moisture, & chiefe ripener of this liquor, cannot in anie wise shine long inough vpon the same: a verie meere toie and fable right worthie to be suppressed, because experience conuinceth the vpholders thereof euen in the Rhenish wines.

Cattell.

The time hath beene also that wad, wherwith our countrie men died their faces (as Cæsar saith) that they might seeme terrible to their enimies in the field (and also women & their daughters in law did staine their bodies & go naked, in the pickle vnto the sacrifices of their gods, coueting to resemble therin the Ethiopians, as Plinie saith li. 22. cap. 1.) and also madder haue beene (next vnto our tin and woolles) the chiefe commodities, and merchandize of this realme. I find also that rape oile hath beene made within this land. But now our soile either will not or at the least wise may not beare either wad or madder: I saie not that the ground is not able so to do, but that we are negligent, afraid of the pilling of our grounds, and careless of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buie the same of others than take anie paine to plant them here at home. The like I may saie of flax, which by law ought to be sowen in euerie countrie-towne in England, more or lesse: but I see no successe of that good and wholesome law, sith it is rather contemptuouslie reiected than otherwise dutifullie kept in anie place of England.

wad. Madder. Rape. Weald and Dilnege. Wine. Flax.

Some saie that our great number of lawes do breed a generall negligence and contempt of all good order; because we haue so manie, that no subiect can liue without the transgression of some of them, and that the often alteration of our ordinances doth much harme in this respect, which (after Aristotle) doth seeme to carie some reason withall, for (as Cornelius Gallus hath:)

*Euentus varios res noua semper habet.* Eleg. 2.

But verie manie let not to affirme, that the greedie corruption of the promoters on the one side, facilitie in dispensing with good lawes, and first breach of the same in the lawmakers & superiors, & priuat respects of their establishment on the other, are the greatest causes whie the inferiours regard no good order, being alwaies so redie to offend without anie facultie one waie, as they are otherwise to presume, vpon the examples of their betters when anie hold is to be taken. But as in these things I haue no skill, so I wish that fewer licences for the priuat commoditie but of a few were granted (not that thereby I denie the maintenance of the prerogatiue roiall, but rather would with all my hart that it might be yet more honorablie increased) & that euerie one which by feed friendship (or otherwise) doth attempt to procure oughts from the prince, that may profit but few and proue hurtfull to manie, might be at open assizes and sessions denounced enimie to his countrie and common-wealth of the land.

Principes gē magis emplo qu culpa pe solent.

Glasse also hath beene made here in great plentie before, and in the time of the Romans; and the said stuffe also, beside fine scissers, sheeres, collars of gold and siluer for womens necks, cruses and cups of amber, were a parcell of the tribute which Augustus in his daies laid vpon this Iland. In like sort he charged the Britons with certeine implements and vessels of iuorie (as Strabo saith.) Wherby it appeereth that in old time our countriemen were farre more industrious and painefull in the vse and application of the benefits of their countrie, than either after the comming of the Saxons or Normans, in which they gaue themselues more to idlenesse and following of the warres.

If it were requisit that I should speake of the sundrie kinds of mould, as the cledgie or claie, whereof are diuerse sorts (red, blue, blacke and white) also the red or white sandie, the lomie, roscllie, grauellie, chalkie or blacke, I could saie that there are so manie diuerse veines in Britaine, as else where in anie quarter of like quantitie in the world. Howbeit this I must needs confesse, that the sandie & cledgie do beare the greatest swaie: but the claie most of all, as hath beene, and yet is alwaies seene & felt through plentie and dearth of corne. For if this latter (I meane the claie) do yeeld hir full increase (which it doth commonlie in drie yeares for wheat) then is there generall plentie: whereas if it faile, then haue we scarsitie, according to the old rude verse set downe of England, but to be vnderstood of the whole Iland, as experience doth confirme:

Earths.

When the sand doth serue the claie,
Then may we sing well awaie,
But when the claie doth serue the sand,
Then is it merie with England.

I might here intreat of the famous vallies in England, of which one is called the vale of White horsse, another of Euesham, commonlie taken for the granarie of Worcestershire, the third of Ailesbirie that goeth by Tame, the rootes of Chilterne hils, to Donstable, Newport panell, Stonie Stratford, Buckingham, Birstane parke, &c. Likewise of the fourth of Whitehart or Blackemore in Dorsetshire. The fift of Ringdale or Rendale, corruptlie called Ringtaile, that lieth (as mine author saith) vpon the edge of Eller and Cambridgeshire, and also the Marshwood vale: but for somuch as I know not well their seuerall limits, I giue ouer to go anie further in their description. In like sort it should not be amisse to speake of our fennes, although our countrie be not so full of this kind of soile as the parties beyond the seas, to wit, Narbon, &c: and thereto of other pleasant botoms, the which are not onelie indued with excellent riuers and great store of corne and fine fodder for neat and horsses in time of the yeare (whereby they are exceeding beneficiall vnto their owners) but also of no small compasse and quantitie in ground. For some of our fens are well knowen to be either of ten, twelue, sixteene, twentie, or thirtie miles in

Vallies. Fennes.

length, that of the Girwies yet passing all the rest, which is full 60 (as I haue often read.) Wherein also Elie the famous Ile standeth, which is seuen miles euerie waie, and whereunto there is no accesse but by three causies, whose inhabitants in like sort by an old priuilege may take wood, sedge, turfe, &c; to burne: likewise haie for their cattell, and thatch for their houses of custome, and each occupier in his appointed quantitie through out the Ile; albeit that couetousnesse hath now begun somewhat to abridge this large beneuolence and commoditie, aswell in the said Ile as most other places of this land.

Commons. Finallie, I might discourse in like order of the large commons, laid out heretofore by the lords of the soiles for the benefit of such poore, as inhabit within the compasse of their manors. But as the true intent of the giuers is now in most places defrauded, in so much that not the poore tenants inhabiting vpon the same, but their landlords haue all the commoditie and gaine, so the tractation of them belongeth rather to the second booke. Wherfore I meane not at this present to deale withall, but reserue the same wholie vnto the due place whilest I go forward with the rest; setting downe neuertheless by the waie a generall commendation of the whole Iland, which I find in an ancient monument, much vnto this effect.

*Illa quidem longè celebris splendore, beata,*
*Glebis, lacte, fauis, supereminet insula cunctis,*
*Quas regit ille Deus, spumanti cuius ab ore*
*Profluit oceanus, &c.* And a little after.
*Testis Lundonia ratibus, Wintonia Baccho,*
*Herefordia grege, Worcestria fruge redundans,*
*Batha lacu, Salabyra feris, Cantuaria pisce,*
*Eboraca syluis, Excestria clara metallis,*
*Norwicum Dacis hybernis, Cestria Gallis,*
*Cicestrum Norwagenis, Dunelmia prapinguis,*
*Testis Lincolnia gens infinita decore,*
*Testis Eli formosa situ, Doncastria visu, &c.*

## Of the foure high waies sometime *made in Britaine by the princes* of this Iland.

Cap. 19.

THere are, which indeuoring to bring all things to their Saxon originall, do affirme, that this diuision of waies, (whereof we now intreat) should apperteine vnto such princes of that nation as reigned here, since the Romanes gaue vs ouer: and herevpon they inferre, that Wattling street was builded by one Wattle from the east vnto the west. But how weake their coniectures are in this behalfe, the antiquitie of these streets it selfe shall easilie declare, whereof some parcelles, after a sort, are also set downe by Antoninus; and those that haue written of the seuerall iournies from hence to Rome: although peraduenture not in so direct an order as they were at the first established. For my part, if it were not that I desire to be short in this behalfe, I could with such notes as I haue alreadie collected for that purpose, make a large confutation of diuerse of their opinions concerning these passages, and thereby rather ascribe the originall of these waies to the Romans than either the British or Saxon princes. But sith I haue spent more time in the tractation of the riuers than was allotted vnto me, and that I see great cause (notwithstanding my late alledged scruple) wherfore I should hold with our Galfride before anie other; I will omit at this time to discourse of these things as I would, and saie what I maie for the better knowledge of their courses, proceeding therein as followeth.

First of all I find, that Dunwallon king of Britaine, about 483 yeares before the birth of our sauiour Iesus Christ, seeing the subiects of his realme to be in sundrie wise oppressed by theeues and robbers as they trauelled to and fro; and being willing (so much as in him laie) to redresse these inconuenients, caused his whole kingdome to be surueied; and then commanding foure principall waies to be made, which should leade such as trauelled into all parts thereof, from sea to sea, he gaue sundrie large priuileges vnto the same, whereby they became safe, and verie much frequented. And as he had regard herein to the securitie of his subiects, so he made sharpe lawes grounded vpon iustice, for the suppression of such wicked members as did offer violence to anie traueler that should be met withall or found within the limits of those passages. How and by what parts of this Iland these waies were conueied at the first, it is not so wholie left in memorie: but that some question is moued among the learned, concerning their ancient courses. Howbeit such is the shadow remaining hitherto of their extensions, that if not at this present perfectlie, yet hereafter it is not vnpossible, but that they may be found out, & left certeine vnto posteritie. It seemeth by Galfride, that the said Dunwallon did limit out those waies by doles and markes, which being in short time altered by the auarice of such irreligious persons as dwelt neere, and incroched vpon the same (a fault yet inklie to be found almost in euerie place, euen in the time of our most gratious and souereigne Ladie Elizabeth, wherein the lords of the soiles do vnite their small occupieng, onelie to increase a greater proportion of rent; and therefore they either remoue, or giue licence to erect small tenements vpon the high waies sides and commons; whereunto, in truth, they haue no right: and yet out of them also do raise a new commoditie) and question moued for their bounds before Belinus his sonne, he to auoid all further controuersie that might from thencefoorth insue, caused the same to be paued with hard stone of eightéene foot in breadth, ten foot in depth, and in the bottome thereof huge flint stones also to be pitched, least the earth in time should swallow vp his workemanship, and the higher ground ouer-grow their rising crests. He indued them also with larger priuileges than before, protesting that if anie man whosoeuer should presume to infringe his peace, and violate the lawes of his kingdome in anie maner of wise, neere vnto or vpon those waies, he should suffer such punishment without all hope to escape (by frendship or mercie) as by the statutes of this realme latelie prouided in those cases were due vnto the offendors. The names of these foure waies are the Fosse, the Gwethelin or Watling, the Erming, and the Ikenild.

Fosse. The Fosse goeth not directlie but slopewise ouer the greatest part of this Iland, beginning at Dotnesse or Totnesse in Deuonshire, where Brute sometime landed, or (as Ranulphus saith, which is more likelie) at the point of Cornwall, though the eldest writers do seeme to note the contrarie. From hence it goeth thorough the middle of Deuonshire & Somersetshire, and commeth to Bristow, from whence it runneth manifestlie to Sudberie market, Tetburie, and so forth holdeth on as you go almost to the midde waie betweene Glocester and Cirnecester, (where the wood faileth, and the champeigne countrie appeareth toward Cotteswald) streight as a line vntill you come to Cirnecester it selfe. Some hold opinion

opinion that the waie, which liſth from Cirnecester to Bath, ſhould be the verie Foſſe; and that betwixt Cirnecester and Gloceſter to be another of the foure waies, made by the Britons. But ancient report grounded vpon great likelihod, and confirmed alſo by ſome experience, iudgeth that moſt of the waies croſſed ech other in this part of the realme. And of this mind is Leland alſo, who learned it of an abbat of Cirnecester that ſhewed great likelihod by ſome records thereof. But to proceed. From Cirnecester, it goeth by Chepingnorton to Couentrie, Leiceſter, Newarke, and ſo to Lincolne ouerthwart the Watlingſtreet: where, by generall conſent of all the writers (except Alfred of Beuerleie, who extendeth it vnto Cathneſſe in Scotland) it is ſaid to haue an end.

Watling ſtreet.

The Watlingſtréet begun (as I ſaid) by Dunwallo, but finiſhed by Gutheline, of whome it is directlie to be called Gutheline ſtréet, though now corrupted into Watlingſtréet, beginneth at Douer in Kent, and ſo ſtretcheth through the middeſt of Kent vnto London, and ſo forth (peraduenture by the middeſt of the citie) vnto Verolamium or Uerlamceſter, now ſaint Albons, where, in the yeare of grace, one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie & one, the courſe thereof was found by a man that digged for grauell therwith to mend the high waie. It was in this place eightéene foot broad, and about ten foot déepe, and ſtoned in the bottome in ſuch wiſe as I haue noted afore, and peraduenture alſo on the top: but theſe are gone, and the reſt remaine equall in moſt places, and leuell with the fields. The yelow grauell alſo that was brought thither in carts two thouſand yéeres paſſed, remained there ſo freſh and ſo ſtrong, as if it had béene digged out of the naturall place where it grew not manie yéeres before. From hence it goeth hard by Margate, leauing it on the weſt ſide. And a little by ſouth of this place, where the priorie ſtood, is a long thorough fare vpon the ſaid ſtréet, méetly well builded (for low houſing) on both ſides. After this it proceedeth (as the chronicle of Barnwell ſaith) to Carton, and ſo to Huntingdon, & then forward, ſtill winding in and out till it not onelie becommeth a bound vnto Leiceſterſhire toward Lugbie, but alſo paſſeth from Caſtleford to Stamford, and ſo forth by weſt of Marton, which is but a mile from Torkeſeie.

Here by the waie I muſt touch the opinion of a traueller of my time, who noteth the ſaid ſtréet to go another waie, inſomuch that he would haue it to croſſe the third Anon, betwixt Newton and Dolobridge, and ſo go on to Binford bridge, Wibtoft, the High croſſe, and thence to Atherſton vpon Ancre. Certes it may be, that the Foſſe had his courſe by the countrie in ſuch ſort as he deſcribeth; but that the Watlingſtréet ſhould paſſe by Atherſton, I cannot as yet be perſuaded. Neuertheleſſe his coniecture is not to be miſliked, ſith it is not vnlikelie that three ſeuerall waies might méet at Alderwaie (a towne vpon Tame, beneath Salters bridge) for I do not doubt that the ſaid towne did take his name of all three waies, as Aldermarie church in London did of all three Paries, vnto whom it hath béene dedicated: but that the Watlingſtréet ſhould be one of them, the compaſſe of his paſſage will in no wiſe permit. And thus much haue I thought good to note by the waie. Now to returne againe to Leland, and other mens collections.

The next tidings that we heare of the Watlingſtréet, are that it goeth thorough or neere by the parke at Pomfret, as the common voice alſo of the countrie confirmeth. Thence it paſſeth haſtilie ouer Caſtelford bridge to Aberford, which is fiue miles from thence, and where are moſt manifeſt tokens of this ſtréet and his broad creſt by a great waie together, alſo to Yorke, to Witherbie, and then to Borowbridge, where on the left hand thereof ſtood certeine monuments, or pyramides of ſtone, ſometimes placed there by the ancient Romanes. Theſe ſtones (ſaith Leland) ſtand eight miles weſt from Bowis, and almoſt weſt from Richmond is a little thorough fare called Maiden caſtell, ſituate apparantlie vpon the ſide of this ſtréet. And here is one of thoſe pyramides or great round heapes, which is three ſcore foot compaſſe in the bottome. There are other alſo of leſſe quantities, and on the verie top of ech of them are ſharpe ſtones of a yard in length; but the greateſt of all is eightéene foot high at the leaſt, from the ground to the verie head. He addeth moreouer, how they ſtand on an hill in the edge of Stanes more, and are as bounds betwéene Richmondſhire, and Weſtmerland. But to proceed. This ſtréet lieng a mile from Gilling, and two miles from Richmond commeth on from Borowbridge to Catericke, eightéene miles; that is, twelue to Leuing, & ſix to Catericke; then eleuen miles to Greteie or Gritto, fiue miles to Bottles, eight miles to Burgh on Stanes more, foure miles from Applebie, and fiue to Browham, where the ſaid ſtréet commeth thorough Winſoll parke, and ouer the bridge on Eiemouth and Loder, and leauing Perith a quarter of a mile or more on the weſt ſide of it, goeth to Carleill ſeuentéene miles from Browham, which hath béene ſome notable thing. Hitherto it appeareth euidentlie, but going from hence into Scotland, I heare no more of it, vntill I come to Cathneſſe, which is two hundred and thirtie miles or thereabouts out of England.

Erming ſtréet.

The Erming ſtréet, which ſome call the Lelme, ſtretcheth out of the eaſt, as they ſaie, into the ſouth-eaſt, that is, from Menevia or S. Dauids in Wales vnto Southampton, whereby it is ſomewhat likelie indeed that theſe two waies, I meane the Foſſe and the Erming, ſhould méet about Cirnecester, as it commeth from Gloceſter, according to the opinion conceiued of them in that countrie. Of this waie I find no more written, and therefore I can ſaie no more of it, except I ſhould indeuor to driue awaie the time, in alleging what other men ſay thereof, whoſe minds do ſo farre diſagrée one from another, as they do all from a truth, and therefore I giue them ouer as not delighting in ſuch dealing.

Ikenild.

The Ikenild or Kikenild began ſomewhere in the ſouth, and ſo held on toward Cirnecester, then to Worceſter, Wicombe, Brimcham, Lichfield, Darbie, Cheſterfield; and croſſing the Watlingſtréet ſomewhere in Yorkeſhire, ſtretched forth in the end vnto the mouth of the Tine, where it ended at the maine ſea, as moſt men do confeſſe. I take it to be called the Ikenild, becauſe it paſſed thorough the kingdome of the Icenes. For albeit that Leland & other following him do ſéeme to place the Icenes in Norffolke and Suffolke; yet in mine opinion that can not well be done, ſith it is manifeſt by Tacitus, that they laie néere vnto the Silures, and (as I geſſe) either in Staffordſhire and Worceſterſhires, or in both, except my coniecture do faile me. The author of the booke, intituled *Eulogium hiſtoriarum*, doth call this ſtréet the Lelme. But as herein he is deceiued, ſo haue I dealt withall ſo faithfullie as I may among ſuch diuerſitie of opinions; yet not denieng but that there is much confuſion in the names and courſes of theſe two latter, the diſcuſſing whereof I muſt leaue to other men that are better learned than I.

Now to ſpeake generallie of our common high waies through the Engliſh part of the Ile (for of the reſt I can ſaie nothing) you ſhall vnderſtand that in the claie or clodgie ſoile they are often verie déepe and troubleſome in the winter halfe. Wherfore by

authoritie of parlement an order is taken for their yearelie amendment, whereby all sorts of the common people doo imploie their trauell for sir daies in summer vpon the same. And albeit that the intent of the statute is verie profitable for the reparations of the decaied places, yet the rich doo so cancell their portions, and the poore so loiter in their labours, that of all the six, scarcelie two good days works are well performed and accomplished in a parish on these so necessarie affaires. Besides this, such as haue land lieng vpon the sides of the waies, doo vtterlie neglect to dich and scowre their drains and watercourses, for better auoidance of the winter waters (except it may be set off or cut from the meaning of the statute) whereby the streets doo grow to be much more gulled than before, and thereby verie noisome for such as trauell by the same. Sometimes also, and that verie often, these daies works are not imploied vpon those waies that lead from market to market, but ech surueior amendeth such by-plots & lanes as seeme best for his owne commoditie, and more easie passage vnto his fields and pastures. And whereas in some places there is such want of stones, as thereby the inhabitants are driuen to seeke them farre off in other soiles: the owners of the lands wherein those stones are to be had, and which hitherto haue giuen monie to haue them borne awaie, doo now reape no small commoditie by raising the same to excessiue prices, whereby their neighbours are driuen to grieuous charges, which is another cause wherefore the meaning of that good law is verie much defrauded. Finallie, this is another thing likewise to be considered of, that the trees and bushes growing by the streets sides; doo not a little keepe off the force of the sunne in summer for drieng vp of the lanes. Wherefore if order were taken that their boughs should continuallie be kept short, and the bushes not suffered to spread so far into the narrow paths, that inconuenience would also be remedied, and manie a slough proue hard ground that yet is deepe and hollow. Of the daillie incroching of the couetous vpon the hie waies I speake not. But this I know by experience, that whereas some streets within these fiue and twentie yeares haue been in most places fiftie foot broad according to the law, whereby the traueller might either escape the cheese, or shift the mier, or passe by the loaden cart without danger of himselfe and his horsse; now they are brought vnto twelue, or twentie, or six and twentie at the most, which is another cause also whereby the waies be the worse, and manie an honest man encombred in his iournie. But what speake I of these things whereof I doo not thinke to heare a iust redresse, because the error is so common, and the benefit thereby so sweet and profitable to manie, by such houses and cottages as are raised vpon the same.

## Of the generall constitution of the *bodies of the Britons.*

### Chap. 20.

SUch as are bred in this Iland are men for the most part of a good complexion, tall of stature, strong in bodie, white of colour, and thereto of great boldnesse and courage in the warres. As for their generall comelinesse of person, the testimonie of Gregorie the great, at such time as he saw English capteins sold at Rome, shall easilie confirme what it is, which yet doth differ in sundrie shires and soiles, as also their proportion of members, as we may perceiue betweene Herefordshire and Essex men; or Cambridgeshire and the Londoners for the one, and Pokington and Sedberrie for the other; these latter being distinguished by their noses and heads, which commonlie are greater there than in other places of the land. As concerning the stomachs also of our nation in the field, they haue alwaies been in souereigne admiration among forren princes: for such hath been the estimation of our souldiers from time to time, since our Ile hath been knowne vnto the Romans, that whersoeuer they haue serued in forren countries, the cheefe brunts of seruice haue been reserued vnto them. Of their conquests and bloudie battels wone in France, Germanie, and Scotland, our histories are full: & where they haue been ouercome, the victorers themselues confessed their victories to haue been so derelie bought, that they would not gladlie couet to ouercome often, after such difficult maner. In martiall prowesse, there is little or no difference betweene Englishmen and Scots: for albeit that the Scots haue been often and verie greeuouslie ouercome by the force of our nation, it hath not been for want of manhood on their parts, but through the mercie of God shewed on vs, and his iustice vpon them, sith they alwaies haue begun the quarels, and offered vs meere iniurie with great despite and crueltie.

Leland noting somewhat of the constitution of our bodies, saith these words grounding (I thinke vpon Aristotle, who writeth that such as dwell neere the north, are of more courage and strength of bodie than skilfulnesse or wisdome.) The Britons are white in colour, strong of bodie, and full of bloud, as people inhabiting neere the north, and farre from the equinoctiall line, where the soile is not so fruitfull, and therefore the people not so feeble: whereas contrariwise such as dwell toward the course of the sunne, are lesse of stature, weaker of bodie, more nice, delicate, fearefull by nature, blacker in colour, & some so blacke in deed as anie crow or rauen. Thus saith he. Howbeit, as those which are bred in sundrie places of the maine, doo come behind vs in constitution of bodie, so I grant, that in pregnancie of wit, nimblenesse of limmes, and politike inuentions, they generallie exceed vs: notwithstanding that otherwise these gifts of theirs doo often degenerate into meere subtiltie, instabilitie, vnfaithfulnesse, & crueltie. Yet Alexander ab Alexandro is of the opinion, that the fertilest region doth bring forth the dullest wits, and contrariwise the harder soile the finest heads. But in mine opinion, the most fertile soile doth bring forth the proudest nature, as we may see by the Campanians, who (as Cicero also saith) had *Penes eos ipsum domicilium superbiæ.* But nether of these opinions do iustlie take hold of vs, yet hath it pleased the writers to fate their pleasures of vs. And for that we dwell northward, we are commonlie taken by the forren historiographers, to be men of great strength and little policie, much courage and small shift, because of the weake abode of the sunne with vs, whereby our braines are not made hot and warmed, as Pachymerus noteth lib. 3: affirming further, that the people inhabiting in the north parts are white of colour, blockish vnciuill, fierce and warlike, which qualities increase, as they come nerer vnto the pole; whereas the contrarie pole giueth contrarie gifts, blacknesse wisdome, ciuilitie, weakenesse, and cowardise, thus saith he. But alas, how farre from probabilitie or as if there were not one and the same conclusion to be made of the constitutions of their bodies, which dwell vnder both the poles. For in truth his assertion holdeth onelie in their persons that inhabit neere vnto and vnder the equinoctiall. As for the small tarriance of the sunne with vs, it is also confuted by the length of

*Non vi ſed virtute, non armis ſed ingenio vincimur Angli.*

of our daies. Wherefore his reaſon ſeemeth better to vphold that of Alexander ab Alexandro afore alledged, than to proue that we want wit, bicauſe our brains are not warmed by the tartance of the ſunne. And thus alſo doth Comineus burden vs after a ſort in his hiſtorie, and after him Bodinus. But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countriemen, if it may be called wit, could neuer compaſſe to do ſo much in Britaine, as the ſtrength and courage of our Engliſhmen (not without great wiſedome and forecaſt) haue brought to paſſe in France. The Galles in time paſt contemned the Romans (ſaith Cæſar) bicauſe of the ſmalneſſe of their ſtature: howbeit, for all their greatneſſe (ſaith he) and at the firſt brunt in the warres, they ſhew themſelues to be but fæble, neither is their courage of any force to ſtand in great calamities. Certes in accuſing our wiſedome in this ſort, he doth (in mine opinion) increaſe our commendation. For if it be a vertue to deale vprightlie with ſingleneſſe of mind, ſincerelie and plainlie, without anie ſuch ſuſpicious fetches in all our dealings, as they commonlie practiſe in all their affaires, then are our countrimen to be accompted wiſe and vertuous. But if it be a vice to colour craftineſſe, ſubtile practiſes, doubleneſſe, and hollow behauiour, with a cloake of policie, amitie and wiſedome: then are Comineus and his countrimen to be reputed vicious, of whome this prouerbe hath of old time bæne vſed as an eare marke of their diſſimulation, *Galli ridendo fidem frangunt.*

How theſe latter points take hold in Italie, I meane not to diſcuſſe. How they are dailie practiſed in manie places of the maine, & he accompted moſt wiſe and politike, that can moſt of all diſſemble; here is no place iuſtlie to determine (neither would I wiſh my countrimen to learne anie ſuch wiſedome) but that a king of France could ſaie; *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*, or *viuere*, their owne hiſtories are teſtimonies ſufficient. Galen, the noble phyſician, tranſferring the forces of our naturall humors from the bodie to the mind, attributeth to the yellow colour, prudence; to the blacke, conſtancie; to bloud, mirth; to phlegme, courteſie: and which being mixed more or leſſe among themſelues, do yéeld an infinit varietie: by this means therefore it commeth to paſſe, that he whoſe nature inclineth generallie to phlegme, cannot but be courteous: which ioined with ſtrength of bodie, and ſinceritie of behauiour (qualities vniuerſallie granted to remaine ſo well in our nation, as other inhabitants of the north) I cannot ſee what may be an hinderance why I ſhould not rather conclude, that the Britons do excell ſuch as dwell in the hoter countries, than for want of craft and ſubtilties to come anie whit behind them. It is but vanitie alſo for ſome to note vs (as I haue often heard in common table talke) as barbarous, bicauſe we ſo little regard the ſhedding of our bloud, and rather tremble not when we ſée the liquor of life to go from vs (I vſe their owne words.) Certes if we be barbarous in their eies, bicauſe we be rather inflamed than appalled at our wounds, then are thoſe obiectors flat cowards in our iudgement: ſith we thinke it a great péece of manhood to ſtand to our tackling, vntill the laſt drop, as men that may ſpare much bicauſe we haue much: whereas they hauing leſſe are afraid to loſe that little which they haue: as Frontinus alſo noteth. As for that which the French write of their owne manhood in their hiſtories, I make little accompt of it: for I am of the opinion, that an Italian writing of his credit; A papiſt intreating of religion, a Spaniard of his méekeneſſe, or a Scot of his manhood, is not to be builded on; no more is a Frenchman to be truſted in the report of his owne affaires, wherein he doth either diſſemble or exceed, which is a foule vice in ſuch as profeſſe to deale vprightlie. Neither are we ſo hard to ſtrangers as Horace would ſéeme to make vs, ſith we loue them ſo long as they abuſe vs not, & make accompt of them ſo far forth as they deſpiſe vs not. And this is generallie to be verified, in that they vſe our priuileges and commodities for diet, apparell and trade of gaine, in ſo ample manner as we our ſelues enioy them: which is not lawfull for vs to do in their countries, where no ſtranger is ſuffered to haue worke, if an home-borne be without. But to proceed with our purpoſe.

With vs, although our good men care not to liue long, but to liue well, ſome do liue an hundred yéers, verie manie vnto foure ſcore: as for three ſcore, it is taken but for our entrance into age, ſo that in Britaine no man is ſaid to war old till he draw vnto three ſcore, at which time God ſpéed you well commeth in place; as Epaminondas ſometime ſaid in mirth, affirming that vntill thirtie yeares of age, You are welcome is the beſt ſalutation; and from thence to three ſcore, God kéepe you; but after three ſcore, it is beſt to ſaie, God ſpéed you well: for at that time we begin to grow toward our iournies end, whereon manie a one haue verie good leaue to go. Theſe two are alſo noted in vs (as things apperteining to the firme conſtitutions of our bodies) that there hath not béene ſéene in anie region ſo manie carcaſſes of the dead to remaine from time to time without corruption as in Britaine: and that after death by ſlaughter or otherwiſe, ſuch as remaine vnburied by foure or fiue daies togither, are eaſie to be knowne and diſcerned by their frends and kindred; whereas Tacitus and other complaine of ſundrie nations, ſaieng, that their bodies are *Tam fluidæ ſubſtantiæ*, that within certeine houres the wife ſhall hardlie know hir huſband, the mother hir ſonne, or one frend another after their liues be ended. In like ſort the comelineſſe of our liuing bodies do continue from midle age (for the moſt) euen to the laſt gaſpe, ſpeciallie in mankind. And albeit that our women through bearing of children do after fortie begin to wrinkle apace, yet are they not commonlie ſo wretched and hard fauoured to looke vpon in their age, as the French women, and diuerſe of other countries with whom their men alſo do much participate; and thereto be ſo often waiward and peeuiſh, that nothing in maner may content them.

I might here adde ſomewhat alſo of the meane ſtature generallie of our women, whoſe beautie commonlie exceedeth the faireſt of thoſe of the maine, their comlineſſe of perſon and good proportion of limmes, moſt of theirs that come ouer vnto vs from beyond the ſeas. This neuertheleſſe I vtterlie miſlike in the poorer ſort of them, for the wealthier do ſildome offend herein: that being of themſelues without competent wit, they are ſo careleſſe in the education of their children (wherein their huſbands alſo are to be blamed) by means whereof verie manie of them neither fearing God, neither regarding either maners or obedience, do oftentimes come to confuſion, which (if anie correction or diſcipline had bæne vſed toward them in youth) might haue proued good members of their common-wealth & countrie, by their good ſeruice and induſtrie. I could make report likewiſe of the naturall vices and vertues of all thoſe that are borne within this Iland, but as the full tractation herof craueth a better head than mine to ſet forth the ſame, ſo will I giue place to other men that liſt to take it in hand. Thus much therefore of the conſtitutions of our bodies: and ſo much may ſuffice.

## How Britaine at the firſt grew to be *diuided into three portions.*

Cap. 21.

AFter the comming of Brutus into this Iland (which was, as you haue read in the foreſaid treatiſe, about the yeare of the world, 2850, or 1217 before the incarnation of Chriſt, although Goropius after his maner dooth vtterlie denie our hiſtorie in this behalfe) he made a generall ſurueie of the whole Iland from ſide to ſide, by ſuch means to view and ſearch out not onelie the limits and bounds of his dominions, but alſo what commodities this new atchiued conqueſt might yéeld vnto his people. Furthermore, finding out at the laſt alſo a conuenable place wherin to erect a citie, he began there euen the verie ſame which at this daie is called London, naming it Trenouanton, in remembrance of old Troie, from whence his anceſtors proceeded, and for which the Romans pronounced afterward Trinobantum, although the Welſhmen doo call it ſtill Trenewith. This citie was builded (as ſome write) much about the tenth yeare of his reigne, ſo that he liued not aboue fiftéene yeares after he had finiſhed the ſame. But of the reſt of his other acts attempted and donne, before or after the erection of this citie, I find no certeine report, more than that when he had reigned in this Iland after his arriuall by the ſpace of foure and twentie yeares, he finiſhed his daies at Trenouanton aforeſaid, being in his yong and flouriſhing age, where his carcaſe was honourablie interred. As for the maner of his death, I find as yet no mention thereof among ſuch writers as are extant; I meane whether it grew vnto him by defect of nature, or force of gréeuous wounds receiued in his warres againſt ſuch as withſtood him from time to time in this Iland, and therefore I can ſaie nothing of that matter. Herein onelie all agree, that during the time of his languiſhing paines, he made a diſpoſition of his whole kingdome, diuiding it into three parts or portions, according to the number of his ſonnes then liuing, whereof the eldeſt exceeded not eight and twentie yeares of age, as my coniecture giueth me.

Locrine. Lhoegria.

To the eldeſt therefore, whoſe name was Locrine, he gaue the greateſt and beſt region of all the reſt, which of him to this date is called Lhoegres among the Britons, but in our language England: of ſuch Engliſh Saxons as made conqueſt of the ſame. This portion alſo is included on the ſouth with the Britiſh ſea, on the eſt with the Germane Ocean, on the north with the Humber, and on the weſt with the Iriſh ſea, and the riuers Dee and Sauerne, whereof in the generall deſcription of this Iland I haue ſpoken more at large. To Camber his ſecond ſonne he aſſigned all that lieth beyond the Sauerne and Dée, toward the weſt (which parcell in theſe daies conteineth Southwales and Northwales) with ſundrie Ilands adiacent to the ſame, the whole being in maner cut off and ſeparated from England or Lhoegria by the ſaid ſtreams, whereby it ſéemeth alſo a peninſula or by-land, if you reſpect the ſmall hillie portion of ground that lieth indifferentlie betweene their maine courſes, or ſuch branches (at the leaſt) as run and fall into them. The Welſhmen or Britons call it by the ancient name ſtill vnto this day, but we Engliſhmen terme it Wales: which denomination we haue from the Saxons, who in time paſt did vſe the word Walſh in ſuch ſort as we doo Strange: for as we call all thoſe ſtrangers that are not of our nation, ſo did they name them Walſh which were not of their countrie.

Camber. Cambria.

The third and laſt part of the Iland he allotted vnto Albanact his yongeſt ſonne (for he had but three in all, as I haue ſaid before) whoſe portion ſéemed for circuit to be more large than that of Camber, and in maner equall in greatneſſe with the dominions of Locrinus. But if you haue regard to the ſeuerall commodities that are to be reaped by each, you ſhall find them to be not much diſcrepant or differing one from another: for what ſoeuer the firſt & ſecond haue in plentie of corne, fine graſſe, and large cattell, this latter wanteth not in exceeding ſtore of fiſh, rich mettall, quarries of ſtone, and abundance of wild foule: ſo that in mine opinion, there could not be a more equall partition than this made by Brute, and after the aforeſaid maner. This later parcell at the firſt, toke the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. But now a ſmall portion onelie of the region (being vnder the regiment of a duke) reteineth the ſaid denomination, the reſt being called Scotland, of certeine Scots that came ouer from Ireland to inhabit in thoſe quarters. It is diuided from Lhoegres also by the Solue and the Firth, yet ſome doo note the Humber; ſo that Albania (as Brute left it) conteined all the north part of the Iland that is to be found beyond the aforeſaid ſtreame, vnto the point of Cathneſſe.

Albanact. Albania.

To conclude, Brute hauing diuided his kingdome after this maner, and therein contenting himſelfe as it were with the generall title of the whole, it was not long after yer he ended his life; and being ſolemnelie interred at his new citie by his three children, they parted each from other, and toke poſſeſſion of their prouinces. But Scotland after two yeares fell againe into the hands of Locrinus as to the chiefe lord, by the death of his brother Albanact, who was ſlaine by Humber king of the Scithians, and left none iſſue behind him to ſuccéed him in that kingdome.

Locrine king alſo of Scotland.

## After what maner the ſouereigntie *of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes* of Lhoegres or kings of England.

Chap. 22.

IT is poſſible that ſome of the Scotiſh nation, reading the former chapter, will take offenſe with me for meaning that the principalitie of the north parts of this Ile hath alwais belonged to the kings of Lhoegres. For whoſe more ample ſatisfaction in this behalfe, I will here ſet downe a diſcourſe thereof at large, written by diuerſe, and now finallie brought into one treatiſe, ſufficient (as I thinke) to ſatiſfie the reaſonable, although not halfe enough peraduenture to content a wrangling mind, ſith there is (or at the leaſt wiſe hath beene) nothing more odious among ſome, than to heare that the king of England hath ought to doo in Scotland.

The Scots alwaies deſirous to ſhake off the Engliſh ſubiection, haue often made cruell & odious attempts ſo to doo, but in vaine.

How their hiſtoriographers haue attempted to shape manie coloured excuſes to auoid ſo manifeſt a title, all men may ſée that read their bookes indifferentlie, whereunto I referre them. For my part there is little or nothing of mine herein, more than onelie the collection and abridgement of a number of fragments togither, wherein chéeflie I haue vſed the helpe of Nicholas Adams a lawier, who wrote thereof

thereof (of ſet purpoſe) to king Edward the firſt, as Leland did the like to king Henrie the eight, Iohn Harding vnto Edward the fourth; beſide three other, whereof the firſt dedicated his treatiſe to Henrie the fourth, the ſecond to Edward the third, and the third to Edward the firſt, as their writings yet extant do abundantlie beare witneſſe. The title alſo that Leland giueth his booke, which I haue had written with
" his owne hand, beginneth in this maner: Theſe re-
" membrances following are found in chronicles au-
" thoriſed, remaining in diuerſe monaſteries both in
" England and Scotland, by which it is euidentlie
" knowne and ſhewed, that the kings of England
" haue had, and now ought to haue the ſouereigntie
" ouer all Scotland, with the homage and fealtie of the
" kings there reigning from time to time, &c. Hereun-
to you haue heard alreadie, what diuiſion Brute made of this Iland not long before his death, whereof each of his children, ſo ſone as he was interred, toke ſeiſure and poſſeſſion. Howbeit, after two yeares it happened that Albanact was ſlaine, whereupon Locrinus and Camber raiſing their powers, reuenged his death: and finallie the ſaid Locrinus made an entrance vpon Albania, ſeized it into his owne hands (as eſcheated wholie vnto himſelfe) without yelding anie part thereof vnto his brother Camber, who made no claime nor title vnto anie portion of the ſame. Hereby then (ſaith Adams) it euidentlie appeareth, that the entire ſeignioric ouer Albania conſiſted in Locrinus, according to which example like law among brethren euer ſince hath continued, in preferring the eldeſt brother to the onelie benefit of the collaterall aſcenſion from the youngeſt, as well in Scotland as in England vnto this date.

Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locrine, that is to ſaie, the ſonne of Mempris, ſonne of Madan, ſonne of the ſame Locrine builded in Albania the caſtell of Maidens, now called Edenborough (ſo called of Aidan ſometime king of Scotland, but at the firſt named Cair Pinid Agnes. 1. the caſtell on mount Agnes, and the caſtell of virgins) and the caſtell of Alcluith or Alclude, now called Dunbriton, as the Scotiſh Hector Boetius confeſſeth: whereby it moſt euidentlie appeareth, that our Ebranke was then thereof ſeized. This Ebranke reigned in the ſaid ſtate ouer them a long time; after whoſe death Albania (as annexed to the empire of Britaine) deſcended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill the time of the two ſiſters ſonnes, Morgan and Conedage, lineall heires from the ſaid Ebranke, who brotherlie at the firſt diuided the realme betweene them; ſo that Morgan had Lhoegres, and Conedage had Albania. But ſhortlie after Morgan the elder brother, pondering in his head the loue of his brother with the affection to a kingdome, excluded nature, and gaue place to ambition, and therevpon denouncing warre, death miſerablie ended his life (as the reward of his vntruth) whereby Conedage obteined the whole empire of all Britaine: in which ſtate he remained during his naturall life.

From him the ſame lineallie deſcended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill (and after) the reigne of Gorbodian, who had iſſue two ſonnes, Ferrer, and Porrex. This Porrex, requiring like diuiſion of the land, affirming the former partitions to be rather of law than fauor, was by the hands of his elder brother (beſt loued of queene mother) both of his life and hoped kingdome bereaued at once. Whereupon their vnnaturall mother, vſing hir naturall malice for the death of hir one ſonne (without regard of the loſing of both) miſerablie ſlue the other in his bed miſtruſting no ſuch treaſon.

Cloten, by all writers, as well Scotiſh as other, was the next inheritour to the whole empire: but lacking power (the onelie meane in thoſe daies to obteine right) he was contented to diuide the ſame among foure of his kinſmen; ſo that Scater had Albania. But after the death of this Cloten, his ſonne Dunwallo Mulmutius made warre vpon theſe foure kings, and at laſt ouercame them, and ſo recouered the whole dominion. In token of which victorie, he cauſed himſelfe to be crowned with a crowne of gold, the verie firſt of that mettall (if anie at all were before in vſe) that was worne among the kings of this nation. This Dunwallo erected temples, wherein the people ſhould aſſemble for praier; to which temples he gaue benefit of ſanctuarie. He made the law for wager of battell, in caſes of murder and felonie, whereby a theefe that liued and made his art of fighting, ſhould for his purgation fight with the true man whom he had robbed, beleeuing aſſuredlie, that the gods (for then they ſuppoſed manie) would by miracle aſſigne victorie to none but the innocent partie. Certes the priuileges of this law, and benefit of the latter, as well in Scotland as in England, be inioied to this date, few cauſes by late poſitiue laws among vs excepted, wherin the benefit of wager of battell is reſtreined. By which obedience to his lawes, it doth manifeſtlie appeare, that this Dunwallo was then ſeized of Albania, now called Scotland. This Dunwallo reigned in this eſtate ouer them manie yeares.

Beline and Brenne the ſonnes alſo of Dunwallo, did after their fathers death fauourablie diuide the land betweene them; ſo that Beline had Lhoegres, & Brenne had Albania: but for that this Brenne (a ſubiect) without the conſent of his elder brother and lord, aduentured to marrie with the daughter of the king of Denmarke; Beline ſeized Albania into his owne hands, and therevpon cauſed the notable waies priuileged by Dunwallons lawes to be newlie wrought by mens hands, which for the length ertended from the further part of Cornewall, vnto the ſea by north Cathneſſe in Scotland. In like ſort to and for the better maintenance of religion in thoſe daies, he conſtituted miniſters called archflamines, in ſundrie places of this Iland (who in their ſeuerall functions reſembled the biſhops of our times) the one of which remained at Ebranke now called Yorke, and the whole region Caerbrantonica (whereof Ptolomie alſo ſpeaketh but not without wreſting of the name) whoſe power ertended to the vttermoſt bounds of Albania, wherby likewiſe appeareth that it was then within his owne dominion. After his death the whole Ile was inioied by the onelie kings of Britaine, vntill the time of Vigenius & Peridurus lineall heires from the ſaid Beline, who fauourablie made partition, ſo that Vigenius had all the land from Humber by ſouth, and Peridurus from thence northwards all Albania, &c. This Vigenius died, and Peridurus ſuruiued, and thereby obteined the whole, from whom the ſame quietlie deſcended, and was by his poſteritie accordinglie inioied, vntill the reigne of Coell the firſt of that name. In his time an obſcure nation (by moſt writers ſuppoſed Scithians) paſſed by ſeas from Ireland, and arriued in that part of Britaine called Albania: againſt whome this Coell aſſembled his power, and being entred Albania to expell them, one Fergus in the night diſguiſed, entered the tent of this Coell, and in his bed traitorouſlie ſlue him.

This Fergus was therfore, in reward of his great prowelle, made there king, whervpon they ſat downe in that part, with their wiues and children, and called it Scotland, and themſelues Scots: from the beginning of the world, foure thouſand ſir hundred and ſeauentéene yeares after the Scotiſh accompt, which by iuſt computation and confeſſion of all their owne writers, is ſir hundred yeares lacking ten, after that

Brutus

Brutus had reigned ouer the whole Iland, the same land being intoied by him and his posteritie before their comming, during two and fiftie descents of the kings of Britaine, which is a large prescription. Certes this intrusion into a land so manie hundred yeares before inhabited, and by so manie descents of kings quietlie intoied, is the best title that all their owne writers can alledge for them. But to proceed. Fergus hereupon immediatlie did diuide Albania also among his capteins and their souldiers: whereby it most euidentlie appeareth, that there were no people of that nation inhabiting there before, in proofe whereof the same partition shall follow.

Out of Hector Boecius lib. 1.

The lands of Cathnes lieng against Orkneie, betweene Dummesbeie and the water of Thane, was giuen vnto one Cornath, a capteine and his people. The lands betweene the water of Thane & Nes, now called Rosse, being in bredth from Cromart to the mouth of the water of Locht, were giuen to Lutorke, another capteine and his people. The lands betweene Spaie and Nes, from the Almane seas to the Ireland seas, now called Murraie land, were giuen to one Warroch and his people. The land of Thalia, now called Boin Ainze, Bogewall, Gariot, Formartine, and Bowguban, were giuen to one Thalis and his people. The lands of Mar Badezenoch, and Lochquhaber, were giuen to Martach and his people. The lands of Lorne and Kintier, with the hilles and mounteins thereof, lieng from Mar to the Ireland seas, were giuen to capteine Nanance and his people. The lands of Athole were giuen to Atholus, another capteine and his people. The lands of Strabraun, & Brawdawane lieng west from Dunkell, were giuen to Creones & Epidithes two capteins. The lands of Argile, were giuen to Argathelus a capteine. The lands of Linnor & Clidisdale were allotted to Loigona a capteine. The lands of Siluria now called Kile, Carrike & Cuningham, were giuen to Silurth another capteine. The lands of Brigance now called Gallowaie, were giuen to the companie called Brigandes, which (as their best men) were appointed to dwell next the Britons, who afterward expelled the Britons from Annandale in Albanie, whereby it is confessed to be before inhabited by Britons. The residue of the land now called Scotland, that is to saie: Peirnis, Angus, Steremond, Gowrie, Strahern, Pirth, Fife, Striueling, Callender, Calderwod, Lougthian, Mers, Teuedale, with other the rement Dales, and the Sheriffdome, of Berwicke, were then enioied by a nation mingled in marriage with the Britons, and in their obedience, whose capteine called Beringer builded the castell and towne of Berwicke vpon Twede, & these people were called Picts, vpon whome by the death of this Coell, these Scots had opportunitie to vse wars, whereof they ceased not, vntill such time as it pleased God to appoint another Coell king of Britons, against whose name, albeit they hoped for a like victorie to the first, yet he preuailed and ceased not his warre, vntill these Scots were vtterlie expelled out of all the bounds of Britaine, in which they neuer dared to reenter, vntill the troublesome reigne of Sicill king of Britons, which was the twelft king after this Coell. During all which time the countrie was reinhabited by the Britons. But then the Scots turning the ciuill discord of this realme, betweene this Sicill and his brother Blede to their best aduantage, arriued againe in Albania, & there made one Reuther their king.

Berouicum potiùs à Berubio promontorio.

Upon this their new arriuall, new warre was made vpon them by this Sicill king of Britons, in which warre Reuther their new king died, and Thereus succeeded, against whome the warre of Britons ceased not, vntill he frelie submitted himselfe to the said Sicill king of Britons at Ebranke, that is Yorke, where shortlie after the tenth yeare of his reigne he died. Finnane brother of Iosine succeeded by their election to the kingdome of Scots, who shortlie after (compelled by the warres of the same Sicill) declared himselfe subiect, and for the better assurance of his faith and obeisance to the king of Britons, deliuered his sonne Durstus into the hands of this Sicill: who fantasieng the child, and hoping by his owne succession to alter their subtiltie (I will not saie duplicitie saith Adams) married him in the end to Agasia his owne daughter.

This Durstus was their next king; but for that he had married a Briton woman, (though indeed she was a kings daughter) the Scots hated him for the same cause, for which they ought rather to haue liked him the better, and therefore not onelie traitorouslie slue him; but further to declare the end of their malice, dishinherited (as much as in them was) the issues of the same Durstus and Agasia. Hereupon new warre sprong betweene them and vs, which ceased not vntill they were contented to receiue Edeir to their king, the next in bloud then liuing, descended from Durstus and Agasia, and thereby the bloud of the Britons, of the part of the mother, was restored to the crowne of Albania: so that nature, whose law is immutable, caused this bond of loue to hold. For shortlie after this Edeir attended vpon Cassibelane king of Britons, for the repulse of Iulius Cæsar, as their owne author Boetius confesseth, who commanded the same as his subiect. But Iulius Cæsar, after his third arriuall, by treason of Androgeus preuailed against the Britons, and thereupon pursued this Edeir into Scotland; and (as himselfe saith in his commentaries) subdued all the Ile of Britaine. Which though the liuing Scots denie it, their dead writers confesse that he came beyond Calender wood, and cast downe Camelon, the principall citie of Picts. And in token of this victorie, not farre from Carron, builded a round temple of stone, which remained in some perfection vntill the reigne of our king Edward called the first after the conquest, by whome it was subuerted: but the monument thereof remaineth to this daie.

Marius the sonne of Aruiragus, being king of all Britaine, in his time one Roderike a Scithian, with a great rabble of nædie souldiours, came to the water of Frith in Scotland, which is an arme of the sea, diuiding Pentland from Fife: against whome this Marius assembled a power, by which he slue this Rodericke, and discomfited his people in Westmerland: but to those that remained aliue, he gaue the countrie of Cathnesse in Scotland, which proueth it to be within his owne dominion.

Coell the sonne of this Marius had issue Lucius, counted the first christian king of this nation: he conuerted the three archflamines of this land into bishoprikes, and ordeined bishops vnto ech of them. The first remained at London, and his power extended from the furthest part of Cornewall to Humber water. The second remained at Yorke, and his power stretched from Humber to the furthest part of all Scotland. The third remained at Caerleon vpon the riuer of Wiske in Glamorgan in Wales, & his power extended from Seuerne through all Wales. Some write that he made but two, and turned their names to archbishops, the one to remaine at Canturburie, the other at Yorke: yet they confesse that he of Yorke had iurisdiction through all Scotland: either of which is sufficient to proue Scotland to be then vnder his dominion.

Seuerus, by birth a Romane, but in bloud a Briton (as some thinke) and the lineall heire of the bodie

bodie of Androgeus sonne of Lud, & nephue of Cassibelane, was shortlie after emperour & king of Britons, in whose time the people to whom his ancester Marius gaue the land of Cathnesse in Scotland, conspired with the Scots, & receiued them from the Iles into Scotland. But herevpon this Seuerus came into Scotland, and meeting with their faith and false harts togither, droue them all out of the maine land into Iles, the vttermost bounds of all great Britaine. But notwithstanding this glorious victorie, the Britons considering their seruitude to the Romans, imposed by treason of Androgeus, ancestor to this Seuerus, began to hate him, whome yet they had no time to loue, and who in their defense and suertie had slaine of the Scots and their confederats in one battell thirtie thousand: but such was the consideration of the common sort in those daies, whose malice no time could diminish, nor iust desert appease.

Bassianus. Antoninus Bassianus borne of a Briton woman, and Geta borne by a Romane woman, were the sonnes of this Seuerus, who after the death of their father, by the contrarie voices of their people, contended for the crowne. Few Britons held with Bassianus, fewer Romans with Geta: but the greater number with neither of both. In the end Geta was slaine, and Bassianus remained emperour, against whom Carautius rebelled, who gaue vnto the Scots, Picts, and Scithians, the countrie of Cathnesse in Scotland, which they afterward inhabited, whereby his seison thereof appeareth.

Coill. Coill, descended of the bloud of the ancient kings of this land, was shortlie after king of the Britons, whose onelie daughter and heire called Helen, was married vnto Constantius a Romane, who daunted the rebellion of all parts of great Britaine; and after the death of this Coill was in the right of his wife king thereof, and reigned in his state ouer them thirteene or foureteene yeares.

Constantine. Constantine the sonne of this Constance, and Helen, was nert king of Britons, by the right of his mother, who passing to Rome to receiue the empire therof, deputed one Octauius king of Wales, and duke of the Gewilles (which some expound to be afterward called west Sarons) to haue the gouernment of this dominion. But abusing the kings innocent goodnesse, this Octauius defrauded this trust, and toke vpon him the crowne. For which traitorie albeit he was once vanquished by Leonine Traheron, great vncle to Constantine: yet after the death of this Traheron, he preuailed againe, and vsurped ouer all Britaine. Constantine being now emperor sent Maximus his kinsman hither (in processe of time) to destroie the same Octauius, who in singular battell discomfited him. Wherevpon this Maximus, as well by the consent of great Constantine, as by the election of all the Britons, for that he was a Briton in bloud, was made king or rather vicegerent of Britaine. This Maximus made warre vpon the Scots and Scithians within Britaine, and ceassed not vntill he had slaine Eugenius their king, and expelled and driuen them out of the whole limits and bounds of Britaine. Finallie he inhabited all Scotland with Britons, no man, woman, nor child of the Scotish nation suffered to remaine within it, which (as their Hector Boetius saith) was for their rebellion; and rebellion properlie could it not be, except they had beene subiects. He suffered the Picts also to remaine his subiects, who made solemne othes to him, neuer after to erect anie peculiar king of their owne nation, but to remaine vnder the old empire of the onelie king of Britaine. I had once an epistle by Leland exemplified (as he saith) out of a verie ancient record which bea-

reth title of Helena vnto hir sonne Constantine, and entreth after this manner; *Domino semper Augusto filio Constantino, mater Helena semper Augusta, &c.* And now it repenteth me that I did not exemplifie and conueigh it into this treatise whilest I had his books. For thereby I might haue had great light for the estate of this present discourse: but as then I had no mind to haue trauelled in this matter; neuertheless, if hereafter it come againe to light I would wish it were reserued. It followeth on also in this maner (as it is translated out of the Greeke) *Veritatem sapientis animus non recusat, nec fides recta aliquando patitur quamcunque iac-turam, &c.*

About fiue and fourtie yeares after this (which was long time after the death of this Maximus) with the helpe of Gouan or Gonan and Helga, the Scots newlie arriued in Albania, and there created one Fergus the second of that name to be there king. But bicause they were before banished the continent land, they crowned him king on their aduenture in Argile, in the fatall chaire of marble, the yeere of our Lord, foure hundred and two and twentie, as they themselues do write.

Maximian. Maximian sonne of Leonine Traheron, brother to king Coill, and vncle to Helene, was by lineall succession nert king of Britons: but to appease the malice of Dionothus king of Wales, who also claimed the kingdome, he maried Othilia eldest daughter of Dionothus, and afterwards assembled a great power of Britons, and entered Albania, inuading Gallowaie, Mers, Annandale, Pentland, Carrike, Kill, and Cuningham, and in battell slue both this Fergus then king of Scots, and Durstus the king of Picts, and exiled all their people out of the continent land: wherevpon the few number of Scots then remaining a liue, went to Argile, and there made Eugenius their king. When this Maximian had thus obteined quietnesse in Britaine, he departed with his cousine Conan Meridocke into Armorica, where they subdued the king, and depopulated the countrie, which he gaue to Conan his cousine, to be afterward inhabited by Britons, by the name of Britaine the lesse: and hereof this realme toke name of Britaine the great, which name by consent of forren writers it kæpeth vnto this date.

After the death of Maximian, dissention being moued betweene the nobles of Britaine, the Scots swarmed togither againe, and came to the wall of Adrian, where (this realme being diuided in manie factions) they ouercame one. And herevpon their Hector Boetius (as an hen that for laieng of one eg, will make a great cakeling) solemnlie triumphing for a conquest before the victorie, alledgeth that hereby the Britons were made tributaries to the Scots, and yet he confesseth that they won no more land, by that supposed conquest, but the same portion betweene them and Humber, which in the old partitions before was annexed to Albania. It is hard to be beleeued, that such a broken nation as the Scots at that time were, returning from banishment within foure yeares before, and since in battell losing both their kings, and the great number of their best men, to be thus able to make a conquest of great Britaine; and verie vnlikelie if they had conquered it, they would haue left the hot sunne of the south parts, to dwell in the cold snow in Scotland. Incredible it is, that if they had conquered it, they would not haue deputed officers in it, as in cases of conquest behoueth. And it is beyond all beliefe, that great Britaine, or any other countrie, should be won without the comming of anie enimie into it: as they did not, but taried finallie at the same wall of Adrian, whereof I spake before.

But what need I speake of these defenses, when

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the same Boecius scantlie trusteth his owne belicfe in this tale. For he saieth that Galfride, and sundrie other authentike writers, diuerslie varie from this part of his storie, wherein his owne thought accuseth his conscience of vntruth: herein also he further forgetting how it behoueth a lier to be mindfull of his assertion, in the fourth chapter next following, wholie bewraieth himselfe, saieng that the confederat kings of Scots and Picts, vpon ciuill warres betweene the Britons (which then followed) hoped shortlie to inioie all the land of great Britaine, from beyond Humber vnto the fresh sea, which hope had bene vaine, and not lesse than void, if it had béene their owne by anie conquest before.

Constantine of Britaine, descended from Conan king thereof, cousine of Brutes blood to this Parimian, and his nerest heire was next king of Britaine, he immediatlie pursued the Scots with wars, and shortlie in battell slue their king Dongard, in the first yeare of his reigne, whereby he recouered Scotland out of their hands, and tooke all the holdes thereof into his owne possessions. Vortiger shortlie after obteined the crowne of Britaine, against whom the Scots newlie rebelled: for the repressing whereof (mistrusting the Britons to hate him for sundrie causes, as one that to auoid the smoke doth oft fall into the fire) receiued Hengest a Saxon, and a great number of his countriemen, with whom and a few Britons he entred Scotland & ouercame them, whereupon they tooke the Iles, which are their common refuge. He gaue also much of Scotland, as Gallowaie, Pentland, Mers and Annandale, with sundrie other lands to this Hengest and his people to inhabit, which they did accordinglie inioie. But when this Hengest in processe of time thirsted after the whole kingdome of the south, he was banished, and yet afterward being restored, he conspired with the Scots against Aurilambrose the sonne of Constantine, the iust inheritor of this whole dominion. But his vntruth and theirs were both recompensed togither, for he was taken prisoner by Eldulph de Samor a noble man of Britaine, and his head for his traitorie striken off at the commandement of Aurilambrose. In the field the Scots were vanquished: but Octa the sonne of Hengest was receiued to mercie, to whome and his people this Aurilambrose gaue the countrie of Gallowaie in Scotland, for which they became his subiects. And hereby appeareth that Scotland was then againe reduced into his hands.

Some thinke the Seimors to come from this man by lineall descent and I suppose no lesse.

Uter called also Pendragon, brother to Aurilambrose was next king of the Britons, against whome, these sworne Saxons now forsworne subiects (confederate with the Scots) newlie rebelled: but by his power assembled against them in Gallowaie in Scotland, they were discomfited, & Albania againe recouered vnto his subiection. Arthur the sonne of of this Uter, begotten before the mariage, but lawfullie borne in matrimonie, succéded next to the crowne of great Britaine; whose noble acts, though manie vulgar fables haue rather stained than commended: yet all the Scotish writers confesse, that he subdued great Britaine, and made it tributarie to him, and ouercame the Saxons then scattered as far as Cathnesse in Scotland: and in all these wars against them, he had the seruice and obeisance of Scots and Picts. But at the last setting their fét in the guilefull paths of their predecessors, they rebelled and besieged the citie of Yorke, Howell king of the lesse Britaine cousine to king Arthur being therein. But he with an host came thither and discomfited the Scots, chased them into a marsh, and besieged them there so long, that they were almost famished: vntill the bishops, abbats, and men of religion (for as much as they were christened people) besought him to take them to his mercie and grace, and to grant them a portion of the same countrie to dwell in vnder euerlasting subiection. Upon this he tooke them to his grace, homage and fealtie: and when they were sworne his subiects and liegemen, he ordeined his kinsman Anguisan to be their king and gouernour, Urian king of Iland, and Purefrence king of Orkeneie. He made an archbishop of Yorke also, whose authoritie extended through all Scotland.

Finallie, the said Arthur holding his roiall feast at Caerleon, had there all the kings that were subiects vnto him, among which, Anguisan the said king of Scots did his due seruice and homage, so long as he was with him for the realme of Scotland, & bare king Arthurs sword afore him. Malgo shortlie after succéded in the whole kingdome of great Britaine, who vpon new resistance made, subdued Ireland, Iland, the Orchads, Norwaie and Denmarke, and made Ethelfred a Saxon king of Bernicia, that is, Northumberland, Louthian, and much other land of Scotland, which Ethelfred by the sword obteined at the hands of the wilfull inhabitants, and continued true subiect to this Malgo.

Cadwan succéded in the kingdome of great Britaine, who in defense of his subiects the Scots, made warre vpon this Ethelfred, but at the last they agréed, and Cadwan vpon their rebellion gaue all Scotland vnto this Ethelfred, which he thereupon subdued and inioied: but afterward in the reigne of Cadwallo that next succeeded in great Britaine, he rebelled. Wherupon the same Cadwallo came into Scotland, and vpon his treason reseised the countrie into his owne hands, and hauing with him all the vicerois of the Saxons, which then inhabited here as his subiects, in singular battell he slue the same Ethelfred with his owne hands.

Oswald was shortlie after by Cadwallos gift made king of Bernicia, and he as subiect to Cadwallo, and by his commandement discomfited the Scots and Picts, and subdued all Scotland. Oswie the brother of this Oswald, was by the like gift of Cadwallo, made next king of Bernicia, and he by like commandement newlie subdued the Scots and Picts, and held them in that obeisance to this Cadwallo, during eight and twentie yeares. Thus Cadwallo reigned in the whole monarchie of great Britaine, hauing all the seuen kings thereof, as well Saxons as others his subiects: for albeit the number of Saxons from time to time greatlie increased, yet were they alwaies either at the first expelled, or else made tributarie to the onelie kings of Britons for the time being, as all their owne writers do confesse.

Cadwallader was next king of the whole great Britaine, he reigned twelue yeares ouer all the kings thereof, in great peace and tranquillitie: and then vpon the lamentable death of his subiects, which died of sundrie diseases innumerablie, he departed into little Britaine. His sonne and cousine Inor and Iue, being expelled out of England also by the Saxons, went into Wales, where among the Britons they and their posteritie remained princes. Upon this great alteration, and warres being through the whole dominion betweene the Britons and Saxons, the Scots thought time to slip the collar of obedience, and thereupon entred in league with Charles then king of France, establishing it in this wise.

1 The iniurie of Englishmen done to anie of these people, shall be perpetuallie holden common to them both.

2 When Frenchmen be inuaded by Englishmen, the Scots shall send their armie in defense of France, so that they be supported with monie and vittels

vittels by the French.

3 When Scots be inuaded by Englishmen, the Frenchmen shall come vpon their owne expenses, to their support and succour.

4 None of the people shall take peace or truce with Englishmen, without the aduise of other, &c.

Nicholas Adams.

Manie disputable opinions may be had of warre without the praising of it, as onlie admittable by inforced necessitie, and to be vsed for peace sake onelie, where here the Scots sought warre for the loue of warre onelie. For their league giueth no benefit to themselues, either in free traffike of their owne commodities, or benefit of the French, or other priuilege to the people of both. What discommoditie riseth by losing the intercourse and exchange of our commodities (being in necessaries more aboundant than France) the Scots feele, and we perfectlie know. What ruine of their townes, destruction of countries, slaughter of both peoples, haue by reason of this bloudie league chanced, the histories be lamentable to read, and horrible among christian men to be remembred: but God gaue the increase according to their seed, for as they did hereby sowe dissention, so did they shortlie after reape a bloudie slaughter and confusion. For Alpine their king, possessing a light mind that would be lost with a little wind, hoped by this league shortlie to subdue all great Britaine, and to that end not onelie rebelled in his owne kingdome, but also vsurped vpon the kingdome of Picts. Wherevpon Edwine king of England, made one Brudeus king of Picts, whom he sent into Scotland with a great power, where in battell he toke this Alpine king of Scots prisoner, and discomfited his people. And this Alpine being their king found subiect and rebell, his head was striken off at a place in Scotland, which thereof is to this daie called Pasalpine, that is to saie, the head of Alpine. And this was the first effect of their French league.

Osbright king of England, with Ella his subiect, and a great number of Britons and Saxons shortlie after, for that the Scots had of themselues elected a new king, entered Scotland, and ceassed not his war against them, vntill their king and people fled into the Iles, with whome at the last vpon their submission, peace was made in this wise.

The water of Frith shall be march betweene Scots and Englishmen in the east parts, and shall be named the Scotish sea.

The water of Cluide to Dunbriton, shall be march in the west parts betweene the Scots and Britons. This castell was before called Alcluide, but now Dunbriton, that is to say, the castle of Britons, and sometimes it was destroied by the Danes. So the Britons had all the lands from Sterling to the Ireland seas, and from the water of Frith & Cluide to Cumber, with all the strengths and commodities thereof: and the Englishmen had the lands betweene Sterling and Northumberland. Thus was Cluide march betweene the Scots and the Britons on the one side, and the water of Frith named the Scotish sea, march betweene them and Englishmen on the other side, and Sterling common march to three people, Britons, Englishmen, and Scots, howbeit king Osbright had the castle of Sterling, where first he caused to be coined Sterling monie. The Englishmen also builded a bridge of stone, for passage ouer the water of Frith, in the middest whereof they made a crosse, vnder which were written these verses:

I am free march, as passengers may ken,
To Scots, to Britons, and Englishmen.

Not manie yeares after this, Hinguar and Hubba, two Danes, with a great number of people, arriued in Scotland, and slue Constantine, whom Osbright had before made king: wherevpon Edwise or Ethelwulfe, then king of England, assembled his power against Hinguar and Hubba, and in one battell slue them both; but such of their people as would remaine and become christians, he suffered to tarie: the rest he banished or put to death, &c.

This Ethelwulfe granted the Peter pence, of which albeit Peter & Paule had little need and lesse right: yet the paiment thereof continued in this realme euer after vntill now of late yeares. But the Scots euer since vnto this daie haue, and yet do paie it, by reason of that grant, which prooueth them to be then vnder his obeisance.

Alured or Alfred succeeded in the kingdome of England, and reigned noblie ouer the whole monarchie of great Britaine: he made lawes, that persons excommunicated should be disabled to sue or claime anie propertie; which law Gregour, whome this Alured had made king of Scots, obeied; and the same law as well in Scotland as in England is holden to this daie, which also prooueth him to be high lord of Scotland.

This Alured constreined Gregour king of Scots also to breake the league with France, for generallie he concluded with him, and serued him in all his warres, as well against Danes as others, not reserving or making anie exception of the former league with France.

The said Alured, after the death of Gregour, had the like seruice and obeisance of Donald king of Scots with fiue thousand horsemen, against one Gurmond a Dane that then infested the realme, and this Donald died in this faith and obeisance with Alured.

Edward the first of that name called Chifod sonne of this Alured succeeded his father, and was the next king of England: against whome Sithric a Dane and the Scots conspired; but they were subdued, and Constantine their king brought to obeisance. He held the realme of Scotland also of king Edward, and this doth Marian their owne countrieman a Scot confesse: beside Roger Houeden, and William of Malmesberie.

In the yeare of our Lord 923, the same king Edward was president and gouernour of all the people of England, Cumberland, Scots, Danes, and Britons.

King Athelstane in like sort conquered Scotland, and as he laie in his tents beside Yorke, whilest the warres lasted, the king of Scots feined himselfe to be a minstrell, and harped before him onelie to espie his ordinance and his people. But being (as their writers confesse) corrupted with monie, he sold his faith and false heart together to the Danes, and aided them against king Athelstane at sundrie times. Howbeit he met with all their vntruthes at Brongingfield in the west countrie, as is mentioned in the ninth chapter of the first booke of this description, where he discomfited the Danes, and slue Malcolme deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scots: in which battell the Scots confesse themselues to haue lost more people than were remembred in anie age before. Then Athelstane following his good lucke, went throughout all Scotland and wholie subdued it, and being in possession thereof, gaue land there lieng in Annandale by his deed, the copie wherof doth follow:

I king Athelstane, giues vnto Paulam, Oddam and Roddam, als good and als faire, as euer they mine were, and thereto witnesse Mauld my wife.

By which course words, not onelie appeareth the plaine simplicitie of mens doings in those daies: but also a full proofe that he was then seized of Scotland. At the last also he receiued homage of Malcolme king of Scots: but for that he could not be re-

stored

ſtoꝛed to his whole kingdome, he entered into religion, and there ſhoꝛtlie after died.

Then Athelſtane, foꝛ his better aſſurance of that countrie there after, thought it beſt to haue two ſtringes to the bowe of their obedience, and therefoꝛe not onelie conſtituted one Malcolme to be their king, but alſo appointed one Indulph ſonne of Conſtantine the third, to be called pꝛince of Scotland, to whome he gaue much of Scotland: and foꝛ this Malcolme did homage to Athelſtane.

Edmund bꝛother of Athelſtane ſucceéded nert king of England, to whome this Indulph then king of Scots not onelie did homage, but alſo ſerued him with ten thouſand Scots, foꝛ the expulſion of the Danes out of the realme of England.

Some referre this to an Edward.

Edzed oꝛ Eldzed bꝛother to this Edmund ſucceéded nert king of England: he not onelie receiued the homage of Iriſe then king of Scots, but alſo the homage of all the barons of Scotland.

Edgar the ſonne of Edmund, bꝛother of Athelſtane, being now of full age, was nert king of England: he reigned onelie ouer the whole monarchie of Bꝛitaine, and receiued homage of Keneth king of Scots foꝛ the kingdome of Scotland, and made Malcolme pꝛince thereof.

This Edgar gaue vnto the ſame Keneth the countrie of Louthian in Scotland, which was befoꝛe ſeized into the hands of Oſbꝛight king of England foꝛ their rebellion, as is beforꝛe declared. He inioined Keneth their ſaid king alſo once in euerie yéere at certeine pꝛincipall feaſts (whereat the king did vſe to weare his crowne) to repaire vnto him into England foꝛ the making of lawes: which in thoſe daies was done by the noble men oꝛ péeres accoꝛding to the oꝛder of France at this daie. He alloweed alſo ſundꝛie lodgings in England, to him and his ſucceſſours, whereat to lie, and refreſh themſelues in their iourneies, whenſoeuer they ſhould come vp to dw their homages: and finallie a péece of ground lieng beſide the new palace of Weſtminſter, vpon which this Keneth builded a houſe, that by him and his poſteritie was inioied vntill the reigne of king Henrie the ſecond. In whoſe time, vpon the rebellion of William king of Scots, it was reſumed into the king of Englands hand. The houſe is decaied, but the ground where it ſtood is called Scotland to this daie.

Lawfull age and wardſhip of heires.

Moꝛeouer, Edgar made this law, that no man ſhould ſucceéd to his patrimonie oꝛ inheritance holden by knights ſeruice, vntill he accompliſhed the age of one and twentie yéeres: becauſe by intendment vnder that age, he ſhould not be able in perſon to ſerue his king and countrie accoꝛding to the tenoꝛ of his deed, and the condition of his purchaſe. This law was receiued by the ſame Keneth in Scotland; and as well there as in England is obſerued to this daie: which pꝛoueth alſo that Scotland was then vnder his obeiſance.

In the yeere of our Loꝛd 974, Kinald king of Scots, and Malcolme king of Cumberland, Macon king of Man and the Iles, Douenall king of South-wales, Siferth and Howell kings of the reſt of Wales, Jacob oꝛ James of Gallowaie, & Jukill of Weſtmerland did homage to king Edgar at Cheſter. And on the moꝛrow going by water to the monaſterie of ſaint Johns to ſeruice, and returning home againe: the ſaid Edgar ſitting in a barge, and ſtirring the ſame vpon the water of Dée, made the ſaid kings to row the barge, ſaieng that his ſucceſſoꝛs might well be ioifull to haue the pꝛerogatiue of ſo great honour, and the ſuperioꝛitie of ſo manie mightie pꝛinces to be ſubiect vnto their monarchie.

Edward, the ſonne of this Edgar, was nert king of England, in whoſe time this Keneth king of Scots cauſed Malcolme king of Scotland to be poiſoned. Whereꝛpon king Edward made warre againſt him, which ceaſed not vntill this Keneth ſubmitted himſelfe, and offered to receiue him foꝛ pꝛince of Scotland, whome king Edward would appoint. Herꝛpon king Edward pꝛoclamed one Malcolme to be pꝛince of Scotland, who immediatlie came into England, and there did homage vnto the ſaine king Edward.

Ethelꝛed, bꝛother of this Edward ſucceéded nert ouer England, againſt whome Swaine king of Denmarke conſpired with this laſt Malcolme then king of Scots. But ſhoꝛtlie after, this Malcolme ſoꝛrowfullie ſubmitted himſelfe into the defenſe of Ethelꝛed: who conſidering how that which could not be amended, muſt onelie be repented, benignlie receiued him. By helpe of whoſe ſernice at laſt Ethelꝛed recouered his realme againe out of the hands of Swaine, and reigned ouer the whole monarchie eight and thirtie yéeres.

Edmund ſurnamed Ironſide, ſonne of this Ethelꝛed, was nert king of England, in whoſe time Canutus a Dane inuaded the realme with much cruelties. But at the laſt he married with Emme ſometime wife vnto Ethelꝛed and mother of this Edmund. Which Emme, as arbitratrix betweene hir naturall loue to the one, and matrimoniall dutie to the other, pꝛocured ſuch amitie betweéne them in the end, that Edmund was contented to diuide the realme with Canutus: and keeping to himſelfe all England on this ſide Humber, gaue all the reſt beyond Humber, with the ſeignioꝛie of Scotland to this Canutus. Whereꝛpon Malcolme then king of Scots (after a little accuſtomable reſiſtance) did homage to the ſame Canutus foꝛ the kingdome of Scotland. Thus the ſaid Canutus held the ſame ouer of this Edmund king of England by the like ſeruices, ſo long as they liued togither. This Canutus in memoꝛie of this victoꝛie, and gloꝛie of his ſeignioꝛie ouer the Scots, commanded Malcolme their king to build a church in Buchquhan in Scotland, (where a field betweene him and them was fought) to be dedicated to Olauus patrone of Noꝛwaie and Denmarke, which church was by the ſame Malcolme accoꝛdinglie perfoꝛmed.

Edward called the Confeſſour, ſonne of Ethelꝛed, and bꝛother to Edmund Ironſide, was afterward king of England: he toke from Malcolme king of Scots his life and his kingdome, and made Malcolme ſonne to the king of Cumberland and Noꝛthumberland king of Scots, who did him homage and fealtie.

This Edward peruſed the old lawes of the realme, and ſomewhat added to ſome of them: as to the law of Edgar foꝛ the wardſhip of the lands vntill the heire ſhould accompliſh the age of one and twentie yeeres. He added, that the marriage of ſuch heire ſhould alſo belong to the loꝛd of whom the ſame land was holden. Alſo, that euerie woman marrieng a free man, ſhould (notwithſtanding ſhe had no childꝛen by that huſband) enioie the third part of his inheritance during hir life: with manie other lawes which the ſame Malcolme king of Scots obeied, and which as well by them in Scotland, as by vs in England be obſerued to this day, and diꝛectlie pꝛoueth the whole to be then vnder his obeiſance.

To whome the marriage of the ward pertaineth.

By reaſon of this law, Malcolme the ſonne of Duncane nert inheritoꝛ to the crowne of Scotland, being within age, was by the nobles of Scotland deliuered as ward to the cuſtodie alſo of king Edward. During whoſe minoꝛitie, one Makebeth a Scot traitoꝛouſlie vſurped the crowne of Scotland. Againſt whome the ſaid Edward made warre, in which

which the said Mackbeth was ouercome and slaine. Wherevpon the said Malcolme was crowned king of Scots at Scone, in the eight yeere of the reigne of king Edward aforesaid. This Malcolme also by tenor of the said new law of wardship, was married vnto Margaret the daughter of Edward sonne of Edmund Ironside and Agatha, by the disposition of the same king Edward, and at his full age did homage to this king Edward the Confessour for the kingdome of Scotland.

Edward the Confessour.

Moreouer, Edward of England, hauing no issue of his bodie, and mistrusting that Harald the son of Godwine, descended of the daughter of Harald Harefoot the Dane, would vsurpe the crowne, if he should leaue it to his cousine Edgar Eatling (being then within age) and partlie by the petition of his subiects, who before had sworne neuer to receiue anie kings ouer them of the Danish nation, did by his substantiall will in writing (as all our clergie writers affirme) demise the crowne of great Britaine vnto William Bastard, then duke of Normandie, and to his heires, constituting him his heire testamentarie. Also there was proximitie in bloud betweene them: for Emme daughter of Richard duke of Normandie was wife vnto Ethelred, on whom he begat Alured and this Edward: and this William was son of Robert sonne of Richard, brother of the whole bloud to the same Emme. Whereby appeareth that this William was heire by title, and not by conquest, albeit that partlie to extinguish the mistrust of other titles, and partlie for the glorie of his victorie, he chalenged in the end, the name of a conquerour, and hath béene so written euer since the time of his arriuall.

William Bastard.

Furthermore, this William, called the Bastard and the Conquerour, supposed not his conquest perfect till he had likewise subdued the Scots. Wherfore to bring the Scots to iust obeisance after his coronation, as heire testamentarie to Edward the Confessour; he entred Scotland, where after a little resistance made by the inhabitants, the said Malcolme then their king did homage to him at Abirnethie in Scotland for the kingdome of Scotland, as to his superiour also by meane of his late conquest.

William Rufus.

William surnamed Rufus, sonne to this William called the Conquerour, succéeded next in the throne of England, to whome the said Malcolme king of Scots did like homage for the whole kingdome of Scotland. But afterward he rebelled, and was by this William Rufus slaine in plaine field. Wherevpon the Scotishmen did chose one Donald or Dunwall to be their king. But this William Rufus deposed him, and created Dunkane sonne of Malcolme to be their king, who did like homage to him. Finallie, this Dunkane was slaine by the Scots, and Dunwall restored, who once againe by this William Rufus was deposed; and Edgar son of Malcolme, and brother to the last Malcolme, was by him made their king, who did like homage for Scotland to this William Rufus.

To whome the marriage of the ward perteineth.

Henrie 1.

Henrie called Beauclerke the sonne of William called the Conqueour, after the death of his brother William Rufus, succéeded to the crowne of England, to whome the same Edgar king of Scots did homage for Scotland: this Henrie Beauclerke maried Mawd the daughter of Malcolme K. of Scots, and by hir had issue Mawd afterward empresse.

Alexander the sonne of Malcolme brother to this Mawd was next king of Scots, he did like homage for the kingdome of Scotland to this Henrie the first, as Edgar had done before him.

Mawd.

Mawd called the empresse, daughter and heire to Henrie Beauclerke and Mawd his wife, receiued homage of Dauid, brother to hir and to this Alexander next king of Scots, before all the temporall men of England for the kingdome of Scotland. This Mawd the empresse gaue vnto Dauid in the marriage, Mawd the daughter and heire of Waldosius earle of Huntingdon & Northumberland. And herein their euasion appeareth, by which they allege that their kings homages were made for the earledome of Huntingdon. For this Dauid was the first that of their kings was earle of Huntingdon, which was since all the homages of their kings before recited, and at the time of this mariage, & long after the said Alexander his brother was king of Scots, doing the homage aforesaid to Henrie Beauclerke son to the aforesaid ladie, of whome I find this epitaph worthie to be remembred:

*Ortu magna, viro maior, sed maxima partu,*
*Hic iacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.*

In the yeere of our Lord 1136, and first yeere of the reigne of king Stephan, the said Dauid king of Scots being required to do his homage, refused it: for so much as he had done homage to Mawd the empresse before time; notwithstanding the sonne of the said Dauid did homage to king Stephan.

Henrie 2.

Henrie called Fitz empresse, the sonne of Mawd the empresse daughter of Mawd, daughter of Malcolme king of Scots, was next king of England. He receiued homage for Scotland of Malcolme sonne of Henrie, sonne of the said Dauid their last king. Which Malcolme after this homage attended vpon the same king Henrie in his warres against Lewis then king of France. Whereby appeareth that their French league was neuer renewed after the last diuision of their countrie by Egbright king of England. But after these warres finished with the French king, this Malcolme being againe in Scotland rebelled: wherevpon king Henrie immediatlie seized Huntingdon and Northumberland into his owne hands by confiscation, and made warres vpon him in Scotland: during which the same Malcolme died without issue of his bodie.

Because they were taken from him before.

William brother of this Malcolme was next king of Scots, he with all the nobles of Scotland (which could not be now for anie earledome) did homage to the sonne of Henrie the second, with a reseruation of the dutie to king Henrie the second his father. Also the earledome of Huntingdon was (as ye haue heard) before this forfeited by Malcolme his brother, and neuer after restored to the crowne of Scotland.

This William did afterward attend vpon the same Henrie the second, in his warres in Normandie against the French king (notwithstanding their French league) and then being licenced to depart home in the tenth of this prince, and vpon the fifteenth of February he returned, and vpon the sixteenth of October did homage to him for the realme of Scotland. In token also of his perpetuall subiection to the crowne of England, he offered vp his cloake, his saddle, and his speare at the high altar in Yorke: wherevpon he was permitted to depart home into Scotland, where immediatlie he moued cruell warre in Northumberland against the same king Henrie, being as yet in Normandie. But God toke the defense of king Henries part, and deliuered the same William king of Scots into the hands of a few Englishmen, who brought him prisoner to king Henrie into Normandie in the twentith yeere of his reigne. But at the last, at the sute of Dauid his brother, Richard bishop of saint Andrews, and other bishops and lords, he was put to this fine for the amendment of his trespasse; to wit, to paie ten thousand pounds sterling, and to surrender all his title to the earldome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, & Northumberland into the hands of king Henrie,

which he did in all things accordinglie, sealing his charters thereof with the great seale of Scotland, and signets of his nobilitie yet to be seene: wherein it was also comprised, that he and his successours should hold the realme of Scotland of the king of England and his successours for euer. And hereupon he once againe did homage to the same king Henrie, which now could not be for the earledome of Huntingdon, the right whereof was alreadie by him surrendred. And for the better assurance of this faith also, the strengths of Berwike, Edenborough, Rorborough, and Striueling were deliuered into the hands of our king Henrie of England, which their owne writers confesse. But Hector Boetius saith, that this trespasse was amended by fine of twentie thousand pounds sterling, and that the erledome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland were deliuered as morgage into the hands of king Henrie, vntill other ten thousand pounds sterling should be to him paid, which is so farre from truth, as Hector was (while he liued) from well meaning to our countrie. But if we grant that it is true, yet prooueth he not that the monie was paid, nor the land otherwise redéemed, or euer after came to anie Scotish kings hands. And thus it appeareth that the earledome of Huntingdon was neuer occasion of the homages of the Scotish kings to the kings of England, either before this time or after.

This was done 1175. Moreouer I read this note hereof gathered out of Robertus Montanus or Montensis that liued in those daies, and was (as I take it) confessor to king Henrie. "The king of Scots doth homage to king Henrie for the kingdome of Scotland, and is sent home againe, his bishops also did promise to do the like to the archbishop of Yorke, and to acknowledge themselues to be of his province and iurisdiction. By vertue also of this composition the said Robert saith, that *Rex Angliæ dabat honores, episcopatus, abbatias, & alias dignitates in Scotia, vel saltem eius consilio dabantur*, that is, The king of England gaue honors, bishoprikes, abbatships, and other dignities in Scotland, or at the leastwise they were not giuen without his aduise and counsell.

At this time Alexander bishop of Rome (supposed to haue generall iurisdiction ecclesiasticall through christendome) established the whole cleargie of Scotland (according to the old lawes) vnder the iurisdiction of the archbishop of Yorke.

In the yeare of our Lord 1185, in the moneth of August, at Cairleill, Rouland Talmant lord of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie with all that held of him.

In the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the second, Gilbert sonne of Fergus prince of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie, and left Dunecan his sonne in hostage for conseruation of his peace.

Richard surnamed Cœur de Lion, because of his stoutnesse, and sonne of this Henrie was nert king of England, to whome the same William king of Scots did homage at Canturburie for the whole kingdome of Scotland.

This king Richard was taken prisoner by the duke of Ostrich, for whose redemption the whole realme was tared at great summes of monie, vnto the which this William king of Scots (as a subiect) was contributorie, and paied two thousand markes sterling.

In the yeare of our Lord 1199, John king of England sent to William king of Scots, to come and do his homage, which William came to Lincolne in the moneth of December the same yeare, and did his homage vpon an hill in the presence of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and of all the people there assembled, and thereunto toke his oth and was sworne vpon the crosse of the said Hubert: also he granted by his charter confirmed, that he should haue the mariage of Alexander his sonne, as his liegeman, alwaies to hold of the king of England: promising moreouer that he the said king William and his sonne Alexander, should keepe and hold faith and allegiance to Henrie sonne of the said king John, as to their chiefe lord against all maner of men that might liue and die.

Also whereas William king of Scots had put John bishop of saint Andrew out of his bishoprike, pope Clement wrote to Henrie king of England, that he should moue and induce the same William; and if need required by his roiall power and prerogatiue ouer that nation, to compell him to leaue his rancor against the said bishop, and suffer him to haue and occupie his said bishoprike againe.

In the yeare of our Lord 1216, and fiue & twentith of the reigne of Henrie, sonne to king John, the same Henrie and the queene were at Yorke at the feast of Christmasse, for the solemnization of a mariage made in the feast of saint Stephan the martyr the same yeare, betweene Alexander king of Scots, and Margaret the kings daughter, and there the said Alexander did homage to Henrie king of England for all the realme of Scotland.

In buls of diuerse popes were admonitions giuen to the kings of Scots, as appeareth by that of Gregorie the fift and Clement his successor, that they should obserue and trulie keepe all such appointments, as had béene made betweene the kings of England and Scotland. And that the kings of Scotland should still hold the realme of Scotland of the kings of England, vpon paine of cursse and interdiction.

After the death of Alexander king of Scots, Alexander his sonne, being nine yeares of age, was by the lawes of Edgar, in ward to king Henrie the third, & by the nobles of Scotland brought to Yorke, and there deliuered vnto him. During whose minoritie king Henrie gouerned Scotland, and to subdue a commotion in this realme, vsed the aid of fiue thousand Scotishmen. But king Henrie died during the nonage of this Alexander, whereby he receiued not his homage, which by reason and law was respited vntill his full age of one and twentie yeares.

Edward the first after the conquest, sonne of this Henrie was nert king of England; immediatlie after whose coronation, Alexander king of Scots, being then of full age, did homage to him for Scotland at Westminster, swearing (as all the rest did) after this maner.

I. D. N. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord E. by the grace of God king of England, the noble and superior lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome, the which I hold and claime to hold of you. And I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour against all men, faithfullie I shall knowlege and shall doo you seruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid, as God me so helpe and these holie euangelies.

This Alexander king of Scots died, leauing one onelie daughter called Margaret for his heire, who before had maried Hanigo, sonne to Magnus king of Norwaie, which daughter also shortlie after died, leauing one onelie daughter hir heire, of the age of two yeares, whose custodie and mariage by the lawes of king Edgar, and Edward the confessor, belonged to Edward the first: wherupon the nobles of Scotland were commanded by our king Edward to send into Norwaie, to conueie this yong quæne into

England

England to him, whome he intended to haue maried to his sonne Edward: and so to haue made a perfect vnion long wished for betweene both realmes. Herevpon their nobles at that time considering the same tranquillitie that manie of them haue since refused, stood not vpon shifts and delaies of minoritie nor contempt, but most gladlie consented, and therevpon sent two noble men of Scotland into Norwaie, for hir to be brought to this king Edward, but she died before their comming thither, and therefore they required nothing but to inioie the lawfull liberties that they had quietlie possessed in the last king Alexanders time.

After the death of this Margaret, the Scots were destitute of anie heire to the crowne from this Alexander their last king, at which time this Edward descended from the bodie of Mawd daughter of Malcolme sometime king of Scots, being then in the greatest broile of his warres with France, minded not to take the possession of that kingdome in his owne right, but was contented to establish Balioll to be king thereof, the weake title betweene him, Bruse, & Hastings, being by the humble petition of all the realme of Scotland cõmitted to the determination of king Edward, wherein by autentike writing they confessed the superioritie of the realme to remaine in king Edward, sealed with the seales of foure bishops, seuen earles, and twelue barons of Scotland, and which shortlie after was by the whole assent of the three estates of Scotland, in their solemne parlement confessed and enacted accordinglie, as most euidentlie doth appeare.

The Balioll in this wise made king of Scotland, did immediatlie make his homage and fealtie at Newcastell vpon saint Steeuens daie (as did likewise all the lords of Scotland, each one setting his hand to the composition in writing) to king Edward of England for the kingdome of Scotland: but shortlie after defrauding the benigne goodnesse of his superiour, he rebelled, and did verie much hurt in England. Herevpon king Edward inuaded Scotland, seized into his hands the greater part of the countrie, and toke all the strengths thereof. Whervpon Balioll king of Scots came vnto him to Hauntrosse in Scotland with a white wand in his hand, and there resigned the crowne of Scotland, with all his right, title, and interest to the same, into the hands of king Edward, and thereof made his charter in writing, dated and sealed the fourth yeare of his reigne. All the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland also repaired to Berwike, and did homage and fealtie to king Edward, there becomming his subiects. For the better assurance of whose oths also, king Edward kept all the strengths and holdes of Scotland in his owne hands; and herevpon all their lawes, processes, all iudgements, gifts of assises and others, passed vnder the name and authoritie of king Edward. Leland touching the same rehearsall, writeth thereof in this maner.

"In the yeare of our Lord 1295, the same Iohn king of Scots, contrarie to his faith and allegiance rebelled against king Edward, and came into England, and burnt and slue without all modestie and mercie. Wherevpon king Edward with a great host went to Newcastell vpon Tine, passed the water of Tweed, besieged Berwike, and got it. Also he wan the castell of Dunbar, and there were slaine at this brunt 15700 Scots. Then he proceeded further, and gat the castell of Rokesborow, and the castell of Edenborow, Striuelin and Gedworth, and his people harried all the land. In the meane season, the said king Iohn of Scots, considering that he was not of power to withstand king Edward, sent his letters and besought him of treatie and peace, which our prince benignlie granted, and sent to him againe that he should come to the towre of Brechin, and bring thither the great lords of Scotland with him. The king of England sent thither Antonie Becke bishop of Durham, with his roiall power, to conclude the said treatise. And there it was agreed that the said Iohn and all the Scots should vtterlie submit themselues to the kings will. And to the end the submission should be performed accordinglie, the king of Scots laid his sonne in hostage and pledge vnto him. There also he made his letters sealed with the common seale of Scotland, by the which he knowledging his simplenes and great offense owne to his lord king Edward of England, by his full power and frée will yelded vp all the land of Scotland, with all the people and homage of the same. Then our king went forth to see the mounteins, and vnderstanding that all was in quiet and peace, he turned to the abbeie of Scone, which was of chanons regular, where he toke the stone called the Regall of Scotland, vpon which the kings of that nation were wont to sit, at the time of their coronations for a throne, & sent it to the abbeie of Westminster, commanding to make a chaire therof for the priests that should sing masse at the high altar: which chaire was made, and standeth yet there at this daie to be seene.

The Scots dreame that this was the stone whereon Iacob slept when he fled into Mesopotamia.

In the yeare of our Lord 1296, the king held his parlement at Berwike: and there he toke homage singularlie of diuerse of the lords & nobles of Scotland. And for a perpetuall memorie of the same, they made their letters patents sealed with their seales, and then the king of England made William Warreine earle of Surrie and Southsar lord Warden of Scotland, Hugh of Cressingham treasuror, and William Ormesbie iustice of Scotland, and forthwith sent king Iohn to the Tower of London, and Iohn Comin, and the earle Badenauth, the earle of Bohan and other lords into England to diuerse places on this side of the Trent.

And after that, in the yeare of our Lord 1297, at the feast of Christmas, the king called before him the said Iohn king of Scots, although he had committed him to ward: and said that he would burne or destroie their castels, townes and lands, if he were not recompensed for his costs and damages susteined in the warres; but king Iohn and the other that were in ward, answered that they had nothing, sith their liues, their deaths, and goods were in his hands. The king vpon that answer moued with pitie, granted them their liues; so that they would do their homage, and make their oth solemnelie at the high altar (in the church of the abbeie of Westminster) vpon the eucharist, that they and euerie of them should hold and keepe true faith, obedience, and allegiance to the said king Edward and his heires kings of England for euer. And where the said king of Scots saw the kings banner of England displaied, he and all his power should draw therevnto. And that neither he or anie of his from thenceforth should beare armes against the king of England or anie of his bloud. Finallie, the king rewarding with great gifts the said king Iohn and his lords, suffered them to depart. But they went into Scotland alwaie imagining (notwithstanding this their submission) how they might oppresse king Edward, and disturbe his realme. The Scots sent also to the king of France for succour and helpe, who sent them ships to Berwike furnished with men of armes, the king of England then being in Flanders.

In the yeare of our Lord 1298, the king went into Scotland with a great host, and the Scots also assembled in great number, but the king fought with them at Fawkirke on S. Marie Magdalens daie, where were slaine threescore thousand Scots, & William

liam Walleis that was their capteine fled, who being taken afterward, was hanged, drawen, & quartered at London, for his trespasses.

After this the Scots rebelled againe, and all the lords of Scotland chose Robert Bruse to be king, except onelie John Commin earle of Carrike, who would not consent thereto because of his oth made to the king of England. Wherefore Robert Bruse slue him at Dumfrise, and then was crowned at Schone abbeie. Herevpon the king of England assembled a great hoast, and rode through all Scotland, discomfited Robert Bruse, slue eight thousand Scots, & tooke the most part of all the lords of Scotland, putting the temporall lords to deth because they were forsworne.

This was done vpon the nine & twentith of Januarie, 1306.

Edward borne at Carnaruan sonne of this Edward, was next king of England, who from the beginning of his reigne enioied Scotland peaceablie, doing in all things as is aboue said of king Edward his father, vntill toward the later end of his reigne, about which time this Robert Bruse conspired against him, and with the helpe of a few forsworne Scots, forswore himselfe king of Scots. Herevpon this Edward with Thomas earle of Lancaster and manie other lords made warre vpon him, about the feast of Marie Magdalene, the said Bruse and his partakers being alreadie accursed by the pope for breaking the truce that he had established betwixt them. But being infortunate in his first warres against him, he suffered Edward the sonne of Balioll to proclame himselfe king of Scots; and neuertheless held forth his warres against Bruse, before the ending of which he died, as I read.

Edward borne at Windsore sonne of Edward the second was next king of England, at the age of fifteene yeares, in whose minoritie the Scots practised with Isabell mother to this Edward, and with Roger Mortimer earle of the March to haue their homages released: whose good will therein they obteined, so that for the same release they should paie to this king Edward thirtie thousand pounds sterling, in three yeares next following, that is to saie, ten thousand pounds sterling yeerelie. But because the nobilitie and commons of this realme would not by parlement consent vnto it, their king being within age, the same release proceeded not, albeit the Scots ceased not their practises with this queene and earle. But before those three yeares, in which their monie (if the bargaine had taken place) should haue béene paied, were expired, our king Edward inuaded Scotland, and ceassed not the warre, vntill David the sonne of Robert le Bruse (then by their election king of Scotland) absolutelie submitted himselfe vnto him. But for that the said Dauid Bruse had before by practise of the queene and the earle of March, married Jane the sister of this king Edward: he moued by naturall zeale to his sister, was contented to giue the realme of Scotland to this Dauid Bruse, and to the heires that should be begotten of the bodie of the said Jane (sauing the reuersion and meane homages to this king Edward and to his owne children) wherewith the same Dauid Bruse was right well contented, and therevpon immediatlie made his homage for all the realme of Scotland to him.

Notwithstanding, shortlie after causelesse conceiuing cause of displeasure, this Dauid procured to dissolue this same estate tailée, and therevpon not onelie rebelled in Scotland, but also inuaded England, whilest king Edward was occupied about his wars in France. But this Dauid was not onelie expelled England in the end, but also thinking no place a sufficient defense to his vntruth, of his owne accord fled out of Scotland: whereby the countries of Annandale, Gallowaie, Mars, Teuidale, Twedale, and Ethrike were seized into the king of Englands hands, and new marches set betwéene England and Scotland at Cockburnes path & Solwtrie hedge. Which when this Dauid went about to recouer againe, his power was discomfited, and himselfe by a few Englishmen taken & brought into England, where he remained prisoner eleuen yeares after his said apprehension.

During this time, king Edward enioied Scotland peaceablie, and then at the contemplation and wearie suit of his sorowfull sister, wife of this Dauid, he was contented once againe to restore him to the kingdome of Scotland. Herevpon it was concluded, that for this rebellion Dauid should paie to king Edward, the summe of one hundred thousand markes starling, and thereto destroie all his holdes and fortresses standing against the English borders, and further assure the crowne of Scotland to the children of this king Edward for lacke of heire of his owne bodie, all which things he did accordinglie. And for the better assurance of his obeisance also, he afterward deliuered into the hands of king Edward sundrie noblemen of Scotland in this behalfe as his pledges. This is the effect of the historie of Dauid, touching his dealings. Now let vs see what was done by Edward Balioll, whereof our chronicles do report, that in the yéere of our Lord 1326, Edward the third, king of England, was crowned at Westminster, and in the fift yeare of his reigne Edward Balioll right heire to the kingdome of Scotland came in, and claimed it as due to him. Sundrie lords and gentlemen also, which had title to diuerse lands there, either by themselues, or by their wiues, did the like. Wherevpon the said Balioll and they went into Scotland by sea, and landing at Kinghorne with 3000 Englishmen, discomfited 10000 Scots, and slue 1200, and then went forth to Dunfermeline, where the Scots assembled against them with 40000 men, and in the feast of saint Laurence, at a place called Gaskmore (or otherwise Gladmore) were slaine fiue earls, thirtéene barons, a hundred and three score knights, two thousand men of armes, and manie other; in all fortie thousand: and there were slaine on the English part but thirtéene persons onelie, if the number be not corrupted.

In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward, he assembled a great hoast, and came to Berwike vpon Tweed, and laid siege thereto. To him also came Edward Balioll king of Scots, with a great power to strengthen & aid him against the Scots, who came out of Scotland in foure batels well armed & araied.

Edward king of England, and Edward king of Scots, apparelled their people either of them in foure battels: and vpon Halidon hill, beside Berwike, met these two hoasts, and there were discomfited of the Scots fiue and twentie thousand and seauen hundred, whereof were slaine eight earles, a thousand and three hundred knights and gentlemen. This victorie done, the king returned to Berwike, & then the towne with the castell were yéelded vp vnto him. In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward of England, Edward Balioll king of Scots came to Newcastell vpon Tine, and did homage for all the realme of Scotland.

In the yeare of our Lord 1346, Dauid Bruse by the prouocation of the king of France rebelled, and came into England with a great hoast vnto Neuils crosse: but the archbishop of Yorke, with diuerse temporall men, fought with him; and the said king of Scots was taken, and William earle of Duglas with Morise earle of Strathorne were brought to London, and manie other lords slaine, which with Dauid did homage to Edward king of England.

And in the thirtith yeare of the kings reigne, and the yeare of our Lord 1355, the Scots wone the towne of Berwicke, but not the castell. Herevpon the

the king came thither with a great hoaſt, and anon the towne was yéelded vp without anie reſiſtance.

Edward Baliol, conſidering that God did ſo manie marueilous and gratious things for king Edward, at his owne will gaue vp the crowne and the realme of Scotland to king Edward of England at Rokeſborough, by his letters patents. And anon after the king of England, in preſence of all his lords ſpirituall and temporall, let crowne himſelfe king there of the realme of Scotland, & ordeined all things to his intent, and ſo came ouer into England.

Richard the ſonne of Edward, called the Blacke prince, ſonne of this king Edward, was next king of England, who for that the ſaid Jane, the wife of the ſaid king Dauid of Scotland was deceaſſed without iſſue, and being informed how the Scots deuiſed to their vttermoſt power to breake the limitation of this inheritance touching the crowne of Scotland, made forthwith war againſt them, wherein he burnt Edenbrough, ſpoiled all their countrie, toke all their holds, & held continuallie war againſt them vntill his death, which was Anno Dom. 1389.

Henrie the fourth of that name was next king of England, he continued theſe warres begun againſt them by king Richard, and ceaſſed not vntill Robert king of Scots (the third of that name) reſigned his crowne by appointment of this king Henrie, and deliuered his ſonne James, being then of the age of nine yeares, into his hands to remaine at his cuſtodie, wardſhip and diſpoſition, as of his ſuperiour lord, according to the old lawes of king Edward the confeſſor. All this was done Anno Dom. 1404, which was within fiue yeares after the death of king Richard. This Henrie the fourth reigned in this eſtate ouer them foureteene yeares.

Henrie the fift of that name, ſonne to this king Henrie the fourth, was next king of England. He made warres againſt the French king, in all which this James then king of Scots attended vpon him, as vpon his ſuperiour lord, with a conuenient number of Scots, notwithſtanding their league with France. But this Henrie reigned but nine yeares, whereby the homage of this James their king (hauing not fullie accompliſhed the age of one & twentie yeares) was by reaſon and law reſpited. Finallie the ſaid James with diuerſe other lords attended vpon the corps of the ſaid Henrie vnto Weſtminſter, as to his dutie apperteined.

Henrie the firt, the ſonne of this Henrie the fift, was next king of England, to whome the ſeignioꝛie of Scotland & cuſtodie of this James by right, law, and reaſon deſcended, married the ſame James king of Scots to Jane daughter of John earle of Summerſet, at ſaint Marie ouer Iſe in Southwarke, and toke for the value of this mariage, the ſumme of one hundred thouſand markes ſterling.

This James king of Scots at his full age, did homage to the ſame king Henrie the firt, for the kingdome of Scotland at Windſore, in the moneth of Januarie.

Since which time, vntill the daies of king Henrie the ſeuenth, grandfather to our ſouereigne ladie that now is, albeit this realme hath béene moleſted with diuerſitie of titles, in which vnmeet time neither law nor reaſon admit preſcription to the preiudice of anie right: yet did king Edward the fourth next king of England, by preparation of war againſt the Scots in the latter end of his reigne, ſufficientlie by all lawes induce to the continuance of his claime to the ſame ſuperioritie ouer them.

After whoſe death, vnto the beginning of the reigne of our ſouereigne lord king Henrie the eight, ercéeded not the number of ſeauen and twentie yeares, about which time the impediment of our claime of the Scots part, chanced by the nonage of James their laſt king, which ſo continued the ſpace of one and twentie yeares. And like as his minoritie was by all law and reaſon an impediment to himſelfe to make homage; ſo was the ſame by like reaſon an impediment to the king of this realme to demand anie, ſo that the whole time of intermiſſion of our claime in the time of the ſaid king Henrie the eight, is deduced vnto the number of thirteene yeares. And thus much for this matter.

## Of the wall ſometime builded for a *partition betweene England and the* Picts and Scots.

Chap. 23.

HAuing hitherto diſcourſed vpon the title of the kings of England, vnto the Scotiſh kingdome: I haue now thought good to adde herevnto the deſcription of two walles that were (in times paſt) limits vnto both the ſaid regions, and therefore to be touched in this firſt booke, as generallie appertinent vnto the eſtate of the whole Iland; and no leſſe famous than that which Anaſtaſius Dicorus made afterward from the Euxine vnto the Thracian ſea, conteining 420 furlongs in length, and twelue foot in breadth, & diſtant from Conſtantinople 280 furlongs, albeit that of Hadrian was made of turfe and timber. The author therefore of the firſt wall was Hadrian the emperour, who (as Ælius Spartianus ſaith) erected the ſame of foure ſcore miles in length, twelue foot in heigth, and eight in breadth, to diuide the barbarous Britons from the more ciuill ſort, which then were generallie called by the name of Romans ouer all. *The firſt beginner of the Picts wall.*

After his time Seuerus the emperour comming againe into this Ile (where he had ſerued before in repreſſion of the tumults here begun, after the death of Lucius) amongſt other things he made another wall (but of ſtone) betwéene eightie and a hundred miles from the firſt, & of thirtie two miles in length, reaching on both ſides alſo to the ſea, of whome the Britons called it S. Murſeueri, or Gwall Severi, that is, The wall of Seuerus, or Seuerus dale, which later indureth vntill theſe daies in freſh memorie, by reaſon of the ruines & ſquare ſtones there oft found, whoſe inſcriptions declare the authors of that worke. It is worthie the noting alſo, how that in this voiage he loſt 50000 men in the Scotiſh ſide, by one occaſion and other, which hinderance ſo incenſed him, that he determined vtterlie to extinguiſh their memorie from vnder heauen, and had ſo done in déed, if his life had indured but vntill another yeare. Sextus Aurelius writing of Seuerus, addeth, how that the wall made by this prince conteined two and thirtie miles, whereby the breadth of this Iland there, and length of the wall conteineth onelie ſo manie miles, as may be gathered by his words. But chéeflie for the length of the wall, Spartianus who touching it among other things ſaith of Seuerus as followeth: *Britanniam (quod maximum eius imperij decus eſt) muro per tranſuerſum inſulam ducto, vtring, ad finem oceani muniuit*, that is, He fortified Britaine (which is one of the chéefe acts recorded of his time) with a wall made ouerthwart the Ile, that reached on both ſides euen to the verie Ocean. *The finiſher of the wall.* *The wall goeth not ſtreict by a line, but in and out in manie places.*

That this wall was of ſtone alſo, the ruines therof (which haue miniſtred much matter to ſuch as dwell néere thereunto in their buildings) is triall ſufficient. Hereby in like ſort it commeth to paſſe, that where *The ſtuffe of the wall.*

the ſoſſe about it is leaſt inhabited, there is moſt mention of the ſaid wall, which was wrought of ſquared ſtone, as vntill this daie maie euidentlie be confirmed. Howbeit, theſe two walles were not the onelie partitions betweene theſe two kingdoms, ſith Iulius Capitolinus in vita Antonini Pij doth write of another that Lollius Vrbicus made beyond the ſame, of turfe, in the time of the ſaid prince, who (for his victories in Britaine) was alſo called Britannicus, which neuertheleſſe was often throwne downe by the Scots, and eftſoones repared againe, vntill it was giuen ouer and relinquiſhed altogither. It runneth (as I take it) alſo within the wall about an arrow ſhot from that of ſtone: but how farre it went, as yet I cannot find. This onlie remaineth certeine, that the walles made by Hadrian & Seuerus, were ditched with notable ditches and rampires made in ſuch wiſe, that the Scotiſh aduerſarie had much a do to enter and ſcale the ſame in his aſſaults. And yet for all this, I read that the Scots oftentimes pulled downe great parcels of the ſame, to make their acceſſe more eaſie into the ſouth parts: but as it was eftſoons repared againe, ſo the laſt time of all it was amended by the Romane ſoldiors, which came ouer verie little before the time of Hortiger, at which ſeaſon the land was in maner left void of ſoldiors and munition. Betwixt Thirlewall and the north Tine, are alſo in the waſte grounds, manie parcels of that wall of Seuerus yet ſtanding, whereof the common people do babble manie things.

Two other wals.

Rampire.

Beginning therefore with the courſe thereof, from the weſt ſea, I find that it runneth from Bolneſſe to Burgh, about foure miles, and likewiſe from thence within halfe a mile of Carleill, and leſſe on the north ſide, and beneath the confluence of the Peder and the Eden. From hence it goeth to Terrebie, a village about a mile from Caerleill, then through the baronie of Linſtocke, and Gilleſland, on the north ſide of the riuer Irding or Arding, and a quarter of a mile from the abbeie of Leuercoſt. Thence three miles aboue Leuercoſt, and aboue the confluence of Arding, and the Pultroſe becke (which diuideth Gilleſland in Cumberland, from ſouth Tindale in Northumberland) it goeth to Thirlwall caſtell, then to the wall towne, next of all ouer the riuer to Siwenſheld, Carraw (peraduenture Cairuoren tower) to Walwyc, and ſo ouer ſouth Tine, to Cockelie tower, Portgate, Halton ſheles, Wincheſter, Rutcheſter, Heddon, Walhottle, Denton, and to Newcaſtell, where it is thought that ſaint Nicholas church ſtandeth on the ſame. Howbeit Leland ſaith, that it goeth within a mile of Newcaſtell, and then crooketh vp toward Tinmouth vnto Walleſend, three miles from the mouth of the ſaid riuer, ſo called becauſe the aforeſaid wall did end at the ſame place. And thus much I read of the Pictiſh wall. As for the Romane coine that is often found in the courſe thereof, the curious bricks about the ſame neere vnto Caerleill, beſide the excellent cornelines and other coſtlie ſtones alreadie intailed for ſeales oftentimes taken vp in thoſe quarters, I paſſe them ouer as not incident to my purpoſe.

The courſe of the wall from weſt to eaſt.

In like maner I would gladlie alſo haue ſet downe the courſe of Offacs ditch, which was march betweene the Mercian dominions, and the Welſhmen in his time: but for ſo much as the tractation thereof is not to be referred to this place, becauſe it is not a thing generall to the whole Iland, I omit to ſpeake of that alſo. Yet thus much will I note here, as well by the report of one (who ſaith how he did tread it out) that he followed it from the Dee to Kirnaburgh hill through Treuelach foreſt, by eſt of Crekith, Tauch hill, Montgomerie caſtell, the New caſtell and Diſcoid, and hauing brought it hitherto, either loſt it, or ſought after it no further: as by the teſtimonie of another, who writing thereof, ſaith, that it ſtretched from the ſouth ſide by Briſtow, along vnder the mounteins of Wales northwards, ouer the riuer of Sauerne, and to the verie mouth alſo of the Dee, where it falleth into the ſea. And ſo much of ſuch things as concerne the generall eſtate of the whole Iland, which labour herein I could verie well haue ſpared, and would, if Quintus had performed the requeſt of Cicero his brother, who promiſed to ſend him ouer a ſound aduertiſement of the condition of Britaine in thoſe daies: as appeareth in the ſecond booke of his familiar epiſtles, where he ſaith; *Modò mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis penicillo meo, &c.* But ſithence that was not performed, and the treatiſe of Demetrius and other of the ſame argument are periſhed, which were of ſome value, let this trifle (I beſeech you) not be reiected, till ſome other man of better ſkill ſhall haue drawne a more abſolute peece of workemanſhip, whereunto my vnſkilfulneſſe (I hope) ſhall proue no hinderance.

## Of the maruels of *England*.

### Chap. 24.

SUch as haue written of the wonders of our countrie in old time, haue ſpoken (no doubt) of manie things, which deſerue no credit at all: and therefore in ſeeking thankes of their poſteritie by their trauell in this behalfe; they haue reaped the reward of iuſt reproch, and in ſtéed of fame purchaſed vnto themſelues nought elſe but méere diſcredit in their better and more learned treatiſes. The like commonlie happeneth alſo to ſuch, as in reſpect of lucre do publiſh vnprofitable and pernicious volumes, whereby they do conſume their times in vaine, and in manifold wiſe become preiudiciall vnto their common wealths. For my part I will not touch anie man herein particularlie, no not our Demetrius, of whom Plutarch ſpeaketh in his oracles (if thoſe bookes were written by him, for ſome thinke that Plutarch neuer wrote them, although Euſebius lib. 4. cap. 8. doth acknowledge them to be his) which Demetrius left ſundrie treatiſes behind him, conteining wonderfull things collected of our Iland. But ſith that in my time they are found to be falſe, it ſhould be far vnmeet to remember them anie more: for who is he which will beléeue, that infernall ſpirits can die and giue vp their ghoſts like mortall men? though Saxo ſéeme to conſent vnto him in this behalfe. In ſpeaking alſo of the out Iles, he ſaith thus: Beyond Britaine are manie deſolate Ilands, whereof ſome are dedicated to the Gods, ſome to the noble Heroes. I ſailed (ſaith he) by the helpe of the king vnto one that laie néere hand, onelie to ſée and view the ſame, in which I found few inhabitants, and yet ſuch as were there, were reputed and taken for men of great pietie and holineſſe. During the time alſo that I remained in the ſame, it was vexed with great ſtorme and tempeſt, which cauſed me not a little to doubt of my ſafe returne. In the end, demanding of the inhabitants what the cauſe ſhould be of this ſo great and ſudden mutation of the aire: they anſwered, that either ſome of the Gods, or at the leaſt of the Heroes were latelie deceaſed: for as a candle (ſaid they) hurteth none whileſt it burneth, but being ſtenderlie put out annoieth manie with the filthie ſauour: ſo theſe Gods, whileſt they liued, were either not

not hurtfull, or verie beneficiall to mankind; but being once deceaſſed, they ſo moue the heauens and aire, that much miſchéefe doth inſue eſtſoones vpon the ſame.

Being alſo inquiſitiue of the ſtats of other Iles not farre off, they told him further, how there was one hard by, wherin Saturne being ouertaken with a dead ſléepe, was watched by Briareus as he laie, which Saturne alſo had manie ſpirits attending vpon him in ſundrie functions and offices. By which reports it is ealie to conceiue, with what vaine ſtuffe that volume of Demetrius is interlaced. But of ſuch writers as we haue to to manie, ſo among the ſaid rable Geruaſe of Tilberie is not the leaſt famous, a man as it were euen ſold to vtter matters of more admiration than credit to the world. For what a tale telleth he in his *De otio imperiali*, of Wandleburie hilles, that lie within ſight & by ſouth of Cambridge (where the Vandals incamped ſometime, when they entered into this Iland) and of a ſpirit that would of cuſtome in a moone ſhine night (if he were chalenged and called therevnto) run at tilt and turneie in complet armor with anie knight or gentleman whomſoeuer, in that place: and how one Oſbert of Barnewell, hearing the report thereof, armed himſelfe, and being well mounted, rode thither alone with one eſquier, and called for him, who forthwith appeared in rich armour, and anſwered his chalenge, ſo that running togither verie fiercelie, they met with ſuch rigor, that the anſwerer was ouerthrowne and borne downe to the ground. After this they bickered on foot ſo long, till Oſbert ouercame and draue him to flight, who departed, leauing his horſſe behind him, which was of huge ſtature, blacke (as he ſaith) of colour, with his furniture of the ſame hue, and thereupon he ſeized, giuing him vnto his page, who carried him home, and there kept him till it was néere daie, during which ſpace he was ſéene of manie. But when the daie light began to ſhew it ſelfe ſomewhat cléere, the beaſt ſtamped and ſnorted, and forthwith breaking his raine, he ran awaie, and was no more heard of to his knowledge in that countrie. In the meane ſeaſon Oſbert being verie faint, and waxing wearie (for he was ſore wounded in the thigh, which either he knew not of, or at the leaſtwiſe diſſembled to know it) cauſed his leg-harneſſe or ſtéelebootes to be pulled off, which his frends ſaw to be full of blood ſpilled in the votage. But let who ſo liſt beléeue it, ſith it is either a fable deuiſed, or ſome diueliſh illuſion, if anie ſuch thing were done. And on mine owne behalfe, hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my eies, I purpoſe here to ſet downe no more than either I know my ſelfe to be true, or am crediblie informed to be ſo, by ſuch godly men, as to whom nothing is more deare than to ſpeake the truth, and not anie thing more odious than to diſcredit themſelues by lieng. In writing therefore of the wonders of England, I find that there are foure notable things, which for their rareneſſe amongſt the common ſort, are taken for the foure miracles and wonders of the land.

Foure wonders of England.

The firſt of theſe is a vehement and ſtrong wind, which iſſueth out of the hilles called the Peke, ſo violent and ſtrong, that at certeine times if a man dow caſt his cote or cloake into the caue from whence it iſſueth, it driueth the ſame backe againe, hoiſing it aloft into the open aire with great force and vehemencie. Of this alſo Giraldus ſpeaketh.

The ſecond is the miraculous ſtanding or rather hanging of certeine ſtones vpon the plaine of Saliſburie, whereof the place is called Stonehenge. And to ſaie the truth, they may well be wondered at, not onelie for the manner of poſition, whereby they become verie difficult to be numbred, but alſo for their greatneſſe & ſtrange maner of lieng of ſome of them one vpon another, which ſéemeth to be with ſo tickle hold, that few men go vnder them without feare of their preſent ruine. How and when theſe ſtones were brought thither, as yet I can not read; howbeit it is moſt likelie, that they were raiſed there by the Britons, after the ſlaughter of their nobilitie at the deadlie banket, which Hengiſt and his Saxons prouided for them, where they were alſo buried, and Vortigerne their king apprehended and led awaie as captiue. I haue heard that the like are to be ſéene in Ireland; but how true it is as yet I can not learne. The report goeth alſo, that theſe were brought from thence, but by what ſhip on the ſea, and cariage by land, I think few men can ſafelie imagine.

The third is an ample and large hole vnder the ground, which ſome call *Carcer Æoli*, but in Engliſh Chedderhole, whereinto manie men haue entred & walked verie farre. Howbeit, as the paſſage is large and nothing noiſome: ſo diuerſe that haue aduentured to go into the ſame, could neuer as yet find the end of that waie, neither ſée anie other thing than prétie riuerets and ſtreames, which they often croſſed as they went from place to place. This Chedderhole or Chedder rocke is in Summerſetſhire, and thence the ſaid waters run till they méet with the ſecond Ar that riſeth in Dwkie hole.

The fourth is no leſſe notable than anie of the other. For weſtward vpon certeine hilles a man ſhall ſée the clouds gather togither in faire weather vnto a certeine thickneſſe, and by and by to ſpread themſelues abroad and water their fields about them, as it were vpon the ſudden. The cauſes of which diſperſion, as they are vtterlie vnknowne: ſo manie men coniecture great ſtore of water to be in thoſe hilles, & verie néere at hand, if it were néedfull to be ſought for.

Beſides theſe foure maruelles, there is a little rockie Ile in Aber Barrie (a riueret that falleth into the Sauerne ſea) called Barrie, which hath a rift or clift nert the firſt ſhore; wherevnto if a man dow laie his eare, he ſhall heare ſuch noiſes as are commonlie made in ſmiths forges, to wit, clinking of iron barres, beating with hammers, blowing of bellowſes, and ſuch like: whereof the ſuperſtitious ſort dow gather manie toies, as the gentiles did in old time of their lame god Vulcans pot. The riuer that runneth by Cheſter changeth hir chanell euerie moneth: the cauſe whereof as yet I can not learne; neither doth it ſwell by force of anie land-flood, but by ſome vehement wind it oft ouer-runneth hir banks. In Snowdonie are two lakes, whereof one beareth a mouable Iland, which is carried to and fro as the wind bloweth. The other hath three kinds of fiſhes in it, as eéles, trowts, and perches: but herein reſteth the wonder, that all thoſe haue but one eie a péece onelie, and the ſame ſituate in the right ſide of their heads. And this I find to be confirmed alſo by authors: There is a well in the forreſt of Gnareſborow, whereof the ſaid forreſt doth take the name; which water, beſide that it is cold as Stir, in a certeine period of time knowne, conuerteth wood, fleſh, leaues of trées, and moſſe into hard ſtone, without alteration or changing of ſhape. The like alſo is ſéene there in frogs, wormes, and ſuch like liuing creatures as fall into the ſame, and find no readie iſſue. Of this ſpring alſo Leland writeth thus; A little aboue March (but at the further banke of Nide riuer as I came) I ſaw a well of wonderfull nature called Dropping well, becauſe the water thereof diſtilleth out of great rockes hard by into it continuallie, which is ſo cold, and thereto of ſuch nature, that what thing ſoeuer falleth out of thoſe rocks into this pit, or groweth néere thereto, or be caſt into it by mans hand,

hand, it turneth into stone. It may be (saith he) that some sand or other fine ground issueth out with this water from these hard rocks, which cleauing vnto those things, giueth them in time the forme of stones &c. Neere vnto the place where Winburne monasterie sometimes stood, also not farre from Bath there is a faire wood, whereof if you take anie péece, and pitch it into the ground thereabouts, or throw it into the water, within twelue moneths it will turne into hard stone. In part of the hilles east southeast of Alderleie, a mile from Kingswood, are stones dailie found, perfectlie fashioned like cockles and mightie oisters, which some dreame haue lien there euer since the floud. In the cliffs betwéene the Blacke head and Trewardeth baie in Cornwall, is a certeine caue, where things appeare like images guilded, on the sides of the same, which I take to be nothing but the shining of the bright ore of coppar and other mettals readie at hand to be found there, if anie diligence were vsed. Howbeit, because it is much maruelled at as a rare thing, I do not thinke it to be vnmeet to be placed amongst our wonders. Maister Guise had of late, and still hath (for aught that I know) a manor in Glocestershire, where certeine okes do grow, whose rootes are verie hard stone. And beside this, the ground is so fertile there (as they saie) that if a man hew a stake of anie wood, and pitch it into the earth, it will grow and take roting beyond all expectation. Silucester towne also is said to conteine fourescore acres of land within the walles, whereof some is corne-ground (as Leland saith) and the graine which is growing therein doth come to verie good perfection till it be readie to be cut downe: but euen then, or about that time it vanisheth away & becommeth altogither vnprofitable. Is it any wonder (thinke you) to tell of sundrie caues nære to Brokenham, on the west side of the riuer Aimote, wherein are halles, chambers, and all offices of houshold cut out of the hard rocke? If it be, then may we increase the number of marucls verie much by a rehearsall of other also. For we haue manie of the like, as one nære saint Assaphs vpon the banke of Elwie, and about the head of Uendraeth Uchan in Wales, whereinto men haue often entred and walked, and yet found nothing but large roomes, and sandie ground vnder their feet, and other else-where. But sith these things are not strange, I let them alone, and go forward with the rest.

In the parish of Landsarnam in Wales, and in the side of a stonie hill, is a place wherein are foure and twentie seats hewen out of the hard rockes; but who did cut them, and to what end, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge stone that lieth at Pember in Guitherie parish, and of the notable carcasse that is affirmed to lie vnder the same, there is no cause to touch it here: yet were it well done to haue it remoued, though it were but onlie to sée what it is, which the people haue in so great estimation & reuerence. There is also a pole in Logh Taw, among the blacke mounteins in Brecknockshire, where (as is said) is the head of Taw that commeth to Swanseie, which hath such a propertie, that it will brèd no fish at all, & if anie be cast into it, they die without recouerie: but this peraduenture may grow through the accidentall corruption of the water, rather than the naturall force of the element it selfe. There is also a lin in Wales, which in the one side beareth trowts so red as samons, and in the other, which is the westerlie side, verie white and delicate. I heare also of two welles not far from Landien, which stand verie nére together, and yet are of such diuersitie of nature, that the one beareth sope, and is a maruellous fine water; the other altogither of contrarie qualities. Which is not a litle to be mused at, considering (I saie) that they participate of one soile, and rise so nigh one to another. I haue notice giuen me moreouer of a stone not farre from saint Dauids, which is verie great, as a bed, or such like thing: and being raised vp, a man may stirre it with his thumbe; but not with his shoulder or force of his whole bodie.

There is a well not farre from stonie Stratford, which conuerteth manie things into stone; and an other in Wales, which is said to double or triple the force of anie edge tole that is quenched in the same. In Tegenia, a parcell of Wales, there is a noble well (I meane in the parish of Kilken) which is of maruellous nature, and much like to another well at Seuill in Spaine: for although it be six miles from the sea, it ebbeth and floweth twise in one daie; alwaies ebbing when the sea doth vse to flow, and in flowing likewise when the sea doth vse to ebbe; whereof some do fable, that this well is ladie and mistresse of the ocean. Not farre from thence also is a medicinable spring called Schinant of old time, but now Wenefrides well, in the edges whereof doth brèd a verie odoriferous and delectable mosse, wherewith the head of the smeller is maruellouslie refreshed. Other welles and water-courses we haue likewise, which at some times burst out into huge streames, though at other seasons they run but verie softlie, whereby the people gather some alteration of estate to be at hand. And such a one there is at Henleie, & another at Croidon; & such a one also in the golden dale beside Anderne in Picardie, whereof the common sort imagine manie things. Some of the greater sort also giue ouer to run at all in such times, wherof they conceiue the like opinion. And of the same nature, though of no great quantitie, is a pit or well at Langleie parke in Kent, whereof (by good hap) it was my lucke to read a notable historie in an ancient chronicle that I saw of late. What the foolish people dreame of the hell Kettles, it is not worthie the rehearsall; yet to the end the lewd opinion conceiued of them may grow into contempt, I will saie thus much also of those pits. There are certeine pits, or rather three little poles, a mile from Darlington, and a quarter of a mile distant from the These banks which the people call the Kettles of hell, or the diuels Kettles, as if he should séeth soules of sinfull men and women in them. They adde also, that the spirits haue oft bene heard to crie and yell about them, with other like talke sauoring altogether of pagan infidelitie. The truth is, and of this opinion also was Cutbert Tunstall late bishop of Durham, a man (notwithstanding the baseneſse of his birth, being begotten by one Tunstall vpon a daughter of the house of the Commers, as Leland saith) of great learning and iudgement, that the cole-mines in those places are kindled, or if there be no coles, there may a mine of some other vnctuous matter be set on fire, which being here and there consumed, the earth falleth in, and so doth leaue a pit. Indéed the water is now and then warme (as they saie) and beside that it is not cléere: the people suppose them to be an hundred fadam déepe. The biggest of them also hath an issue into the These, as experience hath confirmed. For doctor Bellowes *alias* Belzis made report, how a ducke marked after the fashion of the duckes of the bishoprike of Durham, was put into the same betwixt Darlington and These banke, and afterward séene at a bridge not farre from maister Clerenar house. If it were worth the noting, I would also make relation of manie wooden crosses found verie often about Haildon, whereof the old inhabitants conceiued an opinion that they were fallen from heauen; whereas in truth, they were made and borne by king Oswald and his men in the battell wherein they prevailed sometimes against the British infidels,

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vpon a ſuperſtitious imagination, that thoſe croſſes ſhould be their defenſe and ſhield againſt their aduerſaries. Beda calleth the place where the ſaid field was fought, Heauen field; it lieth not far from the Pictiſh wall, and the famous monaſterie of Hagulſtad. But more of this elſewhere. Neither will I ſpeake of the little hillets ſeene in manie places of our Ile, whereof though the vnſkilfull people babble manie things: yet are they nothing elſe but *Tumuli* or graues of former times, as appeareth by ſuch toms & carcaſſes as be daily found in the ſame, when they be digged downe. The like fond imagination haue they of a kind of lunaric, which is to be found in manie places, although not ſo well knowen by the forme vnto them, as by the effect thereof, becauſe it now and then openeth the lockes hanging on the horſes feet as hit vpon it where it groweth in their feeding. Roger Bacon our countrieman noteth it to grow plentiouſlie in Tuthill fields about London. I haue heard of it to be within compaſſe of the pariſh where I dwell, and do take it for none other than the Sfera Cauallo, whereof Mathiolus and the herbariſts do write, albeit that it hath not beene my lucke at anie time to behold it. Plinie calleth it Aethiopis: and Aelianus, Oppianus, Kyramis, and Trebius haue written manie ſuperſtitious things thereof, but eſpeciallie our Chymiſts, who make it of farre more vertue than our ſmiths do their ferne ſeed, whereof they babble manie wonders, and prate of ſuch effects as may well be performed indeed when the ferne beareth ſeed, which is commonly *Ad calendas Græcas*, for before it will not be found. But to proceed. There is a well in Darbieſhire called Tideſwell (ſo named of the word tide, or to ebbe and flow) whoſe water often ſeemeth to riſe and fall, as the ſea which is fortie miles from it doth vſuallie accuſtome to ebbe and flow. And hereof an opinion is growen that it keepeth an ordinarie courſe as the ſea doth. Howbeit, ſith diuerſe are knowne to haue watched the ſame, it may be that at ſometimes it riſeth, but not continuallie; and that it ſo doth I am fullie perſuaded to beleeue. But euen inough of the wonders of our countrie, leaſt I do ſeeme by talking longer of them, wonderouſlie to ouerſhot my ſelfe, and forget how much doth reſt behind of the deſcription of my countrie. As for thoſe that are to be touched of Scotland, the deſcription of that part ſhall in ſome part remember them.

## The Contents of the ſecond Booke.


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## Of the ancient and preſent eſtate *of the church of England.*

Chap. 1.

THere are now two prouinces onelie in England, of which the firſt and greateſt is ſubiect to the ſee of Canturburie, comprehending a parte of Lhoegres, whole Cambria, & alſo Ireland, which in time paſt were ſeuerall, & brought into one by the archbiſhop of the ſaid ſee & aſſiſtance of the pope; who in reſpect of meed, did yeeld vnto the ambitious deſires of ſundrie archbiſhops of Canturburie, as I haue elſewhere declared. The ſecond prouince is vnder the ſee of Yorke, and of theſe; either hath hir archbiſhop reſident commonlie within hir owne limits, who hath not onelie the cheefe dealing in matters apperteining to the hierarchie and iuriſdiction of the church; but alſo great authoritie in ciuill affaires touching the gouernement of the common wealth: ſo far forth as their commiſſions and ſeuerall circuits do extend.

In old time there were three archbiſhops, and ſo manie prouinces in this Ile; of which one kept at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerleon vpon Vſke. But as that of London was tranſlated to Canturburie by Auguſtine, and that of Yorke remaineth (notwithſtanding that the greateſt part of his iuriſdiction is now bereft him and giuen to the Scotiſh archbiſhop) ſo that of Caerleon is vtterlie extinguiſhed, and the gouernement of the countrie vnited to that of Canturburie in ſpirituall cauſes: after it was once before remoued to S. Da-

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uids in Wales by Dauid succeſſor to Dubritius, and vncle to king Arthur, in the 519 of Grace, to the end that he and his clearkes might be further off from the crueltie of the Saxons, where it remained till the time of the Baſtard, and for a ſeaſon after, before it was annexed vnto the ſée of Canturburie.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie is commonlie called primat of all England; and in the coronations of the kings of this land, and all other times, wherein it ſhall pleaſe the prince to weare and put on his crowne, his office is to ſet it vpon their heads. They beare alſo the name of their high chapleins continuallie, although not a few of them haue preſumed (in time paſt) to be their equals, and void of ſubiection vnto them. That this is true, it may eaſilie appéere by their owne acts yet kept in record; beſide their epiſtles & anſwers written or in print; wherein they haue ſought not onelie to match but alſo to mate them with great rigor and more than open tyrannie. Our aduerſaries will peraduenture denie this abſolutelie, as they do manie other things apparant, though not without ſhameleſſe impudencie, or at the leaſt wiſe defend it as iuſt and not ſwaruing from common equitie; bicauſe they imagine euerie archbiſhop to be the kings equall in his owne prouince. But how well their doing herein agréeth with the ſaieng of Peter, & examples of the primitiue church, it may eaſilie appéere. Some examples alſo of their demeanor (I meane in the time of poperie) I will not let to remember, leaſt they ſhould ſaie I ſpeake of malice, and without all ground of likelihod.

Of their practiſes with meane perſons I ſpeake not, neither will I begin at Dunſtane the author of all their pride and preſumption here in England. But for ſomuch as the dealing of Robert the Norman againſt earle Godwine is a rare hiſtorie, and deſerueth to be remembred, I will touch it in this place; proteſting to deale withall in more faithfull maner than it hath heretofore beene deliuered vnto vs by the Norman writers, or French Engliſh, who (of ſet purpoſe) haue ſo defaced earle Godwine, that were it not for the teſtimonie of one or two méere Engliſhmen liuing in thoſe daies, it ſhould be impoſſible for me (or anie other) at this preſent to declare the truth of that matter according to hir circumſtances. Marke therefore what I ſaie. For the truth is, that ſuch Normans as came in with Emma in the time of Ethelred, and Canutus, and the Confeſſor, did fall by ſundrie means into ſuch fauor with thoſe princes, that the gentlemen did grow to beare great rule in the court, and their clearkes to be poſſeſſors of the beſt benefices in the land. Hervpon therefore one Robert, a ſolie ambitious préeſt, gat firſt to be biſhop of London, and after the death of Eadſius, to be archbiſhop of Canturburie by the gift of king Edward; leauing his former ſée to William his countrieman. Alſo alſo a Norman was preferred to Lincolne, and other to other places, as the king did thinke conuenient.

Theſe Norman clerkes, and their frends, being thus exalted, it was not long yer they began to mocke, abuſe, and deſpiſe the Engliſh: and ſo much the more, as they dailie ſaw themſelues to increaſe in fauour with king Edward, who alſo called diuerſe of them to be of his ſecret councell, which did not a litle incenſe the harts of the Engliſh againſt them. A fraie alſo was made at Douer, betwéene the ſeruants of earle Godwine and the French, whoſe maiſters came ouer to ſée and ſalute the king: whereof I haue ſpoken in my Chronologie, which ſo inflamed the minds of the French cleargie and courtiers againſt the Engliſh nobilitie, that each part ſought for opportunitie of reuenge, which yer long toke hold betwéene them. For the ſaid Robert, being called to be archbiſhop of Canturburie, was no ſoner in poſſeſſion of his ſée, than he began to quarrell with earle Godwine (the kings father in law by the mariage of his daughter) who alſo was readie to acquit his demeanor with like malice; and ſo the miſchiefe begun. Hervpon therefore the archbiſhop charged the earle with the murther of Alfred the kings brother, whom not he but Harald the ſonne of Canutus and the Danes had cruellie made awaie. For Alfred and his brother comming into the land with fiue and twentie ſaile, vpon the death of Canutus, and being landed; the Normans that arriued with them giuing out how they came to recouer their right, to wit, the crowne of England; & thervnto the vnſkilfull yoong gentlemen, ſhewing themſelues to like of the rumour that was ſpred in this behalfe, the report of their demeanor was quicklie brought to Harald, who cauſed a companie forthwith of Danes priuilie to laie wait for them, as they roade toward Gilford, where Alfred was ſlaine, and whence Edward with much difficultie eſcaped to his ſhips, and ſo returned into Normandie.

But to proceed. This affirmation of the archbiſhop being greatlie ſoothed out with his craftie vtterance (for he was lerned) confirmed by his French frends, (for they had all conſpired againſt the erle) and thervnto the king being deſirous to reuenge the death of his brother, bred ſuch a grudge in his mind againſt Godwine, that he baniſhed him and his ſons cleane out of the land. He ſent alſo his wife the erles daughter priſoner to Wilton, with one onelie maiden attending vpon hir, where ſhe laie almoſt a yeare before ſhe was releaſed. In the meane ſeaſon, the reſt of the peeres, as Siward earle of Northumberland ſurnamed Digara or Fortis, Leofric earle of Cheſter, and other went to the king, before the departure of Godwine, indeuouring to perſuade him vnto the reuocation of his ſentence; and deſiring that his cauſe might be heard and diſcuſſed by order of law. But the king incenſed by the archbiſhop and his Normans would not heare on that ſide, ſaieng plainelie, and ſwearing by ſaint John the euangeliſt (for that was his common oth) that earle Godwine ſhould not haue his peace till he reſtored his brother Alfred aliue againe vnto his preſence. With which anſwer the peeres departed in choler from the court, and Godwine toward the coaſt.

Comming alſo vnto the ſhore and readie to take ſhipping, he knéeled downe in preſence of his conduct (to wit at Boſenham in the moneth of September, from whence he intended to ſaile into Flanders vnto Baldwine the earle) and there praied openlie before them all, that if euer he attempted anie thing againſt the kings perſon of England, or his roiall eſtate, that he might neuer come ſafe vnto his cenſine, nor ſée his countrie any more, but periſh in this voiage. And herewith he went aboord the ſhip that was prouided for him, and ſo from the coaſt into the open ſea. But ſée what followed. He was not yet gone a mile waie from the land, before he ſaw the ſhore full of armed ſouldiers, ſent after by the archbiſhop and his frends to kill him yer he ſhould depart and go out of the countrie: which yet more incenſed the harts of the Engliſh againſt them.

Being come alſo to Flanders, he cauſed the earle, the French king, and other of his frends, among whome alſo the emperour was one, to write vnto the king in his behalfe; but all in vaine: for nothing could be obteined from him, of which the Normans had no liking, wherevpon the earle and his ſonnes changed their minds, obteined aid, and inuaded the land in ſundrie places. Finallie ioining their powers they came by the Thames into Southwarke néere London where they lodged, and looked for the king to incounter

incounter with them in the field. The king seeing what was done, commanded the Londoners not to aid nor vittell them. But the citizens made answer, how the quarrell of Godwine was the cause of the whole realme, which he had in maner giuen ouer vnto the spoile of the French: and therevpon they not onelie vittelled them aboundantlie, but also receiued the earle and his chiefe frends into the citie, where they lodged them at their ease, till the kings power was readie to ioine with them in battell.

Great resort also was made vnto them from all places of the realme, so that the earles armie was wonderfullie increased, and the daie and place chosen wherein the battell should be fought. But when the armies met, the kings side began some to flee to the earle, other to laie downe their weapons, and not a few to run awaie out right; the rest telling him plainelie that they would neuer fight against their owne countriemen, to mainteine Frenchmens quarrels. The Normans also seeing the sequele, fled awaie so fast as they might gallop, leauing the king in the field to shift for himselfe (as he best might) whilest they did saue themselues elsewhere.

In the meanie season the earles power would haue set vpon the king, either to his slaughter, or apprehension; but he staied them, saieng after this maner: The king is my sonne (as you all know) and it is not for a father to deale so hardlie with his child, neither a subiect with his souereigne; it is not he that hath hurt or done me this iniurie, but the proud Normans that are about him: wherfore to gaine a kingdome, I will do him no violence. And therewithall casting aside his battell ax he ran to the king, that stood altogither amazed, and falling at his feet he craued his peace, accused the archbishop, required that his cause might be heard in open assemblie of his peeres; and finallie determined as truth and equitie should deserue.

The king (after he had pansed a prettie while) seeing his old father in law to lie groueling at his feet, and conceiuing with himselfe that his sute was not vnreasonable; seeing also his children, and the rest of the greatest barons of the land to kneele before him, and make the like request: he lifted vp the earle by the hand, bad him be of good comfort, pardoned all that was past, and frendlie hauing kissed him and his sonnes vpon the cheekes, he lead them to his palace, called home the queene, and summoned all his lords vnto a councell.

Wherein it is much to read, how manie billes were presented against the bishop & his Normans; some conteining matter of rape, other of robberie, extortion, murder, manslaughter, high treason, adulterie; and not a few of batterie. Wherwith the king (as a man now awaked out of sleepe) was so offended, that vpon consultation had of these things, he banished all the Normans out of the land, onelie three or foure excepted, whome he reteined for sundrie necessarie causes, albeit they came neuer more so neere him afterward as to be of his priuie councell.

After this also the earle liued almost two yeares, and then falling into an apoplexie, as he sat with the king at the table, he was taken vp and carried into the kings bedchamber, where (after a few daies) he made an end of his life. And thus much of our first broile raised by the cleargie, and practise of the archbishop. I would intreat of all the like examples of tyrannie, practised by the prelats of this see, against their lords and souereignes: but then I should rather write an historie than a description of this Iland.

Wherefore I refer you to those reports of Anselme and Becket, sufficientlie penned by other, the which Anselme also making a shew, as if he had bin verie vnwilling to be placed in the see of Canturburie, gaue this answer to the letters of such his frends, as did make request vnto him to take the charge vpon him. *Secularia negotia nescio, quia scire nolo, eorum námque occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animum. Voluntati sacrarum intendo scripturarum, vos dissonantiam facitis, verendúmque est nè aratrum sanctæ ecclesiæ, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonum certantes, id est rex & archiepiscopus, debeant trahere, nunc oue vetula cum tauro indomito iugata, distorqueatur à recto. Ego ouis vetula, qui si quietus essem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lanæ, aliquibus possem fortassis non ingratus esse, sed si me cum hoc tauro coniungitis, videbitis pro disparilitate trahentium, aratrum non rectè procedere, &c.* Which is in English thus: Of secular affaires I haue no skill, bicause I will not know them, for I euen abhor the troubles that rise about them, as one that desireth to haue his mind at libertie. I applie my whole indeuor to the rule of the scriptures, you lead me to the contrarie. And it is to be feared least the plough of holie church, which two strong oxen of equall force, and both like earnest to contend vnto that which is good (that is the king and the archbishop) ought to draw, should thereby now swarue from the right forrow, by matching of an old sheepe with a wild vntamed bull. I am that old sheepe, who if I might be quiet, could peraduenture shew my selfe not altogither vngratfull to some, by feeding them with the milke of the word of God, and couering them with woll: but if you match me with this bull, you shall see that thorough want of equalitie in draught the plough will not go to right, &c: as followeth in the processe of his letters. The said Thomas Becket was so proud, that he wrote to king Henrie the second, as to his lord, to his king, and to his sonne, offering him his counsell, his reuerence, and due correction, &c. Others in like sort haue protested, that they ought nothing to the kings of this land, but their counsell onelie, reseruing all obedience vnto the see of Rome. Thomas Becket.

And as the old cocke of Canturburie did crow in this behalfe, so the yong cockerels of other sees did imitate his demeanor, as may be seene by this one example also in king Stephans time, worthie to be remembred; vnto whome the bishop of London would not so much as sweare to be true subiect: wherein also he was mainteined by the pope, as appeareth by these letters.

*Eugenius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, dilecto in Christo filio Stephano illustri regi Anglorū salutē, & apostolicā benedictionē. Adhæc superna prouidētia in ecclesia pontifices ordinauit, vt Christianus populus ab eis pascua vitæ reciperet, & tam principes seculares, quàm inferioris conditionis homines, ipsis pontificibus tanquam Christi vicarijs reuerentiam exhiberent. Venerabilis siquidem frater noster Robertus London episcopus, tanquam vir sapiens & honestus, & relligionis amator, à nobilitate tua benignè tractandus est, & pro collata à Deo prudentia propensius honorandus. Quia ergò, sicut in veritate comperimus cum animæ suæ salute, ac suæ ordinis periculo, fidelitate quæ ab eo requiritur astringi non potest: volumus, & ex paterno tibi affectu consulimus, quatenus prædictum fratrem nostrum super hoc nullatenus inquietes, immò pro beati Petri & nostra reuerentia, eum in amorem & gratiam tuam recipias. Cùm autem illud iuramentum præstare non possit, sufficiat discretioni tuæ, vt simplici & veraci verbo promittat, quòd læsionem tibi vel terræ tuæ non inferat: Vale. Dat. Meldis 6. cal. Iulij.*

Thus we see, that kings were to rule no further than it pleased the pope to like of; neither to challenge more obedience of their subiects than stood al-

Anselme.

so with their good will and pleasure. He wrote in like sort vnto quéene Mawd about the same matter, making hir Samsons calfe (the better to bring his purpose to passe) as appeareth by the same letter here insuing.

*Solomone attestante, didicimus quòd mulier sapiens ædificat domum; insipiens autem constructam destruet manibus. Gaudemus pro te, & deuotionis studium in Domino collaudamus; quoniam sicut relligiosorum relatione accepimus, timorem Dei præ oculis habens, operibus pietatis intẽdis, & personas ecclesiasticas & diligis & honoras. Vt ergo de bono in melius (inspirante Domino) proficere valeas, nobilitatẽ tuam in Domino rogamus, & rogando monemus, & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus bonis initijs exitus meliores iniungas, & venerabilem fratrem nostrum Robertum London episcopũ, pro illius reuerentia, qui cùm olim dilectus esset, pro nobis pauper fieri voluit, attentiùs diligas, & honores. Apud virum tuum & dilectum filium nostrum Stephanum, insignem regem Anglorum efficere studeas, vt monitis, hortatu, & cõsilio tuo, ipsum in benignitatem & dilectionem suam suscipiat, & pro beati Petri, & nostra reuerentia propensiùs habeat commendatum. Et quia sicut (veritate teste) attendimus eum sine salute, & sui ordinis periculo, præfato filio nostro astringi non posse; volumus, & paterno sibi & tibi affectu consulimus, vt vobis sufficiat, veraci & simplici verbo promissionẽ ab eo suscipere, quòd læsionem vel detrimentum ei, vel terræ suæ nõ inferat. Dat. vt supra.*

Is it not strange, that a peeuish order of religion (deuised by man) should breake the expresse law of God, who commandeth all men to honour and obeie their kings and princes, in whome some part of the power of God is manifest and laid open vnto vs? And euen vnto this end the cardinall of Hostia also wrote to the canons of Paules, after this maner; couertlie incouraging them to stand to their election of the said Robert, who was no more willing to giue ouer his new bishoprike, than they carefull to offend the king; but rather imagined which waie to keepe it still maugre his displeasure: & yet not to sweare obedience vnto him, for all that he should be able to do or performe vnto the contrarie.

*Humilis Dei gratia Hostiensis episcopus, Londinensis ecclesiæ canonicis spiritũ consilij in Domino. Sicut rationi contraria prorsus est abijcienda petitio, ita in hijs, quæ iustè desyderantur, effectum negare omninò non conuenit. Sanè nuper accepimus, quòd Londinensis ecclesia, diu proprio destituta pastore, communi voto, & pari assensu cleri & populi, venerabilem filium nostrum Robertum, eiusdem ecclesiæ archidiaconum, in pastorem & episcopum animarum suarum susceperit & elegerit. Nouimus quidem eum esse personam, quam sapientia desuper ei attributa, & honestas conuersationis, & morum reuerentia plurimùm commẽdabilem reddidit. Inde est quòd fraternitati vestræ mandando consulimus, vt proposito vestro bono (quod vt credimus ex Deo est) & vt ex literis domini papæ cognoscetis, non tepidè, non lentè debitum finem imponatis: ne tam nobilis ecclesia, sub occasione huiusmodi, spiritualium, quod absit, & temporalium detrimentum patiatur. Ipsius námque industria credimus, quòd antiqua relligio, & forma disciplinæ, & grauitas habitus, in ecclesia vestra reparari: & si quæ fuerint ipsius contentiones, ex pastoris absentia, Dei gratia cooperante, & eodem præsente, poterint reformari. Dat. &c.*

Forsitan naturalem.

Hereby you see how king Stephan was dealt withall. And albeit the archbishop of Canturburie is not openlie to be touched herewith, yet it is not to be doubted, but he was a doer in it, so far as might tend to the maintenance of the right and prerogatiue of holie church. And euen no lesse vnquietnesse had another of our princes with Iohn of Arundell, who fled to Rome for feare of his head, and caused the pope to write an ambitious and contumelious letter vnto his souereigne about his restitution. But when (by the kings letters yet extant) it beginning thus; *Thomas proditionis non expers nostræ regiæ maiestati insidias fabricauit*, the pope vnderstood the botome of the matter, he was contented that Thomas should be depriued, and another archbishop chosen in his sted.

Neither did this pride staie at archbishops and bishops, but descended lower, euen to the rake-helles of the clergie and puddels of all vngodlinesse. For beside the iniurie receiued of their superiors, how was K. Iohn dealt withall by the vile Cistertians at Lincolne in the second of his reigne? Certes, when he had (vpon iust occasion) conceiued some grudge against them for their ambitious demeanor; and vpon deniall to paie such summes of monie as were allotted vnto them, he had caused seizure to be made of such horsses, swine, neate, and other things of theirs, as were maintained in his forrests. They denounced him as fast amongst themselues with bell, booke and candle, to be accursed and excommunicated. Herevnto they so handled the matter with the pope and their friends, that the king was faine to yéeld to their good graces: insomuch that a meeting for pacification was appointed betweene them at Lincolne, by meanes of the present archbishop of Canturburie, who went oft betweene him and the Cistertian commissioners before the matter could be finished. In the end, the king himselfe came also vnto the said commissioners as they sat in their chapiter house, and there with teares fell downe at their feet, crauing pardon for his trespasses against them, and heartilie requiring that they would (from thencefoorth) commend him and his realme in their praiers vnto the protection of the almightie, and receiue him into their fraternitie: promising moreouer full satisfaction of their damages susteined; and to build an house of their order in whatsoeuer place of England it should please them to assigne. And this he confirmed by charter, bearing date the seauen and twentith of November, after the Scotish king was returned into Scotland, & departed from the king. Whereby (and by other the like, as betweene Iohn Stratford and Edward the third, &c:) a man may easilie conceiue how proud the cleargie-men haue béene in former times, as wholie presuming vpon the primasie of their pope. More matter could I alledge of these and the like brotles, not to be found among our common historiographers: howbeit reseruing the same vnto places more conuenient, I will cease to speake of them at this time, and go forward with such other things as my purpose is to speake of. At the first therefore there was like and equall authoritie in both our archbishops: but as he of Canturburie hath long since obteined the prerogatiue aboue Yorke (although I saie not without great trouble, sute, some bloudshed & contention) so the archbishop of Yorke is neuertheless written primate of England, as one contenting himselfe with a péece of a title at the least, when (all) could not be gotten. And as he of Canturburie crowneth the king, so this of Yorke doth the like to the quéene, whose perpetuall chapleine he is, & hath béene from time to time, since the determination of this controuersie, as writers do report. The first also hath vnder his iurisdiction to

the

Twentie one biſhoprikes vnder ỹ ſee of Canturburie.

Onelie foure ſées vnder the archbiſhop of Yorke.

the number of one and twentie inferiour biſhops, the other hath onlie foure, by reaſon that the churches of Scotland are now remoued from his obedience vnto an archbiſhop of their owne, whereby the greatneſſe and circuit of the iuriſdiction of Yorke is not a little diminiſhed. In like ſort each of theſe ſeauen and twentie ſées haue their cathedrall churches, wherein the deanes (a calling not knowne in England before the conqueſt) do beare the chéefe rule, being men eſpeciallie choſen to that vocation, both for their learning and godlineſſe ſo néere as can be poſſible. Theſe cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and canonries ſtill remaining vnto them, as héeretofore vnder the popiſh regiment. Howbeit thoſe that are choſen to the ſame are no idle and vnprofitable perſons (as in times paſt they haue béene when moſt of theſe liuings were either furniſhed with ſtrangers, eſpeciallie out of Italie, boies, or ſuch idiots as had leaſt ſkill of all in diſcharging of thoſe functions, whereunto they were called by vertue of theſe ſtipends) but ſuch as by preaching and teaching can and do learnedlie ſet forth the glorie of God, and further the ouerthrow of antichriſt to the vttermoſt of their powers.

Deanes.

Canonries.

These churches are called cathedrall, becauſe the biſhops dwell or lie néere vnto the ſame, as bound to kéepe continuall reſidence within their iuriſdictions, for the better ouerſight and gouernance of the ſame: the word being deriued *A cathedra*, that is to ſaie a chaire or ſeat where he reſteth, and for the moſt part abideth. At the firſt there was but one church in euerie iuriſdiction, wherinto no man entred to praie, but with ſome oblation or other toward the maintenance of the paſtor. For as it was reputed an infamie to paſſe by anie of them without viſitation: ſo it was a no leſſe reproch to appeare emptie before the Lord. And for this occaſion alſo they were builded verie huge and great, for otherwiſe they were not capable of ſuch multitudes as came dailie vnto them, to heare the word, and receiue the ſacraments.

But as the number of chriſtians increaſed, ſo firſt monaſteries, then finallie pariſh churches were builded in euerie iuriſdiction: from whence I take our deanerie churches to haue their originall, now called mother churches, and their incumbents archpréeſts; the reſt being added ſince the conqueſt, either by the lords of euerie towne, or zealous men, loth to trauell farre, and willing to haue ſome eaſe by building them nere hand. Vnto theſe deanerie churches alſo the cleargie in old time of the ſame deanrie were appointed to repaire at ſundrie ſeaſons, there to receiue wholeſome ordinances, and to conſult vpon the neceſſarie affaires of the whole iuriſdiction; if neceſſitie ſo required: and ſome image hereof is yet to be ſeene in the north parts. But as the number of churches increaſed, ſo the repaire of the faithfull vnto the cathedrals did diminiſh: whereby they now become eſpeciallie in their nether parts rather markets and ſhops for merchandize, than ſolemn places of praier, whereunto they were firſt erected. Moreouer in the ſaid cathedrall churches vpon ſundaies and feſtiuall daies, the canons do make certeine ordinarie ſermons by courſe, whereunto great numbers of all eſtates do orderlie reſort: and vpon the working daies thoſe in the wéeke, one of the ſaid canons, or ſome other in his ſtéed, doth read and expound ſome péece of holie ſcripture, whereunto the people do verie reuerentlie repaire. The biſhops themſelues in like ſort are not idle in their callings, for being now exempt from court and councell, which is one (and a no ſmall) péece of their felicitie (although Richard archbiſhop of Canturburie thought otherwiſe, as yet appeareth by his letters to pope Alexander; *Epiſtola* 44. Petri Bleſenſis, where he ſaith; Becauſe the cleargie of his time were ſomewhat narrowlie looked vnto, *Supra dorſum eccleſiæ fabricant peccatores, &c:*) they ſo aplie their minds to the ſetting forth of the word, that there are verie few of them, which do not euerie ſundaie or oftener reſort to ſome place or other, within their iuriſdictions, where they expound the ſcriptures with much grauitie and skill; and yet not without the great miſliking and contempt of ſuch as hate the word. Of their manifold tranſlations from one ſée to another I will ſaie nothing, which is not now done for the benefit of the flocke, as the preferment of the partie fauoured, and aduantage vnto the prince, a matter in time paſt much doubted of, to wit, whether a biſhop or paſtor might be tranſlated from one ſée to another; & left vndecided, till preſcription by roiall authoritie made it good. For among princes a thing once done, is well done, and to be done oftentimes, though no warrant be to be found therefore.

Ordinarie ſermons.

Ordinarie expoſitions of the ſcriptures

The biſhops preach diligentlie, whoſe predeceſſors heretofore haue bene occupied in temporall affairs.

They haue vnder them alſo their archdeacons, ſome one, diuerſe two, and manie foure or mo, as their circuits are in quantitie, which archdeacons are termed in law the biſhops eies: and theſe (beſide their ordinarie courts, which are holden within ſo manie or more of their ſeuerall deanries by themſelues or their officials once in a moneth at the leaſt) do kéepe yearelie two viſitations or ſynods (as the biſhop doth in euerie third yeare, wherein he confirmeth ſome children, though moſt care but a litle for that ceremonie) in which they make diligent inquiſition and ſearch, as well for the doctrine and behauiour of the miniſters, as the orderlie dealing of the pariſhioners in reſorting to their pariſh churches and conformitie vnto religion. They puniſh alſo with great ſeueritie all ſuch treſpaſſers, either in perſon or by the purſſe (where permutation of penance is thought more gréeuous to the offendor) as are preſented vnto them: or if the cauſe be of the more weight, as in caſes of hereſie, pertinacie, contempt, and ſuch like, they referre them either to the biſhop of the dioceſſe, or his chancellor, or elſe to ſundrie graue perſons ſet in authoritie, by vertue of an high commiſſion directed vnto them from the prince to that end, who in verie courteous maner do ſée the offendors gentlie reformed, or elſe ſeuerlie puniſhed, if neceſſitie ſo inforce.

Archdeacons.

High commiſſioners.

Beſide this, in manie of our archdeaconries we haue an exerciſe latelie begun, which for the moſt part is called a prophesie or conference, and erected onelie for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their ſtudie of holie ſcriptures. Howbeit, ſuch is the thirſtie deſire of the people in theſe daies to heare the word of God, that they alſo haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themſelues among them (but as hearers onelie) to come by more knowledge through their preſence at the ſame. Herein alſo (for the moſt part) two of the yonger ſort of miniſters do expound each after other ſome péece of the ſcriptures ordinarilie appointed vnto them in their courſes (wherein they orderlie go through with ſome one of the euangeliſts, or of the epiſtles, as it pleaſeth the whole aſſemblie to chooſe at the firſt in euerie of theſe conferences) and when they haue ſpent an houre or a little more betwéene them, then commeth one of the better learned ſort, who being a graduat for the moſt part, or knowne to be a preacher ſufficientlie authoriſed, & of a ſound iudgement, ſupplieth the roome of a moderator, making firſt a bréefe rehearſall of their diſcourſes, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, whereby two houres are thus commonlie ſpent at this moſt profitable métting. When all is done, if the firſt ſpeakers haue ſhewed anie péece of diligence, they are commended for their trauell, and in-

A prophesie or conference.

couraged to go forward. If they haue béene found to be slacke, or not sound in deliuerie of their doctrine, their negligence and error is openlie reproued before all their brethren, who go aside of purpose from the laitie, after the exercise ended, to iudge of these matters, and consult of the next speakers and quantitie of the text to be handled in that place. The laitie neuer speake of course (except some vaine and busie head will now and then intrude themselues with offense) but are onelie hearers; and as it is vsed in some places wéekelie, in other once in foureténe daies, in diuerse monethlie, and elsewhere twise in a yeare, so is it a notable spurre vnto all the ministers, thereby to applie their bookes, which otherwise (as in times past) would giue themselues to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouse, shooting of matches, and other like vanities, nothing commendable in such as should be godlie and zealous stewards of the good gifts of God, faithfull distributors of his word vnto the people, and diligent pastors according to their calling.

But alas! as Sathan the author of all mischéefe hath in sundrie manners heretofore hindered the erection and maintenance of manie good things: so in this he hath stirred vp aduersaries of late vnto this most profitable exercise, who not regarding the commoditie that riseth thereby so well to the hearers as speakers; but either stumbling (I cannot tell how) at words and termes, or at the least wise not liking to here of the reprehension of vice, or peraduenture taking a misliking at the slender demeanours of such negligent ministers, as now and then in their courses do occupie the roomes: haue either by their owne practise, their sinister information, or suggestions made vpon surmises vnto other procured the suppression of these conferences, condemning them as hurtfull, pernicious, and dailie breeders of no small hurt & inconuenience. But hereof let God be iudge, vnto whome the cause belongeth.

Ministers & deacons.

Our elders or ministers and deacons (for subdeacons and the other inferiour orders, sometime vsed in popish church we haue not) are made according to a certeine forme of consecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edward the first, by the cleargie of England, and sone after confirmed by the three estates of the realme, in the high court of parlement. And out of the first sort, that is to saie, of such as are called to the ministerie (without respect whether they be married or not) are bishops, deanes, archdeacons, & such as haue the higher places in the hierarchie of the church elected; and these also as all the rest, at the first comming vnto anie spirituall promotion, do yéeld vnto the prince the entire tare of that their liuing for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounds and vpwards, and this vnder the name and title of first fruits.

Faculties.

With vs also it is permitted, that a sufficient man may (by dispensation from the prince) hold two liuings, not distant either from other aboue thirtie miles; whereby it commeth to passe, that as his maiestie doth reape some commoditie by the faculties, so the vnion of two in one man doth bring oftentimes more benefit to one of them in a moneth (I meane for doctrine) than they haue had before peraduenture in manie yeares.

Manie exclame against such faculties, as if there were no good preachers that want maintenance, than liuings to maintaine them. In déed when a liuing is void, there are so manie sutors for it, that a man would thinke the report to be true, and most certeine: but when it commeth to the triall, who are sufficient, and who not, who are staied men in conuersation, iudgement, and learning; of that great number you shall hardlie find one or two, such as they ought to be: and yet none more earnest to make sute, to promise largelie, beare a better shew, or find fault with the state of things than they. Neuertheless, I do not thinke that their exclamations if they were wiselie handled, are altogither grounded vpon rumors or ambitious minds, if you respect the state of the thing it selfe, and not the necessitie growing through want of able men, to furnish out all the cures in England, which both our vniuersities are neuer able to performe. For if you obserue what numbers of preachers Cambridge and Oxford do yearelie send forth; and how manie new compositions are made in the court of first fruits, by the deaths of the last incumbents: you shall sone sée a difference. Wherefore, if in countrie townes & cities, yea euen in London it selfe, foure or fiue of the litle churches were brought into one, the inconuenience would in great part be redressed and amended.

And to saie truth, one most commonlie of these small liuings is of so little value, that it is not able to mainteine a meane scholar; much lesse a learned man, as not being aboue ten, twelue, sixténe, seuenténe, twentie, or thirtie pounds at the most, toward their charges, which now (more than before time) do go out of the same. I saie more than before, because euerie small trifle, noble mans request, or courtesie craued by the bishop, doth impose and command a twentith part, a three score part, or two pence in the pound, &c: out of our liuings, which hither to hath not béene vsuallie granted, but by consent of a synod, wherein things were decided according to equitie, and the power sort considered of, which now are equallie burdened.

Tenths.

We paie also the tenths of our liuings to the prince yearelie, according to such valuation of ech of them, as hath béene latelie made: which neuertheless in time past were not annuall but voluntarie, & paid at request of king or pope. Herevpon also hangeth a pleasant storie though done of late yeares, to wit 1452, at which time the cleargie séeing the continuall losses that the king of England susteined in France, vpon some motion of reléese made, granted in an open conuocation to giue him two tenths toward the recouerie of Burdeaux, which his grace verie thankefullie receiued. It fortuned also at the same time that Vincentius Clemens the popes factor was here in England, who hearing what the cleargie had done, came into the conuocation house also in great hast and lesse spéed, where, in a solemne oration he earnestlie required them to be no lesse fauourable to their spirituall father the pope, and mother the sée of Rome, than they had shewed themselues vnto his vassall and inferiour, meaning their soueréigne lord in temporall iurisdiction, &c. In deliuering also the cause of his sute, he shewed how gréeuouslie the pope was disturbed by cutthroates, barlots, and harlots, which do now so abound in Rome, that his holinesse is in dailie danger to be made awaie amongst them. To be short when this fine tale was told, one of the companie stood vp and said vnto him; My lord we haue heard your request, and as we thinke it deserueth litle consideration and lesse eare, for how would you haue vs to contribute to his aid in suppression of such, as he and such as you are do continuall vphold, it is not vnknowen in this house what rule is kept in Rome.

I grant (quoth Vincent) that there wanteth iust reformation of manie things in that citie, which would haue béene made soner, but now it is too late: neuertheless I beséech you to write vnto his holinesse, with request that he would leaue and abandon that Babylon, which is but a sinke of mischiefe, and kéepe his court elsewhere in place of better fame. And this he shall be the better able also to performe, if by your liberalitie

liberalitie extended towards him, vnto whome you are moſt bound, he be incouraged thereto. Manie other words paſſed to and fro amongſt them, howbeit in the end Vincent ouercame not, but was diſmiſſed without anie penie obteined. But to returne to our tenths, a paiement firſt as deuiſed by the pope, and afterward taken vp as by the preſcription of the king, wherevnto we may ioine alſo our firſt fruits, which is one whole yeares commoditie of our liuing, due at our entrance into the ſame, the tenths abated vnto the princes cofers, and paid commonlie in two yeares. For the receipt alſo of theſe two paiments, an eſpeciall office or court is erected, which beareth name of firſt fruits and tenths, wherevnto if the partie to be preferred, do not make his dutifull repaire by an appointed time after poſſeſſion taken, there to compound for the paiment of his ſaid fruits, he incurreth the danger of a great penaltie, limited by a certeine ſtatute prouided in that behalfe, againſt ſuch as do intrude into the eccleſiaſticall function, and refuſe to paie the accuſtomed duties belonging to the ſame.

They paie likewiſe ſubſidies with the temporaltie, but in ſuch ſort, that if theſe paie after foure ſhillings for land, the cleargie contribute commonlie after ſix ſhillings of the pound, ſo that of a benefice of twentie pounds by the yeare, the incumbent thinketh himſelfe well acquited, if all ordinarie paiments being diſcharged he may reſerue thirteene pounds ſix ſhillings eight pence towards his owne ſuſtentation, and maintenance of his familie. Seldome alſo are they without the compaſſe of a ſubſidie, for if they be one yeare cleare from this paiement, a thing not often ſeene of late yeares, they are like in the next to heare of another grant: ſo that I ſaie againe they are ſeldome without the limit of a ſubſidie. Herein alſo they ſomewhat find themſelues grieued, that the laitie may at euerie taxation helpe themſelues, and ſo they do through conſideration had of their decaie and hinderance, and yet their impoueriſhment cannot but touch alſo the parſon or vicar, vnto whom ſuch libertie is denied, as is dailie to be ſeene in their accompts and tithings.

Some of them alſo, after the mariages of their children, will haue their proportions qualified, or by freendſhip get themſelues quite out of the booke. But what ſtand I vpon theſe things, who haue rather to complaine of the iniurie offered by ſome of our neighbors of the laitie, which dailie indeuor to bring vs alſo within the compaſſe of their fifteens or taxes for their owne eaſe, whereas the tare of the whole realme, which is commonlie greater in the champeigne than woodland ſoile, amounteth onelie to 37930 pounds nine pence halfepenie, is a burden eaſie inough to be borne vpon ſo manie ſhoulders, without the helpe of the cleargie, whoſe tenths and ſubſidies make vp commonlie a double, if not troubleſome vnto their aforeſaid paiments. Sometimes alſo we are threatned with a *Melius inquirendum*, as if our liuings were not racked high inough alreadie. But if a man ſhould ſeeke out where all thoſe church lands, which in time paſt did contribute vnto the old ſumme required or to be made vp, no doubt no ſmall number of the laitie of all ſtates ſhould be contributors alſo with vs, the prince not defrauded of hir expectation and right. We are alſo charged with armor & munitions from thirtie pounds vpwards, a thing more needfull than diuerſe other charges impoſed vpon vs are conuenient, by which & other burdens our caſe groweth to be more heauie by a great deale (notwithſtanding our immunitie from temporall ſeruices) than that of the laitie, and for ought that I ſee not likelie to be diminiſhed, as if the church were now become the aſſe whereon euerie market man is to ride and caſt his wallet.

The other paiments due vnto the archbiſhop and biſhop at their ſeuerall viſitations (of which the firſt is double to the latter) and ſuch alſo as the archdeacon receiueth at his ſynods, &c: remaine ſtill as they did without anie alteration, onelie this I thinke be added within memorie of man, that at the comming of euerie prince, his appointed officers do commonlie viſit the whole realme vnder the forme of an eccleſiaſticall inquiſition, in which the clergie do vſuallie paie double fees, as vnto the archbiſhop. Hereby then, and by thoſe alreadie remembred, it is found that the church of England, is no leſſe commodious to the princes coffers than the ſtate of the laitie, if it do not farre exceed the ſame, ſince their paiments are certeine, continuall, and ſeldome abated, howſoeuer they gather vp their owne duties with grudging, murmuring, ſute, and ſlanderous ſpeeches of the paiers, or haue their liuings otherwiſe hardlie valued vnto the vttermoſt farding, or ſhrewdlie cancelled by the couetouſneſſe of the patrones, of whome ſome do beſtow aduouſons of benefices vpon their bakers, butlers, cookes, good archers, falconers, and horſekeepers, in ſted of other recompenſe, for their long and faithfull ſeruice, which they imploie afterward vnto their moſt aduantage.

Certes here they reſemble the pope verie much, for as he ſendeth out his idols, ſo do they their paraſites, pages, chamberleins, ſtewards, grooms, & lackies; and yet theſe be the men that firſt exclame of the inſufficiencie of the miniſters, as hoping thereby in due time to get alſo their glebes and grounds into their hands. In times paſt biſhoprikes went almoſt after the ſame maner vnder the laie princes, and then vnder the pope, ſo that he which helped a clerke vnto a ſee, was ſure to haue a preſent or purſe fine, if not an annuall penſion, beſides that which went to the popes coffers, and was thought to be verie good merchandize. Hereof one example may be touched, as of a thing done in my yonger daies, whileſt queene Marie bare the ſwaie and gouerned in this land. After the death of Stephan Gardiner, the ſee of Wincheſter was void for a ſeaſon, during which time cardinall Pole made ſeizure vpon the reuenues and commodities of the ſame, pretending authoritie therevnto *Sede vacante*, by vertue of his place. With this act of his the biſhop of Lincolne called White tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſtepped in like a mate, with full purpoſe (as he ſaid) to keepe that ſee from ruine. He wrote alſo to Paulus the fourth pope, requiring that he might be preferred therevnto, promiſing ſo as he might be *Compos voti*, to paie to the popes coffers 1600 pounds yearlie during his naturall life, and for one yeere after. But the pope nothing liking of his motion, and yet deſirous to reape a further benefit, firſt ſhewed himſelfe to ſtomach his ſimonicall practiſe verie grieuouſlie, conſidering the dangerouſneſſe of the time and preſent eſtate of the church of England, which hong as yet in balance readie to yeeld anie waie, ſauing forth right, as he alledged in his letters. By which replie he ſo terrified the poore biſhop, that he was driuen vnto another iſſue, I meane to recouer the popes good will, with a further ſumme than ſtood with his eaſe to part withall. In the end when the pope had gotten this fleece, a new deuiſe was found, and meanes made to and by the prince, that White might be biſhop of Wincheſter, which at the laſt he obteined, but in ſuch wiſe as that the pope and his neereſt friends did loſe but a little by it. I could if need were ſet downe a report of diuerſe other the like practiſes, but this ſhall ſuffice in ſtead of all the reſt, leaſt in reprehending of vice I might ſhew my ſelfe to be a teacher of vngodlineſſe, or to ſcatter more vngratious ſeed in lewd ground

alreadie choked with wickednesse.

To proceed therefore with the rest, I thinke it good also to remember, that the names vsuallie giuen vnto such as fed the flocke remaine in like sort as in times past, so that these words, parson, vicar, curat, and such are not yet abolished more than the canon law it selfe, which is dailie pleaded, as I haue said elsewhere; although the statutes of the realme haue greatlie infringed the large scope, and brought the exercise of the same into some narrower limits. There is nothing read in our churches but the canonicall scriptures, whereby it commeth to passe that the psalter is said ouer once in thirtie daies, the new testament foure times, and the old testament once in the yeare. And herevnto if the curat be adiudged by the bishop or his deputies, sufficientlie instructed in the holie scriptures, and therewithall able to teach, he permitteth him to make some exposition or exhortation in his parish, vnto amendment of life. And for so much as our churches and vniuersities haue béene so spoiled in time of errour, as there cannot yet be had such number of able pastours as may suffice for euerie parish to haue one: there are (beside foure sermons appointed by publike order in the yeare) certeine sermons or homilies (deuised by sundrie learned men, confirmed for sound doctrine by consent of the diuines, and publike authoritie of the prince) and those appointed to be read by the curats of meane vnderstanding (which homilies do comprehend the principall parts of christian doctrine, as of originall sinne, of iustification by faith, of charitie, and such like) vpon the sabbaoth daies, vnto the congregation. And after a certeine number of psalmes read, which are limited according to the daies of the month, for morning and euening praier, we haue two lessons, whereof the first is taken out of the old testament, the second out of the new, and of these latter that in the morning is out of the gospels, the other in the after none out of some one of the epistles. After morning praier also we haue the letanie and suffrages, an inuocation in mine opinion not deuised without the great assistance of the spirit of God, although manie curious minded persons vtterlie condemne it as superstitious and sauoring of coniuration and sorcerie.

This being done, we proceed vnto the communion, if anie communicants be to receiue the eucharist, if not we read the decalog, epistle and gospell with the Nicene creed (of some in derision called the drie communion) and then proceed vnto an homilie or sermon, which hath a psalme before and after it, and finallie vnto the baptisme of such infants as on euerie sabaoth daie (if occasion so require) are brought vnto the churches: and thus is the forenoone bestowed. In the after none likewise we meet againe, and after the psalmes and lessons ended we haue commonlie a sermon, or at the least wise our youth catechised by the space of an houre. And thus do we spend the sabaoth daie in good and godlie exercises, all done in our vulgar tong, that each one present may heare and vnderstand the same, which also in cathedrall and collegiat churches is so ordered, that the psalmes onelie are song by note, the rest being read (as in common parish churches) by the minister with a lowd voice, sauing that in the administration of the communion the quier singeth the answers, the creed, and sundrie other things appointed, but in so plaine, I saie, and distinct maner, that each one present may vnderstand what they sing, euerie word hauing but one note, though the whole harmonie consist of manie parts, and those verie cunninglie set by the skilfull in that science.

Certes this translation of the seruice of the church into the vulgar tong, hath not a litle offended the pope almost in euerie age, as a thing verie often attempted by diuers princes, but neuer generallie obteined, for feare least the consenting thervnto might breed the ouerthrow (as it would in deed) of all his religion and hierarchie: neuertheless in some places where the kings and princes dwelled not vnder his nose, it was performed maugre his resistance. Vratislaus duke of Bohemia, would long since haue done the like also in his kingdome, but not daring to venter so farre without the consent of the pope, he wrote vnto him thereof, and receiued his answer inhibitorie vnto all his proceeding in the same.

*Gregorius septimus Vratislao Bohemorum duci, &c. Quia nobilitas tua postulat, quòd secundùm Sclauonicã linguã apud vos diuinum celebrari annueremus officium, scias nos huic petitioni tuæ nequaquàm posse fauere, ex hoc nempe se volentibus liquet, non immeritò sacram scripturam optimo Deo placuisse quibusdam locis esse occultam; ne si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, fortè vilesceret, & subiaceret despectui, aut praue intellecta à mediocribus in errorem induceret. Neque enim ad excusationem iuuat, quòd quidam viri hoc, quod simplex populus quærit patienter tulerunt, seu incorrectum dimiserunt: cum primitiua ecclesia multa dissimulauerit, quæ à sanctis patribus postmodum, firmata christianitate & religione crescente, subtili examinatione correcta sunt: vnde id nè fiat, quod à vestris imprudenter exposcitur, authoritate beati Petri inhibemus; téque ad honorem optimi Dei huic vanæ temeritati viribus totis resistere præcipimus, &c. Datum Romæ, &c.*

I would set downe two or three more of the like instruments passed from that see vnto the like end, but this shall suffice, being lesse common than the other, which are to be had more plentifullie.

As for our churches themselues, belles, and times of morning and euening praier, remaine as in times past, sauing that all images, shrines, tabernacles, rodlofts, and monuments of idolatrie are removed, taken downe, and defaced; onelie the stories in glasse windowes excepted, which for want of sufficient store of new stuffe, and by reason of extreame charge that should grow by the alteration of the same into white panes throughout the realme, are not altogither abolished in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to decaie, that white glasse may be prouided and set vp in their rowmes. Finallie, whereas there was wont to be a great partition betweene the quire and the bodie of the church; now it is either verie small or none at all: and to saie the truth altogither needlesse, sith the minister saith his seruice commonlie in the bodie of the church, with his face toward the people, in a little tabernacle of wainscot prouided for the purpose: by which means the ignorant do not onelie learne diuerse of the psalmes and vsuall praiers by heart, but also such as can read, do praie togither with him: so that the whole congregation at one instant powre out their petitions vnto the liuing God, for the whole estate of his church in most earnest and feruent manner. Our holie and festiuall daies are verie well reduced also vnto a lesse number; for whereas (not long since) we had vnder the pope foure score and fiftéene, called festiuall, and thirtie *Profesti*, beside the sundaies, they are all brought vnto seauen and twentie: and with them the superfluous numbers of idle wakes, guilds, fraternities, church-ales, helpe-ales, and soule-ales, called also dirge-ales, with the heathnish rioting at bride-ales, are well diminished and laid aside. And no great matter were it if the feasts of all our apostles, euangelists, and martyrs, with that of all saints, were brought to the holie daies that follow vpon Christmasse, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and those of the virgine Marie, with the rest vtterlie removed from the calendars, as neither necessarie nor commendable in a reformed church.

The

Apparell.

The apparell in like ſort of our clergie men is comlie, & in truth, more decent than euer it was in the popiſh church: before the vniuerſities bound their graduats vnto a ſtable attire, afterward vſurped alſo euen by the blind ſir Johns. For if you peruſe well my chronologie inſuing, you ſhall find, that they went either in diuerſe colors like plaiers, or in garments of light hew, as yellow, red, græne, &c: with their ſhoes piked, their haire criſped, their girdles armed with ſiluer; their ſhoes, ſpurres, bridles, &c: buckled with like mettall: their apparell (for the moſt part) of ſilke, and richlie furred; their cappes laced and butned with gold; ſo that to mèt a prieſt in thoſe daies, was to behold a peacocke that ſpreadeth his taile when he danſeth before the henne: which now (I ſaie) is well reformed. Touching hoſpitalitie, there was neuer anie greater vſed in England, ſith by reaſon that mariage is permitted to him that will chooſe that kind of life, their meat and drinke is more orderlie and frugallie dreſſed; their furniture of houſhold more conuenient, and better looked vnto; and the poore oftener fed generallie than heretofore they haue bèene, when onlie a few biſhops, and double or treble beneficed men did make good cheere at Chriſtmaſſe onelie, or otherwiſe kept great houſes for the interteinment of the rich, which did often ſee and viſit them. It is thought much peraduenture, that ſome biſhops, &c: in our time do come ſhort of the ancient gluttonie and prodigalitie of their predeceſſors: but to ſuch as do conſider of the curtailing of their liuings, or exceſſiue prices wherevnto things are growen, and how their courſe is limited by law, and eſtate looked into on euery ſide, the cauſe of their ſo doing is well inough perceiued. This alſo offendeth manie, that they ſhould after their deaths leaue their ſubſtances to their wiues and children: whereas they conſider not, that in old time ſuch as had no lemans nor baſtards (verie few were there God wot of this ſort) did leaue their goods and poſſeſſions to their brethren and kinſfolks, whereby (as I can ſhew by good record) manie houſes of gentilitie haue growen and bèene erected. If in anie age ſome one of them did found a college, almeſhouſe, or ſchoole, if you looke vnto theſe our times, you ſhall ſee no fewer deeds of charitie done, nor better grounded vpon the right ſtub of pietie than before. If you ſaie that their wiues be fond, after the deceaſſe of their huſbands, and beſtow themſelues not ſo aduiſedlie as their calling requireth, which God knoweth theſe curious ſurueiors make ſmall accompt of in truth, further than thereby to gather matter of reprehenſion: I beſeech you then to looke into all ſtates of the laitie, & tell me whether ſome ducheſſes, counteſſes, barons, or knights wiues, do not fullie ſo often offend in the like as they: for Eue will be Eue though Adam would ſaie naie. Not a few alſo find fault with our thred-bare gowns, as if not our patrones but our wiues were cauſes of our woe. But if it were knowne to all, that I know to haue bæne performed of late in Eſſex, where a miniſter taking a benefice (of leſſe than twentie pounds in the Quèenes bookes ſo farre as I remember) was inforced to paie to his patrone, twentie quarters of otes, ten quarters of wheat, and ſixtèene yèerelie of barleie, which he called hawkes meat; and another left the like in farme to his patrone for ten pounds by the yère, which is well worth fortie at the leaſt, the cauſe of our thredbare gownes would eaſilie appeere, for ſuch patrons do ſcrape the woll from our clokes. Wherfore I may well ſaie, that ſuch a thred-bare miniſter is either an ill man, or hath an ill patrone, or both: and when ſuch cookes & cobling ſhifters ſhall be removed and weeded out of the miniſterie, I doubt not but our patrons will prooue better men, and be reformed whether they will or not, or elſe the ſingle minded biſhops ſhall ſée the liuing beſtowed vpon ſuch as do deſerue it. When the Pragmatike ſanction toke place firſt in France, it was ſuppoſed that theſe enormities ſhould vtterlie haue ceaſed: but when the elections of biſhops came once into the hands of the canons and ſpirituall men, it grew to be farre worſe. For they alſo within a while waxing couetous, by their owne experience learned aforehand, raiſed the markets, and ſought after new gaines by the gifts of the greateſt liuings in that countrie, wherein (as Machiauell writeth) are eighténe archbiſhoprikes, one hundred fortie and ſire biſhoprikes, 740 abbies, eleuen vniuerſities, 1000700 ſteeples (if his report be ſound.) Some are of the opinion, that if ſufficient men in euerie towne might be ſent for from the vniuerſities, this miſchiefe would ſoone be remedied; but I am cleane of another mind. For when I conſider wherevnto the gifts of felowſhips in ſome places are growen: the profit that ariſeth at ſundrie elections of ſcholars out of grammar ſchooles, to the poſers, ſchoolemaſters, and preferrers of them to our vniuerſities, the gifts of a great number of almeſhouſes builded for the maimed and impotent ſouldiors, by princes and good men heretofore moued with a pittifull conſideration of the poore diſtreſſed: how rewards, penſions, and annuities alſo do reigne in other caſes, whereby the giuer is brought ſomtimes into extreame miſerie, & that not ſo much as the roome of a common ſouldior is not obteined oftentimes, without a What will you giue me? I am brought into ſuch a miſtruſt of the ſequele of this deuiſe, that I dare pronounce (almoſt for certeine) that if Homer were now aliue, it ſhould be ſaid to him:

*Túque licèt venias muſis comitatus Homere,*
*Si nihil attuleris ibis Homere foras.*

More I could ſaie, and more I would ſaie of theſe and other things, were it not that in mine owne iudgement I haue ſaid inough alreadie for the aduertiſement of ſuch as be wiſe. Neuertheleſſe, before I finiſh this chapter, I will adde a word or two (ſo briefli as I can) of the old eſtate of cathedrall churches, which I haue collected together here and there among the writers, and whereby it ſhall eaſilie be ſeene what they were, and how neere the gouernment of ours do in theſe daies approch vnto them, for that there is an irreconciliable ods betweene them and thoſe of the papiſts. I hope there is no learned man indéed, but will acknowlege and yéeld vnto it.

Hoſpitalitie.

Preſtie packing.

Number of churches in France.

Mariage.

Thred-bare gownes from whence they come.

We find therefore in the time of the primitiue church, that there was in euerie ſee or iuriſdiction one ſchoole at the leaſt, whereinto ſuch as were catechiſed in chriſtian religion did reſort. And hereof as we may find great teſtimonie for Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and Hieruſalem; ſo no ſmall notice is left of the like in the inferior ſort, if the names of ſuch as taught in them be called to mind, & the hiſtories well read which make report of the ſame. Theſe ſchooles were vnder the iuriſdiction of the biſhops, and from thence did they & the reſt of the elders chooſe out ſuch as were the ripeſt ſcholars, and willing to ſerue in the miniſterie, whome they placed alſo in their cathedrall churches, there not onelie to be further inſtructed in the knowledge of the word, but alſo to inure them to the deliuerie of the ſame vnto the people in ſound maner, to miniſter the ſacraments, to viſit the ſicke and brethren impriſoned, and to performe ſuch other duties as then belonged to their charges. The biſhop himſelfe and elders of the church were alſo hearers and examiners of their doctrine, and being in proceſſe of time found meet workmen for the lords harueſt, they were forthwith ſent abroads (after impoſition of hands, and praier generallie

Old eſtate of cathedrall churches.

made for their good proceeding) to ſome place or other then deſtitute of hir paſtor, and other taken from the ſchoole alſo placed in their roomes. What number of ſuch clerks belonged now and then to ſome one ſée, the chronologie following ſhall eaſilie declare: and in like ſort what officers, widowes, and other perſons were dailie maintained in thoſe ſeaſons by the offerings and oblations of the faithfull, it is incredible to be reported, if we compare the ſame with the decaies and ablations ſéene and practiſed at this preſent. But what is that in all the world which auarice and negligence will not corrupt and impaire? And as this is a paterne of the eſtate of the cathedrall churches in thoſe times, ſo I wiſh that the like order of gouernment might once againe be reſtored vnto the ſame, which may be done with eaſe, ſith the ſchooles are alreadie builded in euerie dioceſſe, the vniuerſities, places of their preferment vnto further knowledge, and the cathedrall churches great inough to receiue ſo manie as ſhall come from thence to be inſtructed vnto doctrine. But one hinderance of this is alreadie and more & more to be looked for (beſide the plucking and ſnatching commonlie ſéene from ſuch houſes and the church) and that is, the generall contempt of the miniſterie, and ſmall conſideration of their former paines taken, whereby leſſe and leſſe hope of competent maintenance by preaching the word is likelie to inſue. Wherefore the greateſt part of the more excellent wits chooſe rather to imploy their ſtudies vnto phyſike and the lawes, vtterlie giuing ouer the ſtudie of the ſcriptures, for feare leaſt they ſhould in time not get their bread by the ſame. By this meanes alſo the ſtalles in their quéeres would be better filled, which now (for the moſt part) are emptie, and prebends ſhould be prebends indéed, there to liue till they were preferred to ſome eccleſiaſticall function, and then other men choſen to ſucceed them in their roomes, whereas now prebends are but ſuperfluous additaments vnto former exceſſes, & perpetuall commodities vnto the owners, which before time were but temporall (as I haue ſaid before.) But as I haue good leiſure to wiſh for theſe things: ſo it ſhall be a longer time before it will be brought to paſſe. Neuertheleſſe, as I will praie for a reformation in this behalfe, ſo will I here conclude this my diſcourſe of the eſtate of our churches, and go in hand with the limits and bounds of our ſeuerall ſées, in ſuch order as they ſhall come vnto my preſent remembrance.

## Of the number of biſhoprikes and *their ſeuerall circuits.*

Chap. 2.

HAuing alreadie ſpoken generallie of the ſtate of our church, now will I touch the ſées ſeuerallie, ſaieng ſo much of each of them as ſhall be conuenient for the time, and not onelie out of the ancient, but alſo the later writers, and ſomewhat of mine owne experience, beginning firſt with the ſée of Canturburie, as the moſt notable, whoſe archbiſhop is the primat of all this land for eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, and moſt accompted of commonlie, becauſe he is nérer to the prince, and readie at euerie call.

Canturburie. The iuriſdiction of Canturburie therefore, erected firſt by Auguſtine the monke, in the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, if you haue reſpect to hir prouinciall regiment, extendeth it ſelfe ouer all the ſouth and weſt parts of this Iland, and Ireland, as I haue noted in the chapter precedent, and few ſhires there are wherein the archbiſhop hath not ſome peculiars. But if you regard the ſame onelie that was and is proper vnto his ſée, from the beginning, it reacheth but ouer one parcell of Kent, which Rudburne calleth Cantwarland, the iuriſdiction of Rocheſter including the reſt: ſo that in this one countie the greateſt archbiſhoprike and the leaſt biſhoprike of all are linked in togither. That of Canturburie hath vnder it one archdeaconrie, who hath iuriſdiction ouer eleauen deanries or a hundred ſirtie one pariſh churches; & in the popiſh time in ſted of the 3093 pounds, eightéene ſhillings, halfepenie, farthing, which it now paieth vnto hir maieſtie, vnder the name of firſt frutes, there went out of this ſée to Rome, at euerie alienation 10000 ducates or florens, beſide 5000 that the new elect did vſuallie paie for his pall, each ducat being then worth an Engliſh crowne or thereabout, as I haue béene informed.

Rocheſter. The ſée of Rocheſter is alſo included within the limits of Kent, being erected by Auguſtine in the 604 of Grace, and reigne of Ceolrtic ouer the weſt-Saxons. The biſhop of this ſée hath one archdeacon, vnder whoſe gouernment in cauſes eccleſiaſticall are three deanries, or 132 pariſh churches: ſo that hereby it is to be gathered, that there are 393 pariſh churches in Kent, ouer which the ſaid two archdeacons haue eſpeciall cure & charge. He was wont to paie alſo vnto the court of Rome at his admiſſion to that ſée 1300 ducats or florens, as I read, which was an hard valuation, conſidering the ſmalneſſe of circuit belonging to his ſée. Howbeit, in my time it is ſo farre from eaſe by diminution, that it is raiſed to 1432 crownes, &c: or as we reſolue them into our pounds, 358 pounds, three ſhillings, ſix pence, halfepennie, farthing, a reckoning a great deale more preciſelie made than anie biſhop of that ſée doth take any great delight in. He was croſſe-bearer in times paſt vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie. And there are and haue béene few ſées in England, which at one time or other haue not fetched their biſhops for the moſt part from this ſée: for as it is of it ſelfe but a ſmall thing in déed, ſo it is commonlie a preparatiue to an higher place. But of all that euer poſſeſſed it, Thomas Kempe had the beſt lucke, who being but a poore mans ſonne of Wie (vnto which towne he was a great benefactor) grew firſt to be doctor of both lawes, then of diuinitie; and afterward being promoted to this ſée, he was tranſlated from thence to Chicheſter, thirdlie to London, next of all to Yorke, and finallie after ſeauen and twentie yeares to Canturburie, where he became alſo cardinall, deacon, and then præſt in the court of Rome, according to this verſe, *Bis primas, ter præſes, bis cardine functus.* Certes I note this man, becauſe he bare ſome fauour to the furtherance of the goſpell, and to that end he either builded or repared the pulpit in Paules churchyard, and tooke order for the continuall maintenance of a ſermon there vpon the ſabaoth, which doth continue vnto my time, as a place from whence the ſoundeſt doctrine is alwaies to be looked for, and for ſuch ſtrangers to reſort vnto as haue no habitation in anie pariſh within the citie where it ſtandeth.

Chicheſt

London. The ſée of London was erected at the firſt by Lucius, who made it of an archeflamine and temple of Iupiter an archbiſhops ſée, and temple vnto the liuing God, and ſo it continued, vntill Auguſtine tranſlated the title thereof to Canturburie. The names of the archbiſhops of London are theſe; Theon, Eluan, Cadoc, Owen, Conan, Palladius, Stephan, Iltutus reſtitutus, anno 350, Theodromus, Theodredus, Hilarius, Faſtidius, anno 420, Guittelinus, Vodinus ſlaine by the Saxons, and Theonus Iunior. But

for

for their iust order of succession as yet I am not resolued, neuertheless the first bishop there was ordeined by Augustine the monke, in the yeare of Christ 604, in the time of Ceolrye, after he had remoued his see further off into Kent: I wote not vpon what secret occasion, if not the speedie hearing of newes from Rome, and readinesse to flee out of the land, if any trouble should betide him. For iurisdiction it includeth Esser, Middlesex, and part of Herefordshire, which is neither more nor lesse in quantitie than the ancient kingdome of the east Angles, before it was united to the west Saxons. The cathedrall church belonging to this see, was first begun by Ethelbert of Kent, Indic. 1. 598 of Iunber as I find, whilest he held that part of the said kingdome vnder his gouernement. Afterward when the Danes had sundrie times defaced it, it was repared and made vp with hard stone, but in the end it was taken downe, and wholie reedified by Dawrice bishop of that see, and sometimes chapleine to the bastard Henrie the first, allowing him stone and stuffe from Bainards castell neere vnto Ludgate, then ruinous for the furtherance of his works. Howbeit the mould of the quire was not statelie inough in the eies of some of his successors; wherefore in the yeare of Grace 1256, it was taken downe and brought into another forme, and called the new worke, at which time also the bodies of diuerse kings and bishops were taken vp and bestowed in the walles, to the end their memories should be of longer continuance. The iurisdiction of this see also vnder the bishop, is committed to foure archdeacons, to wit, of London, Esser, Middlesex, and Colchester, who haue amongst them to the number of 363 parish churches, or thereabouts, beside the peculiars belonging to the archbishop and chapiter of that house, and at euerie alienation the bishop paieth for his owne part 1119 pounds, eight shillings and foure pence (but in old time 3000 florens) which diuerse suppose to be more, than (as it now standeth) the bishop is able to make of it. Of the archdeconrie, of S. Albons added thereunto by king Henrie the eight (whereby the bishop hath fiue eies) I speake not, for although it be vnder the bishop of London for visitations and synods, yet is it otherwise reputed as member of the see of Lincolne, and therefore worthilie called an exempt, it hath also fiue and twentie parishes, of which foure are in Buckingham, the rest in Herefordshire.

The first beginning of the see of Chichester was in the Ile of Seales or Seolsey, and from thence translated to Chichester, in the time of William the bastard, and generall remouing of sees from small villages vnto the greater townes. It conteineth Sussex onelie vnder hir iurisdiction, wherein are sixteene deanries, and 551 parish churches, it paid at euerie alienation to the see of Rome 333 ducats: and after Edbert the first bishop, one Cella succeeded, after whome the pontificall chaire (not then worth 677 pounds by the yeere as now it is) was void by many yeares. It was erected in Seolesey also 711, by the decree of a synod holden in Sussex, which borowed it from the iurisdiction of Winchester, whereof before it was reputed a parcell. Of all the bishops that haue beene in this see, Thomas Kempe alwaies excepted, I read not of anie one that hath beene of more estimation than William Read, sometime fellow of Merteine college in Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the most profound astronomer that liued in his time, as appeareth by his collection which sometime I did possesse; his image is yet in the librarie there, and manie instruments of astronomie reserued in that house (a college erected sometime by Walter Merton bishop of Rochester, and lord chancellor of England) he builded also the castell of Amberleie from the verie foundation, as Edward Storie or Storie his successor did the new crosse in the market place of Chichester.

Winchester.

The bishop of Winchester was sometime called bishop of the west Saxons, and of Dorchester, which towne was giuen to Birinus and his successors, by Kinigils and Oswald of the Northumbers, in whose time it was erected by Birinus and his fellowes. In my time it hath iurisdiction onelie ouer Hamshire, Surrie, Iardeseie, Gardeseie, and the Wight, conteining eight deaneries, two hundred seuentie and six parish churches, and beside all this he is perpetuall prelate to the honorable order of the Garter, deuised by Edward the third: he paid in old time to Rome 12000 ducates or florens, but now his first fruits are 2491 pounds nine shillings eight pence halfe penie. Canturburie was said to be the higher racke, but Winchester hath borne the name to be the better mangler. There are also which make Lucius to be the first founder of an house of prater in Winchester, as Kinigils did build the second, and Kinwaldus his sonne the third; but you shall see the truth hereof in the chronologie insuing. And herevnto if the old catalog of the bishops of this see be well considered of, and the acts of the greatest part of them indifferentlie weighed, as they are to be read in our histories, you shall find the most egregious hypocrites, the stoutest warriours, the cruellest tyrants, the richest monimongers, and politike counsellors in temporall affaires to haue, I wote not by what secret working of the diuine prouidence, beene placed here in Winchester, since the foundation of that see, which was erected by Birinus 639 (whome pope Honorius sent hither out of Italie) and first planted at Dorchester, in the time of Kinigils, then translated to Winchester, where it doth yet continue.

Salisburie.

Salisburie was made the cheefe see of Shirburne by bishop Harman (predecessor to Osmond) who brought it from Shirburne to that citie; it hath now Barkeshire, Wilshire, and Dorsetshire vnder hir iurisdiction. For after the death of Hedda, which was 704, Winchester was diuided in two, so that onelie Hamshire and Surrie were left vnto it, and Wilton, Dorset, Barkeshire, Summerset, Deuon & Cornewill assigned vnto Shirburne till other order was taken. Bishop Adelme did first sit in that bishoprike (704 as I said) and placed his chaire at Shirburne vpon the said diuision. And as manie lerned bishops did succeed him in that rome, before and after it was remoued to Sarum; so there was neuer a more noble ornament to that see than bishop Juell, of whose great learning and iudgement the world it selfe beareth witnesse, notwithstanding that the papists prefer S. Osmond (as they call him) because he builded the minster there, and made the portesse called *Ordinale ecclesiastici officij*, which old preests were wont to vse. The bishops also of this see were sometimes called bishops of Sunning, of their old mansion house neere vnto Reading (as it should seeme) and among those that liued before the said Juell, one Roger builded the castell of the Vies in the time of Henrie the first, taken in those daies for the strongest hold in England, as vnto whose gate there were regals and gripes for six or seuen port cullises. Finallie this see paid vnto Rome 4000 florens, but vnto hir maiestie in my time 1367 pounds twelue shillings eight pence, as I did find of late.

Excester.

Excester hath, Deuonshire and Cornewall, sometime two seuerall bishoprikes, but in the end brought into one of Cornewall, and from thence to Excester in the time of the Bastard or some after. It began vpon this occasion, Anno Gratiæ 905, in a prouinciall councell holden by the elder Edward Plegimond archbishop of Canturburie, among the Gewises, wherein

wherein it was found, that the see of Winchester had not onelie beene without hir pastor by the space of seuen yeeres, but also that hir iurisdiction was farre greater than two men were able well to gouerne; therefore from the former two, to wit, Winchester and Shirburne, three other were taken, whereby that see was now diuided into fiue parts; the latter three being Welles, Kirton, and Cornwall: this of Cornwall hauing hir see then at saint Patroks, not farre from north-Wales vpon the riuer Helmouth; he of Deuon holding his iurisdiction in Deuonshire, Kirton, or Cridioc: and the bishop of Welles being allowed Dorset and Barkshires for his part, to gouerne and loke vnto according to his charge. Finallie, these two of Deuon and Cornwall being vnited, the valuation thereof was tared by the see of Rome at six thousand ducats or florens, which were trulie paid at euerie alienation; but verie hardlie (as I gesse) sith that in my time, wherein all things are racked to the verie vttermost, I find that it is litle worth aboue fiue hundred pounds by the yeere, because hir tenths are but fiftie.

Bath. Bath, whose see was sometime at Welles, before John the bishop there annexed the church of Bath vnto it, which was 1094, hath Summersetshire onlie, and the valuation thereof in the court of Rome was foure hundred & thirtie florens: but in hir maiesties books I find it fiue hundred thirtie and three pounds, and about one od shilling: which declareth a precise examination of the estate of that see. Of the creation of this bishoprike, mentioned in the discourse of Excester, I find the former assertion confirmed by another author, and in somewhat more large maner, which I will also remember, onelie because it pleaseth me somewhat better than the words before alleged out of the former writer. This bishoprike (saith he) was erected 905, in a councell holden among the Gewises, whereat king Edward of the west-Saxons, and Elegimond archbishop of Canturburie were present. For that part of the countrie had beene seuen yeeres without anie pastorall cure. And therfore in this councell it was agreed, that for the two bishoprikes (whereof one was at Winchester, another at Shireburne) there should be fiue ordeined, whereby the people there might be the better instructed. By this meanes Frithstan was placed at Winchester, and Ethelme at Shireburne, both of them being then void. Shireburne also susteined the subdiuision; so that Werstane was made bishop of Cridioc or Deuonshire (whose see was at Kirton) Herstan of Cornwall, and Eadulfe of Welles, vnto whome Barkshire and Dorsetshire were appointed. But now you see what alteration is made, by consideration of the limits of their present iurisdictions.

The bishoprike of Shirburne diuided into three.

Worcester. Worcester sometime called *Episcopatus Wicciorum* (that is, the bishoprike of the Wiccies or Huiccies) hath Worcester, & part of Warwikeshires. And before the bishoprike of Glocester was taken out of the same, it paid to the pope two thousand ducats of gold at euerie change of prelat: but now the valuation thereof is one thousand fortie nine pounds, seauen pence halfe penie farthing (except my remembrance do deceiue me.) This see was begunne either in, or not long before the time of Offa king of the east-Angles, and Boselus was the first bishop there; after whome succeeded Olkfort, then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia and the said Offa, and there gat a monasterie (which he builded in Worcester) confirmed by Constantine the pope. In this see was one of your lordships ancestors sometime bishop, whose name was Cobham, and doctor both of diuinitie and of the canon law, who, during the time of his pontificalitie there, builded the vault of the north side of the bodie of the church, and there lieth buried in the same (as I haue beene informed.) Certes this man was once elected, and should haue beene archbishop of Canturburie in the rome of Reginald that died 1313 vnder Edward the second: but the pope frustrated his election, fearing least he would haue shewed himselfe more affectionate towards his prince than to his court of Rome; wherefore he gaue Canturburie to the bishop of Worcester then being. And furthermore, least he should seeme altogither to reiect the said Thomas and displease the king, he gaue him in the end the bishoprike of Worcester, whereinto he entred 1317, *Martij* 31, being thursdaie (as appeareth by the register of that house) after long plee holden for the aforesaid see of Canturburie in the court of Rome, wherein most monis did oftenest preuaile. This is also notable of that see, that fiue Italians succeeded ech other in the same, by the popes prouision; as Egidius, Syluester, Egidius his nephue (for nephues might say in those daies; Father shall I call you vncle? And vncles also; Son I must call thee nephue) Iulius de Medices, afterward pope Clement, and Hieronymus de Nugutijs, men verie likelie, no doubt, to benefit the common people by their doctrine. Some of these being at the first but poore men in Rome, and yet able by selling all they had to make a round summe against a ratnie daie, came first into fauor with the pope, then into familiaritie, finallie into orders; and from thence into the best liuings of the church, farre off where their parentage could not easilie be heard of, nor made knowne vnto their neighbours.

Glocester. Glocester hath Glocestershire onelie, wherein are nine deanries, and to the number of 294 parish churches, as I find by good record. But it neuer paid anie thing to Rome, because it was erected by king Henrie the eight, after he had abolished the vsurped authoritie of the pope, except in quéene Maries, if anie such thing were demanded, as I doubt not but it was: yet is it worth yeerlie 315 pounds, seauen shillings three pence, as the booke of first fruits declareth.

Hereford. Hereford hath Herefordshire and part of Shropshire, and it paid to Rome at euerie alienation 1800 ducats at the least, but in my time it paieth vnto hir maiesties cofers 768 pounds, ten shillings, ten pence, halfe penie, farthing. In this see there was a bishop sometime called John Bruton, vpon whome the king then reigning, by likelihood for want of competent maintenance, bestowed the keeping of his wardrobe, which he held long time with great honour, as his register saith. A wonderfull preferment that bishops should be preferred from the pulpit, to the custodie of wardrobes: but such was the time. Neuertheless his honorable custodie of that charge is more solemnlie remembred, than anie good sermon that euer he made, which function peraduenture he committed to his suffragane, sith bishops in those daies had so much businesse in the court, that they could not attend to doctrine and exhortation.

Lichfield. Lichefield, whereunto Couentrie was added, in the time of Henrie the first, at the earnest sute of Robert bishop of that see, hath Staffordshire, Darbishire, part of Shropshire, and the rest of Warwikeshire, that is void of subiection to the see of Worcester shire. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the south Mercians, which laie on this side the Trent, and therein one Dinas was installed, about the yeare of Grace 656, after whom Kellac first, then Tunher an Englishman succeeded, this later being well learned, and consecrated by the Scots. In the time of the bastard, I wot not vpon what occasion, one Peter bishop of this see translated his chaire to

to Chester, and there held it for a season, whereby it came to passe that the bishops of Lichfield were for a while called bishops of Chester. But Robert his successor not liking of this president, remoued his chaire from Chester to Couentrie, and there held it whilest he liued, whereby the originall diuision of the bishoprike of Lichfield into Lichefield, Chester, and Couentrie, doth easilie appeare, although in my time Lichfield and Couentrie be united, and Chester remaineth a bishoprike by it selfe. It paid the pope at euerie alienation 1733 florens, or (as some old bookes haue) 3000, a good round summe, but not without a iust punishment, as one saith, sith that anno 765, Eadulfe bishop there vnder Offa king of Mercia, would by his helpe haue bereaued the archbishop of Canturburie of his pall, & so did in deed vnder pope Hadrian, holding the same vntill things were reduced vnto their ancient forme. Before the time also of bishop Langton, the prebends of this see laie here and there abroad in the citie, where the vicars also had an house, of which this honest bishop misliked not a little for sundrie causes; wherefore he began their close, and bestowed so much in building the same, and pauing the streets, that his hungrie kinsmen did not a little grudge at his expenses, thinking that his emptie cofers would neuer make them gentlemen, for which preferment the frends of most bishops gaped earnestlie in those daies. King John was the greatest benefactor vnto this see, next vnto Offa; and it is called Lichfield, *Quasi mortuorum campus*, bicause of the great slaughter of christians made there (as some write) vnder Diocletian. Howbeit in my time the valuation thereof is 703 pounds, fiue shillings two pence, halfepenie, farthing, a summe verie narrowlie cast by that auditor which toke it first in hand.

Orford hath Orfordshire onelie, a verie yong iurisdiction, erected by king Henrie the eight, & where in the time of quéene Marie, one Goldwell was bishop, who (as I remember) was a Iesuit, dwelling in Rome, and more conuersant (as the constant fame went) in the blacke art, than skilfull in the scriptures, and yet he was of great countenance amongst the Romane monarchs. It is said that obseruing the canons of his order, he regarded not the temporalities of that see: but I haue heard since that he wist well inough what became of those commodities, for by one meanes and other he found the sweetnesse of 354 pounds sixtéene shillings three pence halfe penie, yearelie growing to him, which was euen inough (if not too much) for the maintenance of a frier toward the drawing out of circles, characters, & lineaments of imagerie, wherein he was passing skilfull, as the same then went in Rome, and not vnheard of in Orford.

Elie. Elie hath Cambridgshire, and the Ile of Elie. It was erected 1109 by Henrie the first, being before a rich and wealthie abbeie. One Hernie also was made bishop there, as I haue found in a register, belonging sometime to that house being translated from Bangor. Finallie it paid to the pope at euerie alienation 7000 ducats, as the registers there do testifie at large. Albeit that in my time I find a note of 2134 pounds sixtéene shillings three pence halfe penie farthing, whose disme ioined to those of all the bishoprikes in England, do yeeld yearelie to hir maiesties coffers 23370 pounds sixtéene shillings three peices halfe penie farthing: whereby also the huge sums of monie going out of this land to the court of Rome doth in some measure appeare. Ethelwold afterward bishop of Winchester builded the first monasterie of Elie vpon the ruines of a nunrie then in the kings hands, howbeit the same house, whereof he himselfe was abbat, was yer long destroied by enimies, and he in lieu of his old preferment rewarded by king Edgar, with the aforesaid bishoprike, from whence with more than lionlike boldnesse he expelled the secular préests, and stored with moonkes prouided from Abandune néere Orford, by the helpe of Edgar and Dunstane then metropolitane of England. There was sometime a grieuous contention betweéne Thomas Lild bishop of this see, and the king of England, about the yeare of Grace 1355, which I will here deliuer out of an old record, because the matter is so particularlie penned by some of the brethren of that house, in fauour of the bishop; & for that I was also abused with the same in the entrance thereof at the first into my chronologie. The blacke prince fauoring one Robert Stretton his chapleine, a man vnlearned and not worthie the name of a clearke, the matter went on so farre, that what for loue, and somewhat else, of a canon of Lichfield he was chosen bishop of that see. Herevpon the pope vnderstanding what he was by his Nuncio here in England, staied his consecration by his letters for a time, and in the meane season committed his examination to the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Rochester, who felt and dealt so fauourablie with him in golden reasoning, that his worthinesse was commended to the popes holinesse, & to Rome he goeth. Being come to Rome the pope himselfe apposed him, and after secret conference vtterlie disableth his election, till he had proued by substantiall argument and of great weight before him also, that he was not so lightlie to be reiected. Which kind of reasoning so well pleased his holinesse, that *Ex mera plenitudine potestatis*, he was made capable of the benefice and so returneth into England; when he came home, this bishop being in the kings presence told him how he had done he wist not what in preferring so vnmeet a man vnto so high a calling. With which speach the king was so offended, that he commanded him out of hand to auoid out of his presence. In like sort the ladie Make then duchesse of Lancaster, standing by, and hearing the king hir cousine to gather vp the bishop so roundlie, and thereto an old grudge against him for some other matter, doth presentlie picke a quarrell against him about certeine lands then in his possession, which he defended & in the end obteined against hir by plée and course of law yer long also afore hapned in a part of hir house, for which she accused the bishop, and in the end by verdict of twelue men found that he was priuie vnto the fact of his men in the said fact, wherfore he was condemned in nine hundred pounds damages, which he paid euerie penie.

Neuertheless, being sore grieued, that she had (as he said) wrested out such a verdict against him, and therein packed vp a quest at hir owne choise: he taketh his horse, goeth to the court, and there complaineth to the king of his great iniurie receiued at hir hands. But in the deliuerie of his tale, his speech was so blockish, & termes so euill fauoredlie (though maliciouslie) placed, that the king toke yet more offense with him than before; insomuch that he led him with him into the parlement house, for then was that court holden, and there before the lords accused him of no small misdemeanor toward his person by his rude and threatening speeches. But the bishop egerlie denieth the kings obiections, which he still auoucheth vpon his honor; and in the end confirmeth his allegations by witnesse: whereupon he is banished from the kings presence during his naturall life by verdict of that house. In the meane time the duchesse hearing what was done, she beginneth a new to be dealing with him: and in a brabling fraie betweene their seruants one of hir men was slaine: for which he was called before the magistrat, as chiefe accessarie vnto the fact. But he fearing the sequele

of:

of his third cause by his successe had in the two first, hideth himselfe after he had sold all his mouables, and committed the monie vnto his trustie friends. And being found giltie by the inquest, the king seizeth vpon his possessions, and calleth vp the bishop to answer vnto the trespasse. To be short, vpon safe conduct the bishop commeth to the kings presence, where he denieth that he was accessarie to the fact, either before, at, or after the deed committed, and thereupon craueth to be tried by his peeres. But this petition was in vaine: for sentence passeth against him also by the kings owne mouth. Whereupon he craueth helpe of the archbishop of Canturburie and priuileges of the church, hoping by such meanes to be solemnlie rescued. But they fearing the kings displeasure, who bare small fauour to the clergie of his time, gaue ouer to vse anie such meanes; but rather willed him to submit himselfe vnto the kings mercie, which he refused, standing vpon his innocencie from the first vnto the last. Finallie, growing into choler, that the malice of a woman should so preuaile against him, he writeth to Rome, requiring that his case might be heard there, as a place wherein greater iustice (saith he) is to be looked for than to be found in England. Vpon the perusall of these his letters also, his accusers were called thither. But for so much as they appeered not at their peremptorie times, they were excommunicated. Such of them also as died before their reconciliations were taken out of the churchyards, and buried in the fields and dung-hilles, *vnde timor & turba* (saith my note) *in Anglia*. For the king inhibited the bringing in and receipt of all processes, billes, and what soeuer instruments should come from Rome: such also as aduentured contrarie to this prohibition to bring them in, were either dismembred of some ioint, or hanged by the necks. Which rage so incensed the pope, that he wrote in verie vehement maner to the king of England, threatening far greater cursses, except he did the sooner slake the furie of the lady, reconcile himself vnto the bishop, and finallie, making him amends for all his losses susteined in these broiles. Long it was yer the king would be brought to peace. Neuertheless, in the end he wrote to Rome about a reconciliation to be had betweene them: but yer all things were concluded, God himselfe did end the quarrell, by taking awaie the bishop. And thus much out of an old pamphlet in effect word for word: but I haue somewhat framed the forme of the report after the order that Stephan Birchington doth deliuer it, who also hath the same in manner as I deliuer it.

Norwich. The see of Norwich called in old time *Episcopatus Donnicensis, Dononiæ, or Eastanglorum*, was erected at Felstow or Felixstow, where Felix of Burgundie (sometime schoolemaster to Sigebert of the east-Angles, by whose persuasion also the said Sigebert erected the vniuersitie at Cambridge) being made bishop of the east-Angles first placed his see, afterward it was remoued from thence to Donwich, & thence to Helmham, *Anno* 870, about the death of Celnothus of Canturburie; thirdlie, to Theodford, or Thetford; & finallie, after the time of the Bastard, to Norwich. For iurisdiction it conteineth in our daies Norffolke and Suffolke onelie, whereas at the first it included Cambridgeshire also, and so much as laie within the kingdome of the east-Angles. It began about the yeere 632, vnder Serpenwald king of the east-Sarons, who bestowed it vpon Felix, whome pope Honorius also confirmed, and after which he held it by the space of seauentæne yeres. It paid sometimes at euerie alienation 5000 ducats to Rome. But in my time hir maiestie hath 899 pounds, 8 shillings 7 pence farthing, as I haue bæn informed. In the same iurisdiction also there were once 1563 parish churches, and 88 religious houses: but in our daies I can not heare of more churches than 1200: and yet of these I know one conuerted into a barne, whilest the people heare seruice further off vpon a græne: their bell also when I heard a sermon there preached in the greene, hanged in an oke for want of a steeple. But now I vnderstand that the oke likewise is gone. There is neuertheless a litle chappellet hard by on that common, but nothing capable of the multitude of Ashlie towne that should come to the same in such wise, if they did repaire thither as they ought.

Peterborow. Peterborow, sometimes a notable monasterie, hath Northampton and Rutland shires vnder hir iurisdiction, a diocese erected also by king Henrie the eight. It neuer paid first fruits to the pope before queene Maries daies (if it were then deliuered) whereof I doubt, because it was not recorded in his ancient register of tenths and fruits, although peraduenture the collectors left it not vngathered, I wot not for what purpose; it yeeldeth now foure hundred and fiftie pounds, one penie abated. I haue seene and had an ancient tarror of the lands of this monasterie, which agreeth verie well with the historie of Hugo le Blanc monke of that house. In the charter also of donation annered to the same, I saw one of Wulfhere king of Mercia, signed with his owne, & the marks of Sigher king of Suffer, Sebbie of Eller, with the additions of their names: the rest of the witnesses also insued in this order:

Ethelred brother to Wulfehere,
Kindburg and Kindswith sisters to Wulfhere,
Deusdedit archbishop,
Ithamar bishop of Rochester,
Wina bishop of London,
Iarnman bishop of Pearc,
Wilfride and Eoppa preests,
Saxulfe the abbat.

Then all the earles and eldermen of England in order; and after all these, the name of pope Agatho, who confirmed the instrument at the sute of Wilfride archbishop of Yorke, in a councell holden at Rome 680, of a hundred & fiue and twentie bishops, wherein also these churches were appropriated to the said monasterie, to wit, Breding, Reping, Cedenac, Swineshened, Lusgerd, Edelminglond, and Barchaing: whereby we haue in part an euident testimonie how long the practise of appropriation of benefices hath beene vsed to the hinderance of the gospell, and maintenance of idle monks, an humane inuention grounded vpon hypocrisie.

Wilstow. Wilstow hath Dorsetshire sometime belonging to Salisburie, a see also latelie erected by king Henrie the eight, who tooke no small care for the church of Christ, and therefore eased a number of ancient sees of some part of their huge and ouer-large circuits, and bestowed those portions deduced, vpon such other erections as he had appointed for the better regiment and feeding of the flocke: the value thereof is three hundred foure score and three pounds, eight shillings, and foure pence (as I haue beene informed.)

Lincolne. Lincolne of all other of late times was the greatest; and albeit that out of it were taken the sees of Orford and Peterborow, yet it still reteineth Lincolne, Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham shires, and the rest of Hertford; so that it extendeth from the Thames vnto the Humber, and paid vnto the pope fiue thousand ducats (as appeareth by his note) at euerie alienation. In my time, and by reason of hir diminution it yeeldeth a tribute to whom tribute belongeth, of the valuation of eight hundred ninetie and nine pounds, eight shillings, seauen pence farthing. It began since the conquest, about

about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius, who remoued his ſée from Dorcheſter to Lincolne (not without licence well paid for vnto the king.) And thus much of the biſhoprikes which lie within Lhoegres or England, as it was left vnto Locrinus. Now it followeth that I proceéd with Wales.

Landaffe. Landaffe, or the church of Taw hath eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction in Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brechnoch, and Radnor ſhires. And although it paid ſeuen hundred ducats at euerie exchange of prelat; yet is it ſcarſelie worth one hundred fiftie and fiue pounds by the yeare (as I haue heard reported.) Certes it is a poore biſhoprike, & (as I haue heard) the late incumbent thereof being called for not long ſince by the lord preſident in open court made anſwer. The daffe is here, but the land is gone. What he meant by it I can not well tell; but I hope, that in the ſéed time and the frée planting of the goſpell, the meate of the labourer ſhall not be diminiſhed and withdrawen.

S. Dauids. S. Dauids hath Penbroke and Caermardine ſhires, whoſe liuerie or firſt fruits to the ſée of Rome was one thouſand and fiue hundred ducats, at the hardeſt (as I thinke.) For if record be of anie ſufficient credit, it is little aboue the value of foure hundred fiftie and ſeauen pounds, one ſhilling, and ten pence farthing, in our time, and ſo it paieth vnto hir maieſties coffers; but in time paſt I thinke it was farre better. The preſent biſhop miſliketh verie much of the cold ſituation of his cathedrall church; and therfore he would gladlie pull it downe, and ſet it in a warmer place: but it would firſt be learned what ſuertie he would put in to ſée it well performed: of the reſt I ſpeake not.

Bangor. Bangor is in north-Wales, and hath Caernaruon, Angleſeie, and Merioneth ſhires vnder hir iuriſdiction. It paid to Rome 126 ducats, which is verie much. For of all the biſhoprikes in England it is now the leaſt for reuenues, and not worth aboue one hundred and one and thirtie pounds, and ſirtéene pence to hir maieſties coffers at euerie alienation (as appéereth by the tenths, which amount to much leſſe than thoſe of ſome good benefice) for it yéeldeth not yéerelie aboue thirtéene pounds, thrée ſhillings, and ſeauen pence halfe penie, as by that court is manifeſt.

S. Aſaphes. S. Aſaphes hath Prieſtholme and part of Denbigh and Flintſhires vnder hir iuriſdiction in cauſes eccleſiaſticall, which being laid togither do amount to little more than one good countie, and therefore in reſpect of circuit the leaſt that is to be found in Wales, neuertheleſſe it paid to Rome 470 ducates at euerie alienation. In my time the firſt fruits of this biſhoprike came vnto 187 pounds eleuen ſhillings ſix pence, wherby it ſéemeth to be ſomewhat better than Landaffe or Bangor laſt remembred. There is one Howell a gentleman of Flintſhire in the compaſſe of this iuriſdiction, who is bound to giue an harpe of ſiluer yearelie to the beſt harper in Wales, but did anie biſhop thinke you deſerue that in the popiſh time? Howell or Aphowell in Engliſh is all one (as I haue heard) and ſignifie ſo much as Hugo or Hugh. Hitherto of the prouince of Canturburie, for ſo much therof as now lieth within the compaſſe of this Iland. Now it reſteth that I proceéd with the curtailed archbiſhoprike of Yorke, I ſaie curtailed becauſe all Scotland is cut from his iuriſdiction and obedience.

Yorke. The ſée of Yorke was reſtored about the yeare of Grace 625, which after the comming of the Saxons laie deſolate and neglected, howbeit at the ſaid time Iuſtus archbiſhop of Canturburie ordeined Paulinus to be firſt biſhop there, in the time of Edwyn king of Northumberland. This Paulinus ſate ſix yeares yer he was driuen from thence, & after whoſe expulſion that ſeat was void long time, wherby Lindeſfarne grew into credit, and ſo remained vntill the daies of Oſwie of Northumberland, who ſent Wilfred the prieſt ouer into France, there to be conſecrated archbiſhop of Yorke: but whileſt he taried ouer long in thoſe parts, Oſwie impatient of delaie preferred Ceadda or Chad to that rome, who held it three yeares, which being expired Wilfred recouered his rome, and held it as he might, vntill it was ſeuered in two, to wit, Yorke, Hagulſtade, or Lindeſfarne, where Cata was placed, at which time alſo Egfride was made biſhop of Lincolne or Lindſie in that part of Mercia which he had goten from Wolfhere. Of it ſelfe it hath now iuriſdiction ouer Yorkeſhire, Notinghamſhire (whoſe ſhire towne I meane the new part thereof with the bridge was builded by king Edward the firſt ſurnamed the elder before the conqueſt) and the reſt of Lancaſterſhire onelie not ſubiect to the ſée of Cheſter; and when the pope bare authoritie in this realme, it paid vnto his ſée 1000 ducates, beſide 5000 for the pall of the new elect, which was more than he could well ſpare of late, conſidering the curtailing & diminution of his ſée, thorough the erection of a new metropolitane in Scotland, but in my time it yéeldeth 1609 pounds nineténe ſhillings two pence to hir maieſtie, whom God long preſerue vnto vs to his glorie, hir comfort, and our welfares.

Cheſter. Cheſter vpon Dee, otherwiſe called Weſtcheſter, hath vnder hir iuriſdiction in cauſes eccleſiaſticall, Cheſterſhire, Darbiſhire, the moſt part of Lancaſterſhire (to wit vnto the Ribell) Richmond and a part of Flint & Denbigh ſhires in Wales. It was made a biſhoprike by king H. 8. anno regni 33. Iulij 16, and ſo hath continued ſince that time, being valued 420 pounds by the yeare beſide od twentie pence (a ſtreit reckoning) as the record declareth.

Durham. Durham hath the countie of Durham and Northumberland with the Dales onelie vnder hir iuriſdiction, and hereof the biſhops haue ſometimes béene earles palantines & ruled the roſt vnder the name of the biſhoprike and ſucceſſion of S. Cuthbert. It was a ſée (in mine opinion) more profitable of late vnto hir maieſties coffers by 221 pounds eightéene ſhillings ten pence farthing, and yet of leſſe countenance than hir prouinciall, neuertheles the ſunneſhine thereof (as I heare) is now ſomewhat eclipſed and not likelie to recouer the light, for this is not a time wherein the church may looke to increaſe in hir eſtate. I heare alſo that ſome other flitches haue forgone the like collops, but let ſuch maters be ſcanned by men of more diſcretion. Capgraue ſaith how that the firſt biſhop of this ſée was called biſhop of Lindſeie (or Lincolne) & that Ceadda late in Liechfield of the Mercians in a manſion houſe néere the church. But this is more worthie to be remembred, that Cuthred of the Northumbers, and Alfred of the Weſtſaxons beſtowed all the land betwéene the Theſe & the Tine now called the biſhoprike vpon S. Cuthbert, beſide whatſoeuer belonged to the ſée of Hagulſtade. Edgar of Scotland alſo in the time of the Baſtard gaue Coldingham and Berwike withall their appurtenances to that houſe; but whether theſe donations be extant or no as yet I cannot tell. Yet I thinke not but that Leland had a ſight of them, from whome I had this ground. But whatſoeuer this biſhoprike be now, in eternall & outward apparance, ſure it is that it paid in old time 9000 ducates at euerie alienation to Rome, as the record expreſſeth. Aidan a Scot or Iriſhman was the firſt biſhop of this ſée, who held himſelfe (as did manie of his ſucceſſors) at Colcheſter and in Lindeſfarne Ile, till one came that remoued it to Durham. And now iudge

you

you whether the allegation of Capgraue be of anie accompt or not.

Caerleill. Caerleill was erected 1132 by Henrie the first, and hereof one Ethelwolfe confessor to Osmond bishop of Sarum was made the first bishop, hauing Cumberland & Westmerland assigned to his share; of the deaneries and number of parish churches conteined in the same as yet I haue no knowledge, more than of manie other. Howbeit hereof I am sure, that notwithstanding the present valuation be risen to 531 pounds fouretæne shillings eleuen pence halfe penie, the pope receiued out of it but 1000 florens, and might haue spared much more, as an aduersarie thereto confessed sometime euen before the pope himselfe, supposing no lesse than to haue gained by his tale, and so peraduenture should haue done, if his platforme had taken place. But as wise men oft espie the practises of flatteries, so the pope saw to what end this profitable speach was uttered. As touching Caerleill it selfe it was sometime sacked by the Danes, and eftsoones repared by William Rufus, & planted with a colonie of southerne men. I suppose that in old time it was called Cairdoill. For in an ancient booke which I haue seene, and yet haue, intituled, *Liber formularum literarum curiæ Romanæ, octo capitulorum, episcopatus Cardocensis*. And thus much generallie of the names and numbers of our bishoprikes of England, whose tenths in old time yearelie amounting vnto 21111 pounds, twelue shillings one penie halfe penie farthing, of currant monie in those daies, do euidentlie declare, what store of coine was transported out of the land vnto the papall vses, in that behalfe onelie.

Certes I take this not to be one quarter of his gaines gotten by England in those daies, for such commodities were raised by his courts holden here, so plentifullie gat he by his perquisits, as elections, procurations, appeales, preuentions, pluralities, tot quots, trialities, tollerations, legitimations, bulles, seales, pælls, concubines, eating of flesh and white meats, dispensations for mariages, & times of celebration, Peter pence, and such like faculties, that not so little as 1200000 pounds went yearelie from hence to Rome. And therefore no maruell though he seeke much in these daies to reduce vs to his obedience. But what are the tenths of England (you will saie) in comparison of all those of Europe. For notwithstanding that manie good bishoprikes latelie erected be left out of his old bookes of record, which I also haue seene, yet I find neuertheles that the whole sum of them amounted to not aboue 61521 pounds as monie went 200 yeares before my time, of which portion poore saint Peter did neuer heare, of so much as one graie grote. Marke therfore I praie you whether England were not fullie answerable to a third part of the rest of his tenths ouer all Europe, and therevpon tell me whether our Iland was one of the best paire of bellowes or not, that blue the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his potseeth, beside all other commodities.

Man. Beside all these, we haue another bishoprike yet in England almost slipped out of my remembrance, because it is verie obscure, for that the bishop thereof hath not wherewith to mainteine his countenance sufficientlie, and that is the see of Mona or Man, sometime named *Episcopatus Sodorensis*, whereof one Witmundus was ordeined the first bishop, and John the second, in the troublesome time of king Stephan. The gift of this prelacie resteth in the earles of Darbie, who nominate such a one from time to time thereto as to them doth seeme conuenient. Howbeit if that see did know and might reape hir owne commodities, and discerne them from other mens possessions (for it is supposed that the mother hath deuoured the daughter) I doubt not but the state of hir bishop would quicklie be amended. Hauing therefore called this later see after this maner vnto mind, I suppose that I haue sufficientlie discharged my dutie concerning the state of our bishoprike, and maner how the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction of the church of England is diuided among the shires and counties of this realme. Whose bishops as they haue béene heretofore of lesse learning, and yet of greater port & dooings in the common-wealth, than at this present, so are they now for the most part the best learned that are to be found in anie countrie of Europe, sith neither high parentage, nor great riches (as in other countries) but onelie learning and vertue, commended somewhat by frendship, do bring them to this honour.

I might here haue spoken more at large of diuerse other bishoprikes, sometime in this part of the Iland, as of that of Caerlheon tofore ouerthrowen by Edelfred in the behalfe of Augustine the monke (as Malmesburie saith) where Dubritius gouerned, which was afterward translated to S. Dauids, and taken for an archbishoprike: secondlie of the bishoprike of Leircester called Legerensis, whose fourth bishop (Unwon) went to Rome with Offa king of Mercia: thirdlie of Ramsbirie or Wiltun, and of Glocester (of which you shall read in Matth. Westm. 489) where the bishop was called Eldad: also of Hagulstade, one of the members whereinto the see of Yorke was diuided after the expulsion of Wilfrid. For (as I read) when Egfrid the king had driuen him awaie, he diuided his see into two parts, making Bosa ouer the Deirancs that held his see at Hagulstade or Lindfarne: and Eatta ouer the Bernicians, who sate at Yorke: and thereto placing Edhedus ouer Lindseie (as is afore noted) whose successors were Ethelwine, Edgar, and Kinibert, notwithstanding that one Serulfus was ouer Lindseie before Edhedus, who was bishop of the Mercians and middle England, till he was banished from Lindseie, and came into those quarters to seeke his refuge and succour.

Glocester a verie ancient bishoprike.

I could likewise intreat of the bishops of Whiteherne, or Ad Candidam Casam, an house with the countrie wherein it stood belonging to the prouince of Northumberland, but now a parcell of Scotland; also of the erection of the late see at Westminster by Henrie the eight. But as the one so the other is ceased, and the lands of this later either so diuided or exchanged for worse tenures, that except a man should see it with his eies, & point out with his finger where euerie parcell of them is bestowed, but a few men would beléeue what is become of the same. I might likewise and with like ease also haue added the successors of the bishops of euerie see to this discourse of their cathedrall churches and places of abode, but it would haue extended this treatise to an vnprofitable length. Neuertheless I will remember the fame of London my native citie, after I haue added one word more of the house called Ad Candidam Casam, in English Whiteherne, which taketh denomination of the white stone wherwith it was builded, and was séene far off as standing vpon an hill to such as did behold it.

The

# The names and successions of so manie archbishops and bishops of London, as are extant, and to be had, from the faith first receiued.

## Archbishops.

Theon.
Eluanus.
Cadocus.
Ouinus.
Conanus.
Pailadius.
Stephanus.
Iltutus.
Restitutus, who liued 350 of grace.

Tadwinus *alias* Theodwinus, some do write him Tacwinus & Tatwinus.
Tidredus *alias* Theodred.
Hilarius.
Fastidius liued Anno Dom. 430.
Vodinus, slaine by the Saxons.
Theonus.

## The see void manie yeares.

Augustine the monke, sent ouer by Gregorie the great, till he remoued his sée to Canturburie, to the intent he might the soner flée, if persecution should be raised by the infidels, or heare from, or send more spéedilie vnto Rome, without anie great feare of the interception of his letters.

## Bishops.

Melitus.

## The see void for a season.

Wina.
Erkenwaldus.
Waldherus.
Ingaldus.
Egulphus.
Wigotus.
Eadbricus.
Edgarus.
Kiniwalchus.
Eadbaldus.
Eadbertus.
Oswinus.
Ethelnothus.
Cedbertus.

Cernulphus.
Suiduiphus.
Eadstanus.
Wulfinus.
Ethelwaldus.
Elstanus.
Brithelmus.
Dunstanus.
Tidricus.
Alwijnus.
Elswoldus.
Robertus a Norman.
Wilhelmus a Norman.
Hugo a Norman.

I read also of a bishop of London called Elsward, or Ailward, who was abbat of Couesham, and bishop of London at one time, and buried at length in Ramsele, howbeit in what order of succession he liued I can not tell, more than of diuerse other aboue remembred, but in this order do I find them.

## The see void twelue yeares.

1 Mauricius.
2 Richardus Beaumis.
3 Gilbertus vniuersalis a notable man for three things, anarice, riches, and learning.
4 Robertus de Sigillo.
5 Richardus Beaumis.
6 Gilbertus Folioth.
7 Richardus.
8 Wilhelmus de sancta Maria.
9 Eustathius Falconberg.
10 Rogerus Niger.
11 Fulco Bascet.
12 Henricus Wingham.
Richardus Talbot electus.
15 Richard. Grauesend.
16 Radulfus Gandacensis.
17 Gilbertus Segraue.
18 Richardus de Newport.
19 Stephanus Grauesend.
20 Richard. Bintworth.
21 Radulfus Baldoc who made the tables hanging in the vesterie of Paules.
22 Michael.
23 Simon.
24 Robertus.
25 Thomas.
26 Richardus.
27 Thomas Sauagius.
28 Wilhelmus.
29 Wilhelm. Warham.
30 Wilhelmus Barnes.
31 Cuthbertus Tunstall.
32 Iohannes Stokesleie.
33 Richardus fitz Iames.
34 Edmundus Boner, remoued, imprisoned.
35 Nicholas Ridlcie remoued and burned.
Edm. Boner, restored, remoued, & imprisoned.
36 Edmundus Grindall,
37 Edwinus Sandes.
38 Iohannes Elmer.

Hauing gotten and set downe thus much of the bishops, I will deliuer in like sort the names of the deanes, vntill I come to the time of mine old master now liuing in this present yeare 1586, who is none of the least ornaments that haue béene in that seat.

## Deanes.

1 Wulmannus, who made a distribution of the psalmes conteined in the whole psalter, and apointed the same dailie to be read amongst the prebendaries.
2 Radulfus de Diceto, whose noble historie is yet extant in their libarie.
3 Alardus Bucham.
4 Robertus Watford.
5 Martinus Patteshull.
6 Hugo de Marinis.
7 Radulfus Langfort.
8 Galfridus de Berie.
9 Wilhelmus Stãman.
10 Henricus Cornell.
11 Walterus de Salerne.
12 Robertus Barton.
13 Petrus de Newport.
14 Richardus Talbot.
15 Galfredus de Fering.
16 Iohannes Chishull.
17 Herueus de Boreham.
18 Thomas Eglesthorpe.
19 Rogerus de Lalleie.
20 Wilhelmus de Montfort.
21 Radulfus de Baldoc postea episcopus.
22 Alanus de Cantilup postea cardinalis.
Iohan. Sandulfe electus.
Richardus de Newport electus.
23 Magister Vitalis.
24 Iohannes Euerisdon.
25 Wilhelmus Brewer.
26 Richardus Kilmingdon.
27 Thomas Trullocke.
28 Iohannes Appulbie.
29 Thomas Euer.
30 Thomas Stow.
31 Thomas More.
32 Reginaldus Kenton.
33 Thomas Lisieux *alias* Leseux.
34 Leonardus de Bath.
35 Wilhelmus Saie.
36 Rogerus Ratcliffe.
37 Thom. Winterburne.
38 Wilhelmus Wolseie.
39 Robert Sherebroke.
40 Iohãnes Collet, founder of Paules schole.
Richardus Paceus.
Richardus Sampson.
Iohannes Incent.
Wilhelmus Maius resignauit.
Iohannes Fakenham *alias* Howman resignauit.
Henricus Colus, remoued, imprisoned.
Wilhelmus Maius, restored.
Alexander Nouellus.

And thus much of the archbishops, bishops, and deanes of that honorable sée. I call it honorable, because it hath had a succession for the most part of learned and wise men, albeit that otherwise it be the most troublesome seat in England, not onelie for that it is néere vnto checke, but also the prelats thereof are much troubled with suters, and no lesse subiect to the reproches of the common sort, whose mouthes are alwaies wide open vnto reprehension, and eies readie to espie anie thing that they may reproue and carpe at. I would haue done so much for euerie sée in England, if I had not had consideration of the greatnesse of the volume, and small benefit rising by the same, vnto the commoditie of the readers: neuertheless I haue reserued them vnto the publication of my great chronologie, if (while I liue) it happen to come abrode.

## Of Vniuersities.

### Chap. 3.

Manie vniuersities somtime in England.

THere haue béene heretofore, and at sundrie times, diuerse famous vniuersities in this Iland, and those euen in my dates not altogither forgotten, as one at Bangor, erected by Lucius, and afterward conuerted into a monasterie, not by Congellus (as some write) but by Pelagius the monke. The second at Carleon vpon Vske, neere to the place where the riuer doth fall into the Seuerne, founded by king Arthur. The third at Theodford, wherein were 600 students, in the time of one Rond sometime king of that region. The fourth at Stanford, suppressed by Augustine the monke, and likewise other in other places, as Salisburie, Eridon or Cricklade, Lechlade, Reading, and Northampton; albeit that the two last rehearsed were not authorised, but onelie arose to that name by the departure of the students from Oxford in time of ciuill dissention vnto the said townes, where also they continued but for a little season. When that of Salisburie began, I can not tell; but that it flourished most vnder Henrie the third, and Edward the first, I find good testimonie by the writers, as also by the discord which fell 1278, betweene the chancellor for the scholers there on the one part, and William the archdeacon on the other, whereof you shall see more in the chronologie here following. In my time there are three noble vniuersities in England, to wit, one at Oxford, the second at Cambridge, and the third in London; of which, the first two are the most famous, I meane Cambridge and Oxford, for that in them the vse of the tongs, philosophie, and the liberall sciences, besides the profound studies of the ciuill law, physicke, and theologie, are dailie taught and had: whereas in the later, the laws of the realme are onlie read and learned, by such as giue their minds vnto the knowledge of the same. In the first there are not onelie diuerse goodlie houses builded foure square for the most part of hard freestone or bricke, with great numbers of lodgings and chambers in the same for students, after a sumptuous sort, through the exceeding liberalitie of kings, queenes, bishops, noblemen and ladies of the land: but also large liuings and great reuenues bestowed vpon them (the like whereof is not to be seene in ante other region, as Peter Martyr did oft affirme) to the maintenance onelie of such conuenient numbers of poore mens sonnes as the seuerall stipends bestowed vpon the said houses are able to support.

Three vniuersities in England.

When these two schooles should be first builded, & who were their originall founders, as yet it is vncerteine: neuertheless, as there is great likelihood that Cambridge was begun by one Cantaber a Spaniard (as I haue noted in my chronologie) so Alfred is said to be the first beginner of the vniuersitie at Oxford, albeit that I cannot warrant the same to be so yong, sith I find by good authoritie, that John of Beuerleie studied in the vniuersitie hall at Oxford, which was long before Alfred was either borne or gotten. Some are of the opinion that Cantabrigia was not so called of Cantaber, but Cair Grant of the finisher of the worke, or at the least wise of the riuer that runneth by the same, and afterward by the Saxons Grantcester. An other sort affirme that the riuer is better written Canta than Granta, &c: but whie then is not the towne called Canta, Cantium, or

when the vniuersities were builded vncerteine.

Cantodunum, according to the same? All this is said onlie (as I thinke) to deface the memorie of Cantaber, who comming from the Brigants, or out of Biscaie, called the said towne after his owne and the name of the region from whence he came. Neither hath it béene a rare thing for the Spaniards heretofore to come first into Ireland, and from thense ouer into England, sith the chronologie shall declare that it hath béene often séene, and that out of Britaine, they haue gotten ouer also into Scithia, and contrariwise: coasting still through Yorkeshire, which of them also was called Brigantium, as by good testimonie appeareth.

Of these two, that of Oxford (which lieth west and by north from London) standeth most pleasantlie, being inuironed in maner round about with woods on the hilles aloft, and goodlie riuers in the bottoms and vallies beneath, whose courses would breed no small commoditie to that citie and countrie about, if such impediments were remoued as greatlie annoie the same, and hinder the cariage which might be made thither also from London. That of Cambridge is distant from London about fortie and six miles north and by east, and standeth verie well, sauing that it is somewhat néere vnto the fens, whereby the wholesomenesse of the aire there is not a little corrupted. It is excellentlie well serued with all kinds of prouision, but especiallie of freshwater fish and wildfoule, by reason of the riuer that passeth thereby; and thereto the Ile of Elie, which is so néere at hand. Onlie wood is the chéefe want to such as studie there, wherefore this kind of prouision is brought them either from Eller, and other places thereabouts, as is also their cole; or otherwise the necessitie thereof is supplied with gall (a bastard kind of Mirtus as I take it) and seacole, whereof they haue great plentie led thither by the Grant. Moreouer it hath not such store of medow ground as may suffice for the ordinarie expenses of the towne and vniuersitie, wherefore the inhabitants are inforced in like sort to prouide their haie from other villages about, which minister the same vnto them in verie great abundance.

Oxford fifti miles from London.

Cambridge six and fortie miles from London.

Oxford is supposed to conteine in longitude eighteene degrees and eight and twentie minuts, and in latitude one and fiftie degrées and fiftie minuts; whereas that of Cambridge standing more northerlie, hath twentie degrees and twentie minuts in longitude, and thereunto fiftie and two degrées and fiftéene minuts in latitude, as by exact supputation is easie to be found.

Longitude & latitude of both.

The colleges of Oxford, for curious workemanship and priuat commodities, are much more statelie, magnificent, & commodious than those of Cambridge: and thereunto the streets of the towne for the most part more large and comelie. But for vniformitie of building, orderlie compaction, and politike regiment, the towne of Cambridge, as the newer workmanship, exceedeth that of Oxford (which otherwise is and hath béene the greater of the two) by manie a fold (as I gesse) although I know diuerse that are of the contrarie opinion. This also is certeine, that whatsoeuer the difference be in building of the towne streets, the townesmen of both are glad when they may match and annoie the students, by incroching vpon their liberties, and kéepe them bare by extreame sale of their wares, whereby manie of them become rich for a time, but afterward fall againe into pouertie, bicause that goods euill gotten do seldome long indure.

Cambridge burned not long since.

Castels also they haue both, and in my iudgement is hard to be said, whether of them would be the stronger, if ech were accordinglie repared: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher, both for maner of building and situation of ground, sith Oxford castell

standeth

ſtandeth low and is not ſo apparant to our ſight. That of Cambridge was builded (as they ſaie) by Gurguintus, ſometime king of Britaine, but the other by the lord Robert de Oilie, a noble man which came in with the conqueror, whoſe wife Editha, a woman giuen to no leſſe ſuperſtition than credulitie, began alſo the abbeie of Oſeneie nære vnto the ſame, vpon a fond (but yet a rare) occaſion, which we will hære remember, though it be beſide my purpoſe, to the end that the reader may ſæ how readie the ſimple people of that time were to be abuſed by the practiſe of the cleargie. It happened on a time as this ladie walked about the fields, nære vnto the aforeſaid caſtell, to recreate hir ſelfe with certeine of hir maidens, that a number of pies ſat chattering vpon the elmes, which had bæne planted in the hedgerowes, and in fine ſo troubled hir with their noiſe, that ſhe wiſhed them all further off, or elſe hir ſelfe at home againe, and this happened diuerſe times. In the end being wearie of hir walke, ſhe demanded of hir chapleine the cauſe wherfore theſe pies did ſo moleſt & vexe hir. Oh madam (ſaith he) the wilieſt pie of all, theſe are no pies but ſoules in purgatorie that craue releæſe. And is it ſo in dæd quoth ſhe? Now *De pardieux*, if old Robert will giue me leaue, I will do what I can to bring theſe ſoules to reſt. Herevpon ſhe conſulted, craued, wept, and became ſo importunate with hir huſband, that he ioined with hir, and they both began that ſynagog 1130, which afterward proued to be a notable den. In that church alſo lieth this ladie buried with hir image, hauing an heart in hir hand couched vpon the ſame, in the habit of a vowеſſe, and yet to be ſæne, except the weather haue worne out the memorial. But to procæd with my purpoſe.

In each of theſe vniuerſities alſo is likewiſe a church dedicated to the virgin Marie, wherein once in the yeare, to wit, in Julie, the ſcholers are holden, and in which ſuch as haue bæne called to anie degrее in the yeare precedent, do there receiue the accompliſhment of the ſame, in ſolemne and ſumptuous maner. In Oxford this ſolemnitie is called an Act, but in Cambridge they vſe the French word Commenſement; and ſuch reſort is made yearelie vnto the ſame from all parts of the land, by the frends of thoſe which do proceæd, that all the towne is hardlie able to receiue and lodge thoſe geſts. When and by whome the churches aforeſaid were builded, I haue elſewhere made relation. That of Oxford alſo was repared in the time of Edward the fourth, and Henrie the ſeuenth, when doctor Fitz James a great helper in that worke was warden of Merton college, but yet long after it was finiſhed, one tempeſt in a night ſo defaced the ſame, that it left few pinacles ſtanding about the church and ſteeple, which ſince that time haue neuer bæne repared. There were ſometime foure and twentie pariſh churches in the towne and ſuburbes, but now there are ſcarſelie ſixteene. There haue bæne alſo 1200 burgeſſes, of which 400 dwelled in the ſuburbes, and ſo manie ſtudents were there in the time of Henrie the third, that he allowed them twentie miles compaſſe about the towne, for their prouiſion of vittels.

The common ſchooles of Cambridge alſo are farre more beautifull than thoſe of Oxford, onelie the diuinitie ſchoole at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent workemanſhip, commeth nert the mould of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two with the chappell that king Henrie the ſeauenth did build at Weſtminſter, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & ſtone three more notable piles within the compaſſe of Europe.

In all other things there is ſo great equalitie betwæne theſe two vniuerſities, as no man can imagin how to ſet downe any greater; ſo that they ſeeme to be the bodie of one well ordered common wealth, onlie diuided by diſtance of place, and not in frendlie conſent and orders. In ſpeaking therefore of the one, I can not but deſcribe the other; and in commendation of the firſt, I can not but extoll the latter; and ſo much the rather, for that they are both ſo dære vnto me, as that I can not readilie tell vnto whether of them I owe the moſt good will. Would to God my knowledge were ſuch, as that neither of them might haue cauſe to be aſhamed of their pupill; or my power ſo great, that I might worthilie requite them both for thoſe manifold kindneſſes that I haue receiued of them. But to leaue theſe things, and proceæd with other more conuenient for my purpoſe. The manner to liue in theſe vniuerſities, is not as in ſome other of forren countries we ſee dailie to happen, where the ſtudents are inforced for want of ſuch houſes, to dwell in common innes, and tauerns, without all order or diſcipline. But in theſe our colleges we liue in ſuch exact order, and vnder ſo preciſe rules of gouernement, as that the famous learned man Eraſmus of Roterodame being here among vs 50 yeres paſſed, did not let to compare the trades in liuing of ſtudents in theſe two places, euen with the verie rules and orders of the ancient monks: affirming moreouer in flat words, our orders to be ſuch as not onlie came nеære vnto, but rather far exceeded all the monaſtical inſtitutiõs that euer were deuiſed.

In moſt of our colleges there are alſo great numbers of ſtudents, of which manie are found by the reuenues of the houſes, and other by the purueiances and helpe of their rich frends; whereby in ſome one college you ſhall haue two hundred ſcholers, in others an hundred and fiftie, in diuerſe a hundred and fortie, and in the reſt leſſe numbers; as the capacitie of the ſaid houſes is able to receiue: ſo that at this preſent, of one ſort and other, there are about three thouſand ſtudents nouriſhed in them both (as by a late ſurueie it manifeſtlie appeared.) They were erected by their founders at the firſt, onelie for poore mens ſons, whoſe parents were not able to bring them vp vnto learning: but now they haue the leaſt benefit of them, by reaſon the rich do ſo incroch vpon them. And ſo farre hath this inconuenience ſpread it ſelfe, that it is in my time an hard matter for a poore mans child to come by a felowſhip (though he be neuer ſo good a ſcholer & worthie of that roome.) Such packing alſo is vſed at elections, that not he which beſt deſerueth, but he that hath moſt friends, though he be the worſt ſcholer, is alwaies ſureſt to ſpæd; which will turne in the end to the ouerthrow of learning. That ſome gentlemen alſo, whoſe friends haue bæne in times paſt benefactors to certeine of thoſe houſes, do intrude into the diſpoſition of their eſtates, without all reſpect of order or eſtatutes deuiſed by the founders, onelie thereby to place whome they thinke good (and not without ſome hope of gaine) the caſe is too too euident: and their attempt would ſone take place, if their ſuperiors did not prouide to bridle their indeuors. In ſome grammar ſchooles likewiſe, which ſend ſcholers to theſe vniuerſities, it is lamentable to ſee what bauberie is vſed; for yer the ſcholer can be preferred, ſuch bribage is made, that poore mens children are commonlie ſhut out, and the richer ſort receiued (who in time paſt thought it dishonor to liue as it were vpon almes) and yet being placed, moſt of them ſtudie little other than hiſtories, tables, dice, and trifles, as men that make not the liuing by their ſtudie the end of their purpoſes, which is a lamentable hearing. Beſide this, being for the moſt part either gentlemen, or rich mens ſonnes, they ſtil bring the vniuerſities into much ſlander. For ſtanding vpon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roiſt it out, exceeding in apparell, and ban-

ting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes vnto an other trade.) And for excuse when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie, that they be gentlemen, which greeueth manie not a litle. But to proceed with the rest.

Readers in priuat houses.

Euerie one of these colleges haue in like maner their professors or readers of the tongs and seuerall sciences, as they call them, which dailie trade vp the youth there abiding priuatlie in their halles, to the end they may be able afterward (when their turne commeth about, which is after twelue termes) to shew themselues abroad, by going from thence into the common schooles and publike disputations (as it were *In aream*) there to trie their skilles, and declare how they haue profited since their comming thither.

Publike readers maintained by the prince.

Moreouer, in the publike schooles of both the vniuersities, there are found at the princes charge (and that verie largelie) fiue professors and readers, that is to saie, of diuinitie, of the ciuill law, physicke, the Hebrue, and the Greeke tongs. And for the other lectures, as of philosophie, logike, rhetorike, and the quadriuials, although the latter (I meane arythmetike, musike, geometrie, and astronomie, and with them all skill in the perspectiues are now smallie regarded in either of them) the vniuersities themselues do allow competent stipends to such as reade the same, whereby they are sufficientlie prouided for, touching the maintenance of their estates, and no lesse incoraged to be diligent in their functions.

Studie of the quadriuials and perspectiues neglected.

These professors in like sort haue all the rule of disputations and other schole exercises, which are dailie vsed in common schooles seuerallie assigned to ech of them, and such of their hearers, as by their skill shewed in the said disputations, are thought to haue atteined to anie conuenient ripenesse of knowledge, according to the custome of other vniuersities, although not in like order, are permitted solemnlie to take their deserued degrees of schole in the same science and facultie wherein they haue spent their trauell. From that time forward also, they vse such difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, and maketh them knowne to be called to some countenance.

Sophisters.

The first degree, is that of the generall sophisters, from whence when they haue learned more sufficientlie the rules of logike, rhetorike, and obteined thereto competent skill in philosophie, and in the mathematicals, they ascend higher vnto the estate of

Batchelers of art.

batchelers of art, after foure yeares of their entrance into their sophistrie. From thence also giuing their minds to more perfect knowledge in some or all the other liberall sciences, & the tongs, they rise at the last (to wit, after other three or foure yeeres) to

Maisters of art.

be called maisters of art, ech of them being at that time reputed for a doctor in his facultie, if he profesle but one of the said sciences (beside philosophie) or for his generall skill, if he be exercised in them all. After this they are permitted to chose what other of the higher studies them liketh to follow, whether it be diuinitie, law, or physike; so that being once maisters of art, the next degree if they follow physike, is the doctorship belonging to that profession; and likewise in the studie of the law, if they bend their minds to the knowledge of the same. But if they meane to go forward with diuinitie, this is the order vsed in that profession. First, after they haue necessarilie proceeded maisters of art, they preach one sermon to the people in English, and another to the vniuersitie in Latine. They answer all commers also in their owne persons vnto two seuerall questions of diuinitie in the open schooles, at one time, for the space of two hours; and afterward replie twise against some other man vpon a like number, and on two seuerall daies in the same place: which being done with commendation, he receiueth the fourth degree, that is, batchelor of diuinitie, but not before he hath beene maister of art by the space of seauen yeeres, according to their statutes.

Batchelor of diuinitie.

Doctor.

The next and last degree of all is the doctorship after other three yeares, for the which he must once againe performe all such exercises and acts as are afore remembred, and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach others, & likewise taken for a doctor. I haue read that John of Beuerleie was the first doctor that euer was in Oxford, as Beda was in Cambridge. But I suppose herein that the word doctor is not so strictlie to be taken in this report as it is now vsed, sith euerie teacher is in Latine called by that name, as also such in the primitiue church as kept schooles of catechists, wherein they were trained vp in the rudiments and principles of religion, either before they were admitted vnto baptisme, or anie office in the church.

Thus we see, that from our entrance into the vniuersitie vnto the last degree receiued, is commonlie eightene or peraduenture twentie yeeres, in which time if a student hath not obteined sufficient learning, thereby to serue his owne turne, and benefit his common wealth, let him neuer looke by tarieng longer to come by anie more. For after this time & 40 yeeres of age, the most part of students do commonlie giue ouer their wonted diligence, & liue like drone bees on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places, & yet doing litle good in their own vocation & calling. I could rehearse a number (if I listed) of this sort, aswell in the one vniuersitie as the other. But this shall suffice in stead of a larger report, that long continuance in those places is either a signe of lacke of friends, or of learning, or of good and vpright life, as bishop Fox sometime noted, who thought it sacrilege for a man to tarrie anie longer at Oxford than he had a desire to profit.

This Fox builded Corpus Christi college in Oxford.

A man may (if he will) begin his studie with the law, or physike (of which this giueth wealth, the other honor) so soone as he commeth to the vniuersitie, if his knowledge in the tongs and ripenesse of iudgement serue therefore: which if he do, then his first degree is bacheler of law, or physicke, and for the same he must performe such acts in his owne science, as the bachelers or doctors of diuinitie, do for their parts, the onelie sermons except, which belong not to his calling. Finallie, this will I saie, that the professors of either of those faculties come to such perfection in both vniuersities, as the best students beyond the sea do in their owne or elsewhere. One thing onlie I mislike in them, and that is their vsuall going into Italie, from whense verie few without speciall grace do returne good men, what soeuer they pretend of conference or practise, chiefelie the physicians who vnder pretense of seeking of forreine simples do oftentimes learne the framing of such compositions as were better vnknowen than practised, as I haue heard oft alledged, and therefore it is most true that doctor Turner said; Italie is not to be seene without a guide, that is, without speciall grace giuen from God, because of the licentious and corrupt behauiour of the people.

So much also may be inferred of lawiers.

There is moreouer in euerie house a maister or prouost, who hath vnder him a president, & certeine censors or deanes, appointed to looke to the behauior and maners of the students there, whom they punish verie seuerelie if they make anie default, according to the quantitie and qualitie of their trespasses. And these are the vsuall names of gouernours in Cambridge. Howbeit in Oxford the heads of houses are

now

now and then called presidents in respect of such bishops as are their visitors & founders. In ech of these also they haue one or moe threasurers whom they call Bursarios or Bursers beside other officers, whose charge is to see vnto the welfare and maintenance of these houses. Ouer each vniuersitie also there is a seuerall chancelor, whose offices are perpetuall, howbeit their substitutes, whom we call vicechancelors, are changed euerie yeare, as are also the proctors, taskers, maisters of the streates and other officers, for the better maintenance of their policie and estate.

And thus much at this time of our two vniuersities in each of which I haue receiued such degree as they haue vouchsafed rather of their fauour than my desert to yeeld and bestow vpon me, and vnto whose students I wish one thing, the execution whereof cannot be preiudiciall to anie that meaneth well, as I am resolutelie persuaded, and the case now standeth in these our daies. When anie benefice therefore becommeth void, it were good that the patrone did signifie the vacation therof to the bishop, and the bishop the act of the patrone to one of the vniuersities, with request that the vicechancellor with his assistents might prouide some such able man to succeed in the place, as should by their iudgement be meet to take the charge vpon him. Certes if this order were taken then should the church be prouided of good pastors, by whome God should be glorified, the vniuersities better stored, the simoniacall practises of a number of patrons vtterlie abolished and the people better trained to liue in obedience toward God and their prince, which were an happie estate.

London. To these two also we may in like sort ad the third, which is at London (seruing onelie for such as studie the lawes of the realme) where there are sundrie famous houses, of which three are called by the name of Ins of the court, the rest of the chancerie, and all builded before time for the furtherance and commoditie of such as aplie their minds to our common lawes. Out of these also come manie scholers of great fame, whereof the most part haue heretofore beene brought vp in one of the aforesaid vniuersities, and proue such commonlie as in processe of time, rise vp (onelie through their profound skill) to great honor in the common-wealth of England. They haue also degrees of learning among themselues, and rules of discipline, vnder which they liue most ciuilie in their houses, albeit that the yonger sort of them abroad in the streats are scarse able to be bridled by anie good order at all. Certes this errour was wont also greatlie to reigne in Cambridge and Oxford, betweene the students and the burgesses: but as it is well left in these two places, so in forreine counteies it cannot yet be suppressed. Besides these vniuersities, also there are great number of Grammer schooles through out the realme, and those verie liberallie indued, for the better releefe of poore scholers, so that there are not manie corporat townes now vnder the quænes dominion, that haue not one Grammar schole at the least, with a sufficient liuing for a maister and vsher appointed to the same. Grammar schooles.

There are in like maner diuerse collegiat churches as Windsor, Winchester, Eaton, Westminster (in which I was sometime an vnprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father master Nowell now deane of Paules) and in those a great number of poore scholers, dailie maintened by the liberalitie of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell, from whence after they haue beene well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Greeke tongs, and rules of versifieng (the triall whereof is made by certeine aposers yearelie appointed to examine them) they are sent to certeine especiall houses in each vniuersitie, where they are receiued the trained vp, in the points of higher knowledge in their priuat hals, till they be adiudged meet to shew their faces in the schooles, as I haue said alreadie. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our vniuersities, and likewise of colleges in the same, whose names I will also set downe here, with those of their founders, to the end the zeale which they bare vnto learning may appeare, and their remembrance neuer perish from among the wise and learned. windsor. winchester. Eaton. west minster.

## Of the colleges in Cambridge with *their founders.*

| *Yeares of the foundations.* | | *Colleges.* | | *Founders.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1546 | 1 | Trinitie college. | by | King Henrie 8. |
| 1441 | 2 | The kings college. | | K. Henrie 6. Edward 4. Henrie 7. and Henrie 8. |
| 1511 | 3 | S. Iohns. | | L. Margaret grandmother to Henrie 8. |
| 1505 | 4 | Christes college. | | K. Henrie 6. and the ladie Margaret aforesaid. |
| 1446 | 5 | The queenes college. | | Ladie Margaret wife to king Hentie 6. |
| 1496 | 6 | Iesus college. | | Iohn Alcocke bishop of Elie. |
| 1342 | 7 | Bennet college. | | The brethren of a popish guild called *Corporis Christi.* |
| 1343 | 8 | Pembroke hall. | | Maria de Valentia, countesse of Pembroke. |
| 1256 | 9 | Peter college. | | Hugh Balsham bishop of Elie. |
| 1348 1557 | 10 | Gundeuill and Caius college. | | Edmund Gundeuill parson of Terrington, and Iohn Caius doctor of physicke. |
| 1354 | 11 | Trinitie hall. | | William Bateman bishop of Norwich. |
| 1326 | 12 | Clare hall. | | Richard Badow chancellor of Cambridge. |
| 1459 | 13 | Catharine hall. | | Robert Woodlarke doctor of diuinitie. |
| 1519 | 14 | Magdalen college. | | Edw. duke of Buckingham, & Thom. lord Awdlie |
| 1585 | 15 | Emanuell college. | | Sir Water Mildmaie, &c. |

## Of colleges in Oxford.

| Yeares. | | Colleges. | | Founders. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1539 | 1 | Christes church. | by | King Henrie 8. | |
| 1459 | 2 | Magdalen college. | | William Wainflet first fellow of Merton college then scholer at Winchester, and afterward bishop there. | He founded also a good part of Eaton college, and a free schole at Wainflet where he was borne. |
| 1375 | 3 | New college. | | William Wickham bishop of Winchester. | |
| 1276 | 4 | Merton college. | | Walter Merton bishop of Rochester. | |
| 1437 | 5 | All soules college. | | Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie. | |
| 1516 | 6 | Corpus Christi college. | | Richard Fox bishop of Winchester. | |
| 1430 | 7 | Lincolne college. | | Richard Fleming bishop of Lincolne. | |
| 1323 | 8 | Auriell college. | | Adam Browne almoner to Edward 2. | |
| 1340 | 9 | The queenes college. | | R. Eglesfeld chapleine to Philip queene of England, wife to Edward 3. | |
| 1263 | 10 | Balioll college. | | Iohn Balioll king of Scotland. | |
| 1557 | 11 | S. Iohns. | | Sir Thomas White knight. | |
| 1556 | 12 | Trinitie college. | | Sir Thomas Pope knight. | |
| 1316 | 13 | Excester college. | | Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester. | |
| 1513 | 14 | Brasen nose. | | William Smith bishop of Lincolne. | |
| 873 | 15 | Vniuersitie college. | | William archdeacon of Duresme. | |
| | 16 | Gloucester college. | | Iohn Gifford who made it a cell for thirteene moonks. | |
| | 17 | S. Marie college. | | Hugh ap Rice doctor of the ciuill law. | |
| | 18 | Iesus college now in hand. | | | |

There are also in Oxford certeine hostels or hals, which may right well be called by the names of colleges, if it were not that there is more libertie in them, than is to be seen in the other. I mine opinion the liuers in these are verie like to those that are of Ins in the chancerie, their names also are these so farre as I now remember.

| | |
|---|---|
| Brodegates. | S. Marie hall. |
| Hart hall. | White hall. |
| Magdalen hall. | New In. |
| Alburne hall. | Edmond hall. |
| Postminster hall. | |

The students also that remaine in them, are called hostelers or halliers. Hereof it came of late to passe, that the right reuerend father in God Thomas late archbishop of Canturburie being brought vp in such an house at Cambridge, was of the ignorant sort of Londoners called an hosteler, supposing that he had serued with some inholder in the stable, and therfore in despite diuerse hanged vp bottles of haie at his gate, when he began to preach the gospell, whereas in deed he was a gentleman borne of an ancient house: in the end a faithfull witnesse of Iesus Christ, in whose quarrell he refused not to shed his bloud and yeeld vp his life vnto the furie of his aduersaries.

Besides these there is mention and record of diuerse other hals or hostels, that haue beene there in times past, as Beefe hall, Mutton hall, &c: whose ruines yet appeere: so that if antiquitie be to be iudged by the shew of ancient buildings, which is verie plentifull in Oxford to be seene, it should be an easie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder vniuersitie. Therin are also manie dwelling houses of stone yet standing, that haue beene hals for students of verie antike workemanship, beside the old wals of sundrie other, whose plots haue beene conuerted into gardens, since colleges were erected.

Erection of colleges in Oxford the ouerthrow of hals.

*In London also the houses of students at* the Common law are these.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sergeants In. | Furniuals In. |
| Graies In. | Cliffords In. |
| The Temple. | Clements In. |
| Lincolnes In. | Lions In. |
| Dauids In. | Barnards In. |
| Staple In. | New In. |

And thus much in generall of our noble vniuersities, whose lands some greedie gripers do gape wide for, and of late haue (as I heare) propounded sundrie reasons, whereby they supposed to haue preuailed in their purposes. But who are those that haue attempted this sute, other than such as either hate learning, pietie, and wisedome; or else haue spent all their owne, and know not otherwise than by incroching vpon other men how to maintaine themselues? When such a motion was made by some vnto king Henrie the eight, he could answer them in this maner; Ah sirha, I perceiue the abbeie lands haue fleshed you and set your teeth on edge, to aske also those colleges. And whereas we had a regard onelie to pull downe sinne by defacing the monasteries, you haue a desire also to ouerthrow all godnesse by subuersion of colleges. I tell you sirs that I iudge no land in England better bestowed than that which is giuen to our vniuersities, for by their maintenance our realme shall be well gouerned when we be dead and rotten. As you loue your welfares therfore, follow no more this veine, but content your selues with that you haue alreadie, or else seeke honest meanes whereby to increase your liuelods, for I loue not learning so ill, that I will impaire the reuenues of anie one house by a penie, whereby it may be vpholden. In king Edwards daies likewise the same sute was once againe attempted (as I haue heard) but in vaine, for saith the duke of Summerset among other speeches tending to that end, who also made answer thereunto in the kings presence by his assignation; Flerning deceit, which of wild men maketh ciuill, of blockish and rash persons wise and godlie counsellors, of obstinat rebels obedient subiects, and of euill men good and godlie christians, what shall we looke for else but barbarisme and tumult? For when the lands of colleges be gone, it shall be hard to saie, whose staffe shall stand nert the doore, for then I doubt not but the state of bishops, rich farmers, merchants, and the nobilitie shall be assailed, by such as liue to spend all, and thinke that what so euer another man hath is more meet for them, and to be at their commandement, than for the proper owner that hath sweat and laboured for it. In queene Maries daies the weather was too warme for anie such course to be taken in hand, but in the time of our gratious

Now abbeis be gone, our dingthrifts prie after church and college possessions.

gratious quéene Elizabeth, I heare that it was after a ſort in talke the third time, but without ſucceſſe as moued alſo out of ſeaſon, and ſo I hope it ſhall continue for euer. For what comfort ſhould it be for anie good man to ſée his countrie brought into the eſtate of the old Gothes & Vandals, who made lawes againſt learning, and would not ſuffer anie ſkilfull man to come into their councell houſe, by meanes whereof thoſe people became ſauage, tyrants, and mercileſſe helhounds, till they reſtored learning againe, and thereby fell to ciuilitie.

## Of the partition of England into *ſhires and counties.*

Chap. 4.

IN reding of ancient writers, as Cæſar, Tacitus, and others, we find mention of ſundrie regions to haue béene ſometime in this Iland, as the Nouantæ, Selgouæ, Dannonij, Gadeni, Oradeni, Epdij, Cerones, Carnonacæ, Careni, Cornabij, Caledonij, Decantæ, Logi, Mertæ, Vacomagi, Venicontes, Texali or Polij, Denani, Elgoui, Brigantes Pariſi, Ordouici *alias* Ordoluci, Cornauij, Coritaui, Catieuchlani, Simeni, Trinouantes, Demetæ, Cangi, Silures, Dobuni, Atterbatij, Cantij, Regni, Belgæ, Durotriges, Dumnonij, Giruij, Murotriges, Seueriani, Iceni, Tegenes, Caſij, Cænimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Kentiſhmen, and ſuch like. But ſith the ſeuerall places where moſt of them late, are not yet verie perfectlie knowne vnto the learned of theſe daies, I doo not meane to pronounce my iudgement vpon ſuch doubtfull caſes, leaſt that in ſo doing I ſhould but increaſe coniectures, and leading peraduenture the reader from the more probable, intangle his mind in the end with ſuch as are of leſſe value, and things nothing ſo likelie to be true, as thoſe which other men haue remembred and ſet downe before me. Neither will I ſpeake oughts of the Romane partitions, & limits of their legions, whoſe number and place of abode, except of the Victorian and Auguſtane, is to me vtterlie vnknowne.

It ſhall ſuffice therfore to begin with ſuch a ground as from whence ſome better certeintie of things may be deriued, and that is with the eſtate of our Iland in the time of Alfred, who firſt diuided England into ſhires, which before his daies, and ſince the comming of the Saxons, was limited out by families and hidelands, as the Britons did the ſame in their time, by hundreds of townes, which then were called cantreds; as old records doo witneſſe.

Into how manie ſhires the ſaid Alfred did firſt make this partition of the Iland, it is not yet found out; howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing at all, I ſuppoſe that he left not vnder eight and thirtie, ſith we find by no good author, that aboue fifteene haue béene added by anie of his ſucceſſours, ſince the time of his deceaſe. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into ſhires, or ſhares, he diuided againe the ſame into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, and hundreds into tithings, or denaries, as diuers haue written; and maiſter Lambert following their authorities, hath alſo giuen out, ſaieng almoſt after this maner in his deſcription of Kent; The Danes (ſaith he) both before, & in the time of king Alfred, had flocked by the ſea coaſts of this Iland in great numbers, ſometimes walking and ſpoiling with ſword and fire, whereſoeuer they might arriue, and ſomtime taking great booties with them to their ſhips, without doing anie further hurt or damage to the countrie. This inconuenience continuing for manie yéeres togither, cauſed our huſbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occaſion and hardineſſe to euill diſpoſed perſons, to fall to the like pillage, as practiſing to follow the Danes in theſe their theéts and robberies. And the better to cloake their miſchéefe withall, they feigned themſelues to be Daniſh pirats, and would ſometime come a land in one port, and ſometime in another, driuing dailie great ſpoiles (as the Danes had done) vnto their ſhips before them. The good king Alfred therefore (who had maruellouſlie trauelled in repelling the barbarous Danes) eſpieng this outrage, and thinking it no leſſe the part of a politike prince, to rot out the noiſome ſubiect, than to hold out the forren aduerſarie: by the aduiſe of his nobilitie, and the example of Moſes (who followed the counſell of Iethro his father in law to the like effect) diuided the whole realme into certeine parts or ſections, which (of the Saxon word Schyran, ſignifieng to cut) he termed ſhires, or as we yet ſpeake, ſhares, or portions, of which ſome one hath fortie miles in length (as Eſſex) and almoſt ſo manie broad, Hereford foure & twentie in length, and twentie in breadth, and Warwike ſix and thirtie in length, &c: and ſome of them alſo conteine ten, twelue, thirteene, ſixteene, twentie, or thirtie hundreds, more or leſſe, as ſome hundreds doo ſixteene, twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie or ſixtie townes, out of which the king was alwaies to receiue an hundred able men to ſerue him in the warres, or a hundred men able to be pledges, and ouer each of the portions he appointed either an earle or alderman, or both, to whome he committed the gouernement of the ſame. Theſe ſhires alſo he brake into leſſer parts, whereof ſome were called lathes, of the word Gelathian, which is to aſſemble togither; other hundreds, for that they enioied iuriſdiction ouer an hundred pledges; and other tithings, becauſe there were in each of them to the number of ten perſons, whereof euerie one from time to time was ſuertie for others good abearing. He prouided alſo that euerie man ſhould procure himſelfe to be receiued into ſome tithing, to the end, that if anie were found of ſo ſmall and baſe a credit, that no man would become pledge or ſuertie for him, he ſhould forthwith be committed to priſon, leaſt otherwiſe he might happen to doo more harme abroad. Hitherto maiſter Lambert. By whoſe words we may gather verie much of the ſtate of this Iland in the time of Alfred, whoſe inſtitution continued after a ſort vntill the comming of the Normans, who changed the gouernement of the realme in ſuch wiſe (by bringing in of new officers and offices, after the maner of their countries) that verie little of the old regiment remained more than the bare names of ſome officers (except peraduenture in Kent) ſo that in theſe daies it is hard to ſet downe anie great certeintie of things as they ſtood in Alfreds time, more than is remembred and touched at this preſent.

Engliſhmen noiſome to their owne countrie.

Earle and alderman.

Some as it were roming or rouing at the name Lath, doo ſaie that it is deriued of a barne, which is called in old Engliſh a lath, as they coniecture. From which ſpéech in like ſort ſome deriue the word Laiſtow, as if it ſhould be trulie written Lathſtow, a place wherein to late vp or laie on things, of whatſoeuer condition. But hereof as yet I cannot abſolutelie be ſatiſfied, although peraduenture ſome likelihood in their iudgements may ſéeme to be therein. Other vpon ſome further conſideration affirme that they were certeine circuits in euerie countie or ſhire conteining an appointed number of townes, whoſe inhabitants alwaies aſſembled to know and vnderſtand of matters touching their portions, in to ſome

what a lath is

one.

one appointed place or other within their limits, especiallie whilest the causes were such as required not the aid or assistance of the whole countie. Of these lathes also (as they saie) some shires had more, some lesse, as they were of greatnesse. And M. Lambert seemeth to be of the opinion, that the lects of our time (wherein these pledges be yet called Franci plegij of the word Free burgh) do yeeld some shadow of that politike institution of Alfred. But sith my skill is so small in these cases that I dare not iudge ante thing at all as of mine owne knowledge, I will not set downe anie thing more than I read, least I should roue at random in our obscure antiquities, and reading no more of lathes my next talke shall be of hundreds.

Leetes.

Hundred or wapentake.

The hundred and the wapentake is all one, as I read in some, and by this diuision not a name appertinent to a set number of townes (for then all hundreds should be of equall quantitie) but a limited iurisdiction, within the compasse whereof were an hundred persons called pledges (as I said) or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which ech one was bound for others good abering, and laudable behauiour in the common-wealth of the realme. The chiefe man likewise of euerie denarie or tithing was in those daies called a tithing man, in Latine Decurio, but now in most places a borsholder or burgholder, as in Kent; where euerie tithing is moreouer named a burgh or burrow, although that in the West countrie he be still called a tithing man, and his circuit a tithing, as I haue heard at large. I read furthermore (and it is partlie afore noted) that the said Alfred caused ech man of free condition (for the better maintenance of his peace) to be ascribed into some hundred by placing himselfe in one denarie or other, where he might alwais haue such as should sweare or saie vpon their certeine knowledge for his honest behauior and ciuill conuersation if it should happen at ante time, that his credit should come in question. In like sort I gather out of Leland and other, that if ante small matter did fall out worthie to be discussed, the tithing man or borsholder (now officers, at the commandement of the high constable of which euerie hundred hath one at the least) should decide the same in their leetes, whereas the great causes were referred to the hundreds, the greater to the lathes, and the greatest of all to the shire daies, where the earles or aldermen did set themselues, & make finall ends of the same, according vnto iustice. For this purpose likewise in euerie hundred were twelue men chosen of good age and wisedome, and those sworne to giue their sentences without respect of person, and in this manner (as they gather) were things handeled in those daies. Which waie the word wapentake came in vse, as yet I cannot tell; howbeit the signification of the same declareth (as I conceiue) that at the chiefe towne the soldiers which were to serue in that hundred did meet, fetch their weapons, & go together from thence to the field, or place of seruice by an ordinarie custome, then generallie knowen amongst them. It is supposed also that the word Rape commeth a Rapiendo, as it were of catching and snatching, bicause the tenants of the hundred or wapentakes met vpon one or sundrie daies & made quicke dispatch of their lords harnesse at once and in great hast. But whether it be a true imagination or not as yet I am vncerteine, and therefore it lieth not in me to determine anie thing thereof: wherefore it shall suffice to haue touched them in this maner.

Denarie or tithing.

Tithing man in Latine Decurio.

Borsholder.

Burrow.

Twelue men.

Fortie shires in England thirteene in Wales.

In my time there are found to be in England fourtie shires, and likewise thirteene in Wales, and these latter erected of late yeares by king Henrie the eight, who made the Britons or Welshmen equall in all respects vnto the English, and brought to passe that both nations should indifferentlie be gouerned by one law, which in times past were ordred by diuerse, and those far discrepant and disagreing one from another: as by the seuerall view of the same is yet easie to be discerned. The names of the shires in England are these, whereof the first ten lie betweene the British sea and the Thames, as Polydor also doth set them downe.

| | |
|---|---|
| Kent. | Wiltshire. |
| Sussex. | Dorsetshire. |
| Surreie. | Summerset. |
| Hampshire. | Deuon. |
| Barkeshire. | Cornewall. |

There are moreouer on the northside of the Thames, and betweene the same and the riuer Trent, which passeth through the middest of England (as Polydor saith) sixteene other shires, whereof six lie toward the east, the rest toward the west, more into the middest of the countrie.

| | |
|---|---|
| Essex, sometime all forrest saue one hundred. | Huntington wher in are foure hundreds. |
| Middlesex. | Buckingham. |
| Hartfordshire. | Oxford. |
| Suffolke. | Northampton. |
| Norffolke. | Rutland. |
| Cambrigeshire in which are 12 hundreds. | Leircestershire. |
| | Notinghamshire. |
| | Warwike. |
| Bedford. | Lincolne. |

We haue six also that haue their place westward towards Wales, whose names insue.

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| Glocester. | Shropshire. |
| Hereford. | Stafford. |
| Worcester. | Chestershire. |

And these are the thirtie two shires which lie by south of the Trent. Beyond the same riuer we haue in like sort other eight, as

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|---|---|
| Darbie. | it is accompted as parcell of Yorkeshire (out of which it is taken) then is it reputed for the whole Riding. |
| Yorke. | |
| Lancaster. | |
| Cumberland. | |
| Westmerland. | |
| Richemond, wherein are fiue wapentares, & when | |
| | Durham. |
| | Northumberland. |

So that in the portion sometime called Lhoegres, there are now fortie shires. In Wales furthermore are thirteene, whereof seuen are in Southwales:

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|---|---|
| Cardigan, or Cereticon. | hundreds or commots. |
| Penmoroke, or Penbroke. | Glamorgan. |
| Caermardine, wherein are 9 | Monmouth. |
| | Brecknocke. |
| | Radnor. |

In Northwales likewise are six, that is to saie

| | |
|---|---|
| Anglesete. | Denbigh. |
| Carnaruon. | Flint. |
| Merioneth. | Montgomerie. |

Which being added to those of England yeeld fiftie and three shires or counties, so that vnder the queenes Maiestie are so manie counties, whereby it is easilie discerned, that hir power farre exceedeth that of Mosa, who of old time was highlie honored for that he had so much of Britaine vnder his subiection as afterward conteined thirtie nine shires, when the diuision was made, whereof I spake before.

Od parcels of shires.

This is moreouer to be noted in our diuision of shires, that they be not alwaies counted or laid together in one parcell, whereof I haue great marueil. But sith the occasiõ hath growen (as I take it) either by priuilege or some like occasion, it is better briefelie to set downe how some of these parts lie than to spend the time in seeking a iust cause of this their od diuision,

diuiſion. Firſt therefore I note that in the part of Buckinghamſhire betweene Amondeſham, & Beconſfield, there is a peece of Hartfordſhire to be found, inuironed round about with the countie of Buckingham, and yet this patch is not aboue three miles in length and two in breadth at the verie moſt. In Barkeſhire alſo betweene Ruſcombe and Dkingham is a peece of Wilſhire, one mile in breadth and foure miles in length, whereof one ſide lieth on the Loden riuer. In the borders of Northamptonſhire directlie ouer againſt Luffeld a towne in Buckinghamſhire, I find a parcell of Dxfordſhire not paſſing two miles in compaſſe.

With Dxfordſhire diuerſe do participate, in ſo much that a peece of Gloceſterſhire, lieth halfe in Warwikeſhire & halfe in Dxfordſhire, not verie far from Horneton. Such another patch is there, of Gloceſterſhire not far from long Compton, but lieng in Dxford countie: & a peece of Worceſterſhire, directlie betweene it & Gloceſterſhire. Gloceſter hath the third peece vpon the north ſide of the Wilnruſh neere Falbrocke, as Barkeſhire hath one parcell alſo vpon the ſelfe ſide of the ſame water, in the verie edge of Gloceſterſhire: likewiſe an other in Dxfordſhire, not verie farre from Burford: and the third ouer againſt Lach lade, which is parted from the main countie of Barkeſhire, by a little ſtrake of Dxfordſhire. Who would thinke that two fragments of Wilſhire were to be ſeene in Barkeſhire vpon the Loden, and the riuer that falleth into it: whereof and the like ſith there are verie manie, I thinke good to giue this briefe admonition. For although I haue not preſentlie gone thorough with them all, yet theſe may ſuffice to giue notice of this thing, wherof moſt readers (as I perſuade my ſelfe) are ignorant.

But to proceed with our purpoſe. Euerech of theſe ſhires in time of neceſſitie is a ſeuerall lieutenant choſen vnder the prince, who being a noble man of calling, hath almoſt regall authoritie ouer the ſame for the time being in manie caſes which do concerne his office: otherwiſe it is gouerned by a ſhiriffe (a word deriued of Schire and Greue, and pronounced as Shire and Reue) whoſe office is to gather vp and bring his accounts into the exchekер, of the profits of his countie receiued, whereof he is or may be called *Quæſtor comitatus* or *Prouinciæ*. This officer is reſident and dwelling ſomewhere within the ſame countie, and called alſo a vicount, *Quaſi vicarius comitis* or *Procomes*, in reſpect of the earle (or as they called him in time paſt the alderman) that beareth his name of the countie, although it be ſeldome ſeene in England, that the earle hath anie great ſtore of poſſeſſions, or oughts to do in the ſhire whereof he taketh his name, more than is allowed to him, through his perſonall reſiance, if he happen to dwell and be reſident in the ſame.

In the election alſo of theſe magiſtrates, diuerſe able perſons aſwell for wealth as wiſedome are named by the commons, at a time and place appointed for their choiſe, whoſe names being deliuered to the prince, he forthwith pricketh ſome ſuch one of them, as he pleaſeth to aſſigne vnto that office, to whome he committeth the charge of the countie, and who herevpon is ſhiriffe of that ſhire for one whole yeare, or vntill a new be choſen. The ſhiriffe alſo hath his vnder ſhiriffe that ruleth & holdeth the ſhire courts and law daies vnder him, vpon ſufficient caution vnto the high ſhiriffe for his true execution of iuſtice, preſeruation from impeachment, and yeelding of accompt when he ſhall be thereunto called. There are likewiſe vnder him certeine bailiffes, whoſe office is to ſerue and returne ſuch writs and proceſſes as are directed vnto them from the high ſhiriffe: to make ſeiſure of the goods and cattels, and arreſt the bodies of ſuch as do offend, preſenting either their perſons vnto him, or at the leaſtwiſe taking ſufficient bond, or other aſſurance of them for their dutifull appearance at an appointed time, when the ſhiriffe by order of law ought to preſent them to the iudges according to his charge. In euerie hundred alſo are one or more high conſtables according to the quantitie thereof, who receiuing the writs and iniunctions from the high ſhiriffe vnder his ſeale, or from ante other officers of the prince, either for the prouiſion of vittels or for other cauſes, or priuat puruiance of cates for the maintenance of the roiall familie, do forthwith charge the petie conſtables of euerie towne within their limits, with the execution of the ſame.

High conſtables.

Petie conſtables.

In each countie likewiſe are ſundrie law daies holden at their appointed ſeaſons, of which ſome retaine the old Saxon name, and are called Motelagh, of the word motes and law. They haue alſo an other called the ſhiriffes turne, which they hold twiſe in their times, in euerie hundred, according to the old order appointed by king Edgar (as king Edward reduced the folkmote ordeined by king Arthur to be held yearelis on the firſt of Maie, vntill the firſt of euerie moneth) and in theſe two latter ſuch ſmall matters as oft ariſe amongſt the inferior ſort of people, are heard and well determined. They haue finallie their quarter ſeſſions, wherein they are aſſiſted by the iuſtices and gentlemen of the countrie, & twiſe in the yeare gaile deliuerie, at which time the iudges ride about in their circuits, into euerie ſeuerall countie (where the nobilitie and gentlemen with the iuſtices there reſiant aſſociat them) & miniſter the lawes of the realme, with great ſolemnitie & iuſtice. Howbeit in doing of theſe things, they reteine ſtill the old order of the land in vſe before the conqueſt. For they commit the full examination of all cauſes there to be heard, to the conſideration of twelue ſober, graue, and wiſe men, choſen out of the ſame countie; and foure of them of neceſſitie out of the hundred where the action lieth, or the defendant inhabiteth (which number they call an inqueſt) & of theſe inqueſts there are more or leſſe impanneled at euerie aſſiſe, as the number of caſes there to be handled doth craue and require, albeit that ſome one inqueſt hath often diuerſe matters to conſider of. And when they haue (to their vttermoſt power) conſulted and debated of ſuch things as they are charged withall, they returne againe to the place of iuſtice, with their verdict in writing, according whereunto the iudge doth pronounce his ſentence, be it for life or death, or anie other matter what ſoeuer is brought before him. It is alſo verie often ſeene, that ſuch as are nominated to be of theſe inqueſts, do after their charge receiued ſeldome or neuer eat or drinke, vntill they haue agreed vpon their verdict, and yelded it vp vnto the iudge of whome they receiued the charge; by meanes whereof ſometimes it commeth to paſſe that diuerſe of the inqueſt haue beene welneere famiſhed, or at leaſt taken ſuch a ſickeneſſe thereby, as they haue hardlie auoided. And this commeth by practiſe, when the one ſide feareth the ſequele, and therefore conueieth ſome one or more into the iurie, that will in his behalfe neuer yeeld vnto the reſt, but of ſet purpoſe put them to this trouble.

Motelagh. Shiriffes turne.

Gaile deliuerie or great aſſiſes.

Inqueſts.

Certes it is a common practiſe (if the vnder ſhiriffe be not the better man) for the craftier or ſtronger ſide to procure and packe ſuch a queſt, as he himſelfe ſhall like of, whereby he is ſure of the iſſue before the charge be giuen: and beſide this if the matter do iuſtlie proceed againſt him, it is a world to ſee now and then how the honeſt yeomen that haue *Bona fide* diſcharged their conſciences ſhall be ſued of an attеint, & bound to appeere at the Starre chamber, with what rigor they ſhall be caried from place to place,

Attеint.

Lieutenants.

Shiriffes.

Vnderſhiriffes.

Bailiffes.

place, countie to countie, yea and sometime in carts, which hath and doth cause a great number of them to abstaine from the assises, & yeld to pate their issues, rather than they would for their good meaning be thus disturbed & dealt withall. Sometimes also they bribe the bailiffes to be kept at home, wherupon poore men, not hauing in their purses wherewith to beare their costes, are impanelled vpon iuries, who verie often haue neither reason nor iudgement to performe the charge they come for. Neither was this kind of seruice at anie time halfe so painefull as at this present: for vntill of late yeares (that the number of lawiers and atturneies hath so exceedinglie increased, that some shifts must needs be found and matters sought out, whereby they may be set on worke) a man should not haue heard at one assise of more than two or three *Nisi prius*, but verie seldome of an atteint, whereas now an hundred & more of the first and one or two of the later are verie often perfected, and some of them for a cause arising of six pence or twelue pence. Which declareth that men are growen to be farre more contentious than they haue beene in time past, and readier to reuenge their quarels of small importance, whereof the lawiers complaine not. But to my purpose, from whence I haue now digressed.

Beside these officers afore mentioned, there are sundrie other in euerie countie, as crowners, whose dutie is to inquire of such as come to their death by violence, to attach & present the plees of the crowne, to make inquirie of treasure found, &c. There are diuerse also of the best learned of the law, beside sundrie gentlemen, where the number of lawiers will not suffice (and whose reuenues do amount to aboue twentie pounds by the yeare) appointed by especiall commission from the prince, to looke vnto the good gouernement of his subiects, in the counties where they dwell. And of these the least skilfull in the law are of the peace, the other both of the peace and quorum, otherwise called of Oier and Determiner, so that the first haue authoritie onelie to heare, the other to heare and determine such matters as are brought vnto their presence. These also do direct their warrants to the keepers of the gailes within their limitations, for the safe keeping of such offendors as they shall iudge worthie to commit vnto their custodie there to be kept vnder ward, vntill the great assises, to the end their causes may be further examined before the residue of the countie, & these officers were first deuised about the eighteene yeare of Edward the third, as I haue beene informed.

Iustices of peax & quorum.

They meeting also & togither with the shiriffes, do hold their aforesaid sessions at foure times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter sessions, and herein they inquire of sundrie trespasses, and the common annoiances of the kings liege people, and diuerse other things, determining vpon them as iustice doth require. There are also a third kind of sessions holden by the high constables and bailiffes afore mentioned, called petie sessions, wherein the weights and measures are perused by the clarke of the market for the countie, who sitteth with them. At these meetings also victuellers, and in like sort seruants, labourers, roges, and runnagates are often reformed for their excesses, although the burning of vagabounds through their care be referred to the quarter sessions or higher courts of assise, where they are iudged either to death, if they be taken the third time, & haue not since their second apprehension aplied themselues to labour, or else to be set perpetuallie to worke in an house erected in euerie shire for that purpose, of which punishment they stand in greatest feare.

Quarter sessions.

Petie sessions.

I might here deliuer a discourse of sundrie rare customes and courts, surnamed barons, yet maintained and holden in England: but forsomuch as some of the first are beastlie, and therefore by the lords of the soiles now liuing conuerted into monie, being for the most part deuised in the beginning either by malicious or licentious women, in meere contempt and slauish abuse of their tenants, vnder pretense of some punishment due for their excesses, I passe ouer to bring them vnto light, as also the remembrance of sundrie courts baron likewise holden in strange maner; yet none more absurd and far from law than are kept yearlie at Kings hill in Rochford, and therfore may well be called a lawlesse court, as most are that were deuised vpon such occasions. This court is kept vpon wednesdaie insuing after Michaelmasse daie after midnight, so that it is begun and ended before the rising of the sunne. When the tenants also are altogither in an alehouse, the steward secretlie stealeth from them with a lanterne vnder his cloke, and goeth to the Kings hill, where sitting on a molehill he calleth them with a verie soft voice, writing their appearance vpon a peece of paper with a cole, hauing none other light than that which is inclosed in the lanterne: so soone as the tenants also do misse the steward, they runne to the hill with all their might, and there answer all at once, Here here, whereby they escape their amercements: which they should not do if he could haue called ouer his bill of names before they had missed him in the alehouse. And this is the verie forme of the court deuised at the first (as the voice goeth) vpon a rebellion made by the tenants of the honour of Raibie against their lord, in perpetuall memorie of their disobedience shewed. I could beside this speake also of some other, but sith one hath taken vpon him to collect a number of them into a particular treatise, I thinke it sufficient for me to haue said so much of both.

And thus much haue I thought good to set downe generallie of the said counties and their maner of gouernance, although not in so perfect order as the cause requireth, bicause that of all the rest there is nothing wherewith I am lesse acquainted than with our temporall regiment, which (to saie truth) smallie concerneth my calling. What else is to be added after the seuerall shires of England with their ancient limits (as they agreed with the diuision of the land in the time of Ptolomie and the Romans) and commodities yet extant, I reserue vnto that excellent treatise of my freend W. Cambden, who hath trauelled therein verie farre, & whose worke written in Latine shall in short time (I hope) be published, to the no small benefit of such as will read and peruse the same.

## Of degrees of people in the common-wealth of England.

Chap. 5.

WE in England diuide our people commonlie into foure sorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgesses, yeomen, which are artificers, or labourers. Of gentlemen the first and cheefe (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons: and these are called gentlemen of the greater sort, or (as our common vsage of speech is) lords and noblemen: and next vnto them be knights, esquiers, and last of all they that are simplie called gentlemen; so that in effect our gentlemen are diuided into their conditions, whereof in this chapiter I will make particular rehearsall.

The

Prince. The title of prince doth peculiarlie belong with vs to the kings eldest sonne, who is called prince of Wales, and is the heire apparant to the crowne; as in France the kings eldest sonne hath the title of Dolphine, and is named peculiarlie Monsieur. So that the prince is so termed of the Latine word *Princeps*, sith he is (as I may call him) the cheefe or principall next the king. The kings yonger sonnes be but gentlemen by birth (till they haue receiued creation or donation from their father of higher estate, as to be either viscounts, earles, or dukes) and called after their names, as lord Henrie, or lord Edward, with the addition of the word Grace, properlie assigned to the king and prince, and now also by custome conueied to dukes, archbishops, and (as some saie) to marquesses and their wiues.

Duke. The title of duke commeth also of the Latine word Dux, à ducendo, bicause of his valor and power ouer the armie: in times past a name of office due to the emperour, consull, or cheefe gouernour of the whole armie in the Romane warres: but now a name of honor, although perished in England, whose ground will not long beare one duke at once; but if there were manie as in time past, or as there be now earles, I do not thinke but that they would florish and prosper well inough.

Marquesse. In old time he onelie was called marquesse, *Qui habuit terram limitaneam*, a marching prouince vpon the enimies countries, and thereby bound to keepe and defend the frontiers. But that also is changed in common vse, and reputed for a name of great honor nert vnto the duke, euen ouer counties, and sometimes small cities, as the prince is pleased to bestow it.

Earle. The name of earle likewise was among the Romans a name of office, who had *Comites sacri palatij, comites ærarij, comites stabuli, comites patrimonij, largitionum, scholarum, commerciorum*, and such like. But at the first they were called Comites, which were ioined in commission with the proconsull, legate, or iudges for counsell and aids sake in each of those seuerall charges. As Cicero epistola ad Quintum fratrem remembreth, where he saith; *Atque inter hos quos tibi comites, & adiutores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipsa respublica duntaxat finibus his præstabis, quos ante præscripsi, &c.* After this I read also that euerie president in his charge was called *Comes*, but our English Saxons vsed the word Hertoch and earle for *Comes*, and indifferentlie as I gesse, sith the name of duke was not in vse before the conquest. Goropius saith, that *Comes* and

Viscont. Graue is all one, to wit the viscont, called either *Procomes*, or *Vicecomes*: and in time past gouerned in the countie vnder the earle, but now without anie such seruice or office, it is also become a name of dignitie next after the earle, and in degrée before the baron. His releefe also by the great charter is one hundred pounds, as that of a baronie a hundred marks, and of a knight fiue at the most for euerie fee.

Baron. The baron, whose degrée answered to the dignitie of a senator in Rome, is such a free lord as hath a lordship or baronie, whereof he beareth his name, & hath diuerse knights or freeholders holding of him, who with him did serue the king in his wars, and held their tenures in *Baronia*, that is, for performance of such seruice. These Bracton (a learned writer of the lawes of England in king Henrie the thirds time) tearmeth *Barones, quasi robur belli*. The word *Baro* indeed is older than that it may easilie be found from whence it came: for euen in the oldest histories both of the Germans and Frenchmen, written since the conquest, we read of barons, and those are at this daie called among the Germans *Liberi vel Ingenui*, or Freihers in the Germane tong as some men do coniecture, or (as one saith) the citizens and burgesses of good townes and cities were called *Barones*. Neuertheless by diligent inquisition it is imagined, if not absolutelie found, that the word *Baro* and *Filius* in the old Scithian or Germane language are all one; so that the kings children are properlie called *Barones*, from whome also it was first translated to their kindred, and then to the nobilitie and officers of greatest honour indifferentlie. That *Baro* and *Filius* signifieth one thing, it yet remaineth to be seene, although with some corruption: for to this daie, euen the common sort do call their male children barnes here in England, especiallie in the north countrie, where that word is yet accustomablie in vse. And it is also growne into a prouerbe in the south, when anie man susteineth a great hinderance, to saie, I am beggered and all my barnes. In the Hebrue tong (as some affirme) it signifieth *Filij solis*, and what are the nobilitie in euerie kingdome but *Filij* or *serui regum*? But this is farre fetched, wherefore I conclude, that from henceforth the originall of the word *Baro* shall not be anie more to seeke: and the first time that euer I red thereof in anie English historie, is in the reigne of Canutus, who called his nobilitie and head officers to a councell holden at Cirnecester, by that name, 1030, as I haue else-where remembred. Howbeit the word *Baro* doth not alwaies signifie or is attributed to a noble man by birth or creation, for now and then it is a title giuen vnto one or other with his office, as the cheefe or high tribune of the excheker is of custome called lord cheefe baron, who is as it were the great or principall receiuer of accounts nert vnto the lord treasuror, as they are vnder him are called *Tribuni ærarij, & rationales*. Herevnto I may ad so much of the word lord, which is an addition going not seldome and in like sort with sundrie offices, and to continue so long as he or they do execute the same, and no longer.

Bishops. Vnto this place I also referre our bishops, who are accounted honourable, called lords, and hold the same rome in the parlement house with the barons, albeit for honour sake the right hand of the prince is giuen vnto them, and whose countenances in time past were much more glorious than at this present it is, bicause those lustie prelats sought after earthlie estimation and authoritie with farre more diligence than after the lost sheepe of Christ, of which they had small regard, as men being otherwise occupied and void of leisure to attend vpon the same. Howbeit in these dates their estate remaineth no lesse reuerend than before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they esteemed with high and low. They reteine also the ancient name (lord) still, although it be not a little impugned by such as loue either to heare of change of all things, or can abide no superiours. For notwithstanding it be true, that in respect of function, the office of the elder ship is equallie distributed betweene the bishop and the minister, yet for ciuill gouernements sake, the first haue more authoritie giuen vnto them by kings and princes, to the end that the rest maie thereby be with more ease reteined within a limited compasse of vniformitie, than otherwise they would be, if ech one were suffered to walke in his owne course. This also is more to be maruelled at, that verie manie call for an alteration of their estate, crieng to haue the word lord abolished, their ciuill authoritie taken from them, and the present condition of the church in other things reformed; whereas to saie trulie, few of them do agree vpon forme of discipline and gouernement of the church succedent: wherein they resemble the Capuans, of whome Liuie doth speake in the slaughter of their senat. Neither is it possible to frame a whole monarchie after the patterne of one

1. Sam. b 15.
1. Reg. 7.

towne

towne or citie, or to stirre vp such an exquisite face of the church as we imagine or desire, sith our corruption is such that it will neuer yéeld to so great perfection: for that which is not able to be performed in a priuat house, will much lesse be brought to passe in a common-wealth and kingdome, before such a prince be found as Xenophon describeth, or such an orator as Tullie hath deuised. But whither am I digressed from my discourse of bishops, whose estates dw daily decaie, & suffer some diminution? Herein neuertheless their case is growne to be much better than before, for whereas in times past the cleargie men were feared bicause of their authoritie and seuere gouernment vnder the prince, now are they beloued generallie for their painefull diligence dailie shewed in their functions and callings, except peraduenture of some hungrie wombes, that couet to plucke & snatch at the lose ends of their best commodities; with whom it is (as the report goeth) a common guise, when a man is to be preferred to an ecclesiasticall liuing, what part thereof he will first forgo and part with to their vse. Finallie, how it standeth with the rest of the clergie for their places of estate, I neither can tell nor greatlie care to know. Neuertheless with what degrées of honour and worship they haue béene matched in times past Iohannes Bohemus in his *De omnium gentium moribus*, and others dw erpresse; and this also sound beside their reports, that in time past euerie bishop, abbat, and pelting prior were placed before the earles and barons in most statutes, charters, and records made by the prince, as maie also appeare in the great charter, and sundrie yeares of Henrie the third, wherein no duke was heard of. But as a number of their odious comparisons and ambitious titles are now decaied and worthilie shrunke in the wetting, so giuing ouer in these daies to maintaine such pompous vanitie, they dw thinke it sufficient for them to preach the word, & hold their liuings to their sées (so long as they shall be able) from the hands of such as indeuour for their owne preferrement to fléece and diminish the same. This furthermore will I adde generallie in commendation of the cleargie of England, that they are for their knowlege reputed in France, Portingale, Spaine, Germanie and Polonia, to be the most learned diuines, although they like not anie thing at all of their religion: and thereto they are in deed so skilfull in the two principall tongs, that it is accounted a maime in anie one of them, not to be exactlie séene in the Græke and Hebrue, much more then to be vtterlie ignorant or nothing conuersant in them. As for the Latine tong it is not wanting in anie of the ministerie, especiallie in such as haue bene made within this twelue or fourtéene yeares, whereas before there was small choise, and manie cures were left vnserued, bicause they had none at all. And to sale truth, our aduersaries were the onelie causers hereof. For whilest they made no further accompt of their priesthood, than to construe, sing, read their seruice and their portesse, it came to passe that vpon examination had, few made in quéene Maries daies, and the later end of king Henrie, were able to to dw anie more, and verie hardlie so much, so void were they of further skill, and so vnapt to serue at all.

De Asia, cap. 12

No Græke, no grace.

Bene con, bene can, bene le.

Duke, marquesse, earle, visconte.

Dukes, marquesses, earles, visconts, and barons, either be created of the prince, or come to that honor by being the eldest sonnes or highest in succession to their parents. For the eldest sonne of a duke during his fathers life is an erle, the eldest sonne of an erle is a baron, or sometimes a visconte, according as the creation is. The creation I call the originall donation and condition of the honour giuen by the prince for good seruice done by the first ancestor, with some aduancement, which with the title of that honour is alwaies giuen to him and his heires males onelie. The rest of the sonnes of the nobilitie by the rigor of the law be but esquiers: yet in common speech all dukes and marquesses sonnes, and earles eldest sonnes be called lords, the which name commonlie doth agrée to none of lower degrée than barons, yet by law and vse these be not estéemed barons.

Barons.

The baronie or degrée of lords doth answer to the degrée of senators of Rome (as I said) and the title of nobilitie (as we vse to call it in England) to the Romane Patricij. Also in England no man is commonlie created baron, except he maie dispend of yearelie reuenues a thousand pounds, or so much as maie fullie mainteine & beare out his countenance and port. But visconts, erles, marquesses, and dukes exceed them according to the proportion of their degrée & honour. But though by chance he or his sonne haue lesse, yet he keepeth this degrée: but if the decaie be excessiue and not able to maintaine the honour, as *Senatores Romani* were *amoti à senatu*: so sometimes they are not admitted to the vpper house in the parlement although they keepe the name of lord still, which can not be taken from them vpon anie such occasion. The most of these names haue descended from the French inuention, in whose histories we shall read of them eight hundred yeares passed.

Of the second degrée of gentlemen.

This also is worthie the remembrance, that Otto the first emperour of that name, indeuouring to restore the decaied estate of Italie vnto some part of hir pristinate magnificence, did after the French example giue *Dignitates & prædia* to such knights and souldiers as had serued him in the warres, whom he also adorned with the names of dukes, marquesses, earles, valuasors or capteins, and valuasines.

Prædia.

His *Prædia* in like maner were tributes, tolles, portage, bankage, stackage, coinage, profits by saltpits, milles, water-courses (and whatsoeuer emoluments grew by them) & such like. But at that present I read not that the word *Baro* was brought into those parts. And as for the valuasors, it was a denomination applied vnto all degrées of honor vnder the first three (which are properlie named the kings capteins) so that they are called *Maiores, minores, & minimi valuasores*. This also is to be noted, that the word capteine hath two relations, either as the possessor therof hath it from the prince, or from some duke, marquesse, or earle, for each had capteins vnder them. If from the prince, then are they called *Maiores valuasores*, if from anie of his three péeres, then were they *Minores valuasores*: but if anie of these *valuasors* dw substitute a deputie, those are called *Minimi valuasores*, and their deputies also *valuasini*, without regard vnto which degrée the valuasor doth apperteine: but the word *valuasor* is now growne out of vse, wherefore it sufficeth to haue said thus much of that function.

Valuasores.

Knights be not borne, neither is anie man a knight by succession, no not the king or prince: but they are made either before the battell, to incourage them the more to aduenture & trie their manhod: or after the battell ended, as an aduancement for their courage and prowesse alreadie shewed (& then are they called *Milites*;) or out of the warres for some great seruice done, or for the singular vertues which dw appeare in them, and then are they named *Equites aurati*, as common custome intendeth. They are made either by the king himselfe, or by his commission and roiall authoritie giuen for the same purpose: or by his lieutenant in the warres. This order séemeth to answer in part to that which the Romans called *Equitum Romanorum*. For as *Equites Romani* were chosen *Ex censu*, that is, according to their substance and riches; so be knights in England most commonlie according to their yearelie reuenues or aboundance of riches, wherewith to mainteine their estates. Yet all

Knights.

Milites.

Equites aurati.

that

that had *Equestrem censum*, were not chosen to be knights, and no more be all made knights in England that may spend a knights lands, but they onelie whome the prince will honour. Sometime diuerse ancient gentlemen, burgesses, and lawiers, are called vnto knighthood by the prince, and neuerthelesse refuse to take that state vpon them, for which they are of custome punished by a fine, that redoundeth vnto his coffers, and to saie truth, is oftentimes more profitable vnto him than otherwise their seruice should be, if they did yeeld vnto knighthood. And this also is a cause, wherfore there be manie in England able to dispend a knights liuing, which neuer come vnto that countenance, and by their owne consents. The number of the knights in Rome was also vncerteine: and so is it of knights likewise with vs, as at the pleasure of the prince. And whereas the *Equites Romani* had *Equum publicum* of custome bestowed vpon them, the knights of England haue not so, but beare their owne charges in that also, as in other kind of furniture, as armour meet for their defense and seruice. This neuertheless is certeine, that who so may dispend 40 pounds by the yeare of free land, either at the coronation of the king, or mariage of his daughter, or time of his dubbing, may be inforced vnto the taking of that degree, or otherwise paie the reuenues of his land for one yeare, which is onelie fortie pounds by an old proportion, and so for a time be acquited of that title. We name him knight in English that the French calleth Cheualier, and the Latins *Equitem*, or *Equestris ordinis virum*. And when any man is made a knight, he kneeling downe is striken of the king or his substitute with his sword naked vpon the backe or shoulder, the prince, &c: saieng, *Soyes cheualier au nom de Dieu*. And when he riseth vp the king saith *Aduances bon cheualier*. This is the maner of dubbing knights at this present, and the tearme (dubbing) is the old tearme for that purpose and not creation, howbeit in our time the word (making) is most in vse among the common sort.

Knights of the bath.

At the coronation of a king or queene, there be other knights made with longer and more curious ceremonies, called knights of the bath. But howsoeuer one be dubbed or made knight, his wife is by and by called madame or ladie, so well as the barons wife; he himselfe hauing added to his name in common appellation this syllable Sir, which is the title whereby we call our knights in England. His wife also of courtesie so long as she liueth is called my ladie, although she happen to marie with a gentleman or man of meane calling, albeit that by the common law she hath no such prerogatiue. If hir first husband also be of better birth than hir second, though this later likewise be a knight, yet in that she pretendeth a priuilege to lose no honor through courtesie yeelded to hir ser, she will be named after the most honorable or worshipfull of both, which is not seene elsewhere.

Knights of the garter.

The other order of knighthood in England, and the most honorable is that of the garter, instituted by king Edward the third, who after he had gained manie notable victories, taken king John of France, and king James of Scotland (and kept them both prisoners in the Tower of London at one time) expelled king Henrie of Castile the bastard out of his realme, and restored Don Petro vnto it (by the helpe of the prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine his eldest sonne called the Blacke prince) he then inuented this societie of honour, and made a choise out of his owne realme and dominions, and throughout all christendome of the best, most excellent and renowmed persons in all vertues and honour, and adorned them with that title to be knights of his order, giuing them a garter garnished with gold and pretious stones, to weare dailie on the left leg ouer their apparell, a kirtle, gowne, robe, chaperon, collar, and other solemne and magnificent apparell, both of stuffe and fashion exquisite: hereto all to weare at high feasts, as to so high and princelie an order appertaineth. Of this companie also he and his successors kings and queenes of England, be the souereignes, and the rest by certeine statutes and lawes amongst themselues be taken as brethren and fellowes in that order, to the number of six and twentie, as I find in a certeine treatise written of the same, an example whereof I haue here inserted word for word, as it was deliuered vnto me, beginning after this maner.

Round table.

I might at this present make a long tractation of the round table and estate of the knights thereof, erected sometimes by Arthur the great monarch, of this Iland; and therevnto intreat of the number of his knights, and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thinke in so doing that I should rather set downe the latter inuentions of other men, than a true description of such ancient actions as were performed in deed. I could further more with more facilitie describe the roialtie of Charles the great & his twelue peeres, with their solemne rites and vsages: but vnto this also I haue no great deuotion, considering the truth hereof is now so stained with errours and fables inserted into the same by the leud religious sort, that except a man should profesle to lie with them for companie, there is little sound knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie the remembrance. In like maner diuerse aswell subiects as princes haue attempted to restore againe a round table in this land (as for example Roger lord Mortimer at Kilingworth) but such were the excessiue charges appertaining therevnto (as they did make allowance) and so great molestation dailie insued there vpon, besides the breeding of sundrie quarrels among the knights, and such as resorted hitherto from forreine countries (as it was first vsed) that in fine they gaue it ouer, and suffered their whole inuentions to perish and decaie, till Edward the third deuised an other order not so much pestered with multitude of knights as the round table, but much more honorable for princelie port and countenance, as shall appeare hereafter.

Roger Mortimer.

The order of the garter therefore was deuised in the time of king Edward the third, and (as some write) vpon this occasion. The queenes maiestie then liuing, being departed from his presence the nert waie toward hir lodging, he following some after happened to find hir garter, which slacked by chance and so fell from hir leg, vnespied in the throng by such as attended vpon hir. His gromes & gentlemen also passed by it, disdaining to stoope and take vp such a trifle: but he knowing the owner, commanded one of them to state and reach it vp to him. Why and like your grace (saieth a gentleman) it is but some womans garter that hath fallen from hir as she followed the queenes maiestie. What soeuer it be (quoth the king) take it vp and giue it me. So when he had receiued the garter, he said to such as stood about him; Vpon my maisters do make small account of this blue garter here (and therewith held it out) but if God lend me life for a few moneths, I will make the proudest of you all to reuerence the like. And euen vpon this slender occasion he gaue himselfe to the deuising of this order. Certes I haue not read of anie thing, that hauing had so simple a begining hath growne in the end to so great honour and estimation. But to proceed. After he had studied awhile about the performance of his deuise, and had set downe such orders as he himselfe inuented concerning the same, he proclamed a roiall feast to be holden at Windsore, whither all his nobilitie resorted with their ladies, where he published his institution, and

The occasion of the deuise.

Peraduenture but a blue ribben.

forthwith inuested an appointed number into the afore said fellowship, whose names insue, himselfe being the souereigne and principall of that companie. Next vnto himselfe also he placed

- Edward prince of Wales.
- Henrie duke of Lancaster.
- N. earle of Warw.
- N. capt. de Bouche.
- N. earle of Stafford.
- N. earle of Sarum.
- N. lord Mortimer.
- Sir Iohn Lisle.
- Sir Bartholomew Burwash.
- N. sonne of sir Iohn Beauchamp.
- Sir N. de Mahun.
- S. Hugh Courtneis.
- S. Thomas Holland.
- Sir Iohn Graie.
- Sir Rich. Fitzsimon.
- Sir Miles Stapleton.
- Sir Thomas Wale.
- Sir Hugh Wrotesley.
- Sir Neale Lording.
- Sir Iohn Chandos.
- S. Iames Dawdleie.
- Sir Otho Holland.
- Sir Henrie Eme.
- Sir Sanchet Dambricourt.
- Sir Walter Pannell *alias* Paganell.

Election. What order of election, and what statutes were prescribed vnto the elected at this first institution, as yet I can not exactlie vnderstand; neither can I learne what enerie prince afterward added thereunto before the six and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight, and third of king Edward the first: wherefore of necessitie I must resort vnto the estate of the said order as it is at this present, which I will set downe so briefle as I may. When anie man therefore is to be elected (vpon a roome found void for his admission) into this fellowship, the king directeth his letters vnto him, notwithstanding that he before hand be nominated to the same, to this effect. Right trustie and welbeloued we greete you well, asserteining you, that in consideration aswell of your approued trustie and fidelitie, as also of your courragious and valiant acts of knighthood, with other your probable merits knowne by experience in sundrie parties and behalfes: we with the companions of the noble order of the Garter, assembled at the election holden this date within our manour of N. haue elected and chosen you amongst other to be one of the companions of the said Order, as your deserts do condignelie require. Wherefore we will that with conuenient diligence vpon the sight herof, you repaire vnto our presence, there to receiue such things as to the said order appertaineth. Dated vnder our signet at our maner of N. &c. These letters are the exemplification of certeine, which (as it should seeme) were written An. 3. Edwardi sexti at Greenewich Aprilis 24, vnto the earle of Huntingdon, & the lord George Cobham your lordships honorable father, at such time as they were called vnto the aforesaid companie. I find also these names subscribed vnto the same.

- Edward duke of Summerset vncle to the king.
- The marq. of Northhampton.
- Earle of Arundell L. Chamberleine.
- Earle of Shrewesburie.
- L. Russell lord priuie seale.
- L. S. Iohn lord great master.
- Sir Iohn Gage.
- S. Anthonie Wingfield.
- Sir William Paget.

Admission. Being elected, preparation is made for his installing at Windsore (the place appointed alwaies for this purpose) whereat it is required that his banner be set vp, of two yardes and a quarter in length, and three quarters in breadth, besides the fringe. Secondlie his sword of what soeuer length him seemeth good. Thirdlie his helme, which from the charnell vpwards ought to be of three inches at the least. Fourthlie the creast, with mantels to the helme belonging, of such conuenient stuffe and bignelle, as it shall please him to appoint.

Item a plate of armes at the backe of his stall, and creast with mantels and beasts supportant, to be grauen in the mettall.

Item lodging scutcheons of his armes, inuironned with a garter, and painted in paper or cloth of buckram, which when he trauelleth by the waie are to be fired in the common Inns where he doth lodge, as a testimonie of his presence and states from time to time as he did trauell.

Item two mantels, one to remaine in the college at Windsore, the other to vse at his pleasure, with the scutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter with laces, tasselets, and knops of blue silke and gold belonging to the same.

Item a surcote or gowne of red or crimosine veluet, with a whod of the same, lined with white sarrenet or damaske.

Item a collar of the garter of thirtie ounces of gold Troie weight.

Item a tablet of S. George, richlie garnished with precious stones or otherwise.

Item a garter for his (left) leg, hauing the buckle and pendant garnished with gold.

Item a booke of the statutes of the said order.

Item a scutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter to set vpon the mantell. And this furniture is to be prouided against his installation.

Installation. When anie knight is to be installed, he hath with his former letters, a garter sent vnto him, and when he commeth to be installed, he is brought into the chapter house, where incontinentlie his commission is read before the souereigne, or his deputie, and the assemblie present: from hence he is lead by two knights of the said order, accompanied with the officer of the nobilitie, and officers toward the chappell, hauing his mantell borne before him, either by a knight of the order, or else the king at armes; to whome it secondarilie appertaineth to beare it. This

Mantell. mantell shall be deliuered vnto him for his habit, after his oth taken before his stall, and not before: which done, he shall returne vnto the chapter house, where the souereigne, or his deputie, shall deliuer him his collar, and so he shall haue the full possession of his habit. As for his stall, it is not giuen according vnto

Stall. the calling and countenance of the receiuer, but as the place is that happeneth to be void, so that each one called vnto this knighthood (the souereigne, and emperours, and kings, and princes alwaies excepted) shall haue the same seat, which became void by the death of his predecessor, howsoeuer it fall out: whereby a knight onlie oftentimes doth sit before a duke, without ante murmuring or grudging at his roome, except it please the souereigne, once in his life onelie to make a generall alteration of those seats, and to set each one according to his degree.

Now as touching the apparell of these knights, it remaineth such as king Edward, the first deuiser of this order left it, that is to saie, euerie yeare one of the colours, that is to say, scarlet, sanguine in grain, blue and white. In like sort the kings grace hath at his pleasure the content of cloth for his gowne and whod, lined with white satine or damaske, and multitude of garters with letters of gold.

The prince hath fiue yardes of cloth for his gowne and whod, and garters with letters of gold at his pleasure, beside fiue timber of the finest mineuer.

A timber containeth fortie skins, pelts, or felles.

A duke hath fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 120 garters with title of gold.

A marques hath fiue yards of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 110 garters of silke.

An earle fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, and 100 garters of silke.

A viscount fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber

ber of mineuer, 90 garters of ſilke.

A baron fiue yardes of woollen cloth, thꝛee timber of mineuer greſſe, 80 garters of ſilke.

A banneret fiue yards of woollen cloth, thꝛée timber of mineuer, 70 garters of ſilke.

A knight fiue yards of woollen cloth, thꝛée timber of mineuer, 60 garters of ſilke.

The biſhop of Wincheſter chapleine of the garter, hath eight and twentie timber of mineuer pure, nineteene timber greſſe, thꝛée timber and a halfe of the beſt, and foure & twentie yards of woollen cloth.

The chancellor of the order fiue yards of woollen cloth, thꝛée timber of mineuer pure.

The regiſter of the order fiue yardes of woollen cloth, thꝛee timber of mineuer pure. And this order to be holden generallie among the knights of this companie, which are ſix and twentie in number, and whoſe patrone in time of ſuperſtition was ſuppoſed to be S. George, of whome they were alſo called S. Georges knights as I haue heard reported. Would to God they might be called knights of honor, or by ſome other name, for the title of ſaint George argueth a wrong patrone.

Inſtallation. Furthermore at his inſtallation he is ſolemnelie ſworne, the maner whereof I haue thought good alſo to anner, in this maner. You being choſen to be one of the honorable companie of the order of the Garter, ſhall promiſe and ſweare vpon the holie euangelies by you bodilie touched, to be faithfull and true to the kings maieſtie, and to obſerue and keepe all the points of the ſtatutes of the ſaid order, and euerie article in them conteined, the ſame being agréeable and not repugnant to the kings highneſſe other godlie procéedings, ſo far as to you belongeth & apperteineth, as God you helpe, &c. And thus much haue I thought good to note touching the premiſſes.

Eſtatutes. As touching the eſtatutes belonging to this order they are manie, and therefore not to be touched here. Howbeit if anie doubt doo ariſe aboue the interpretation of them, the king who is the perpetuall ſouereigne of that order hath to determine and reſolue the ſame. Neither are anie choſen thereunto vnder the degrée of a knight, and that is not a gentelman of bloud and of ſound eſtimation.

Gentleman of bloud. And for the better vnderſtanding what is meant by a gentleman of bloud, he is defined to deſcend of thrée deſcents of nobleneſſe, that is to ſaie, of name and of armes both by father and mother.

Degrées of reproch. There are alſo foure degrées of reproch, which may inhibit from the entrance into this order: of which the firſt is hereſie lawfullie prooued, the ſecond high treaſon, the third is flight from the battell, the fourth riot and prodigall exceſſe of expenſes, whereby he is not likelie to hold out, and mainteine the port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie thereof. Apparell. Moreouer touching the wearing of their aforeſaid apparell, it is their cuſtome to weare the ſame, when they enter into the chappell of S. George or be in the chapter houſe of their order, or finallie doo go about anie thing apperteining to that companie. In like ſort they weare alſo their mantels vpon the euen of S. George, and go with the ſouereigne, or his deputie in the ſame in maner of proceſſion from the kings great chamber vnto the chappell, or vnto the college, and likewiſe backe againe vnto the aforeſaid place, not putting it from them, vntill ſupper be ended, and the auoid doone. The nert daie they reſort vnto the chappell alſo in the like order, & from thence vnto diner, wearing afterward their ſaid apparell vnto euening praier, and likewiſe all the ſupper time, vntill the auoid be finiſhed. In the ſolemnitie likewiſe of theſe feaſts, the thirteene chanons there, and ſix and twentie poore knights haue mantels of the order, whereof thoſe for the chanons are of Purpre

with a roundell of the armes of S. George, the other of red, with a ſcutcheon onelie of the ſaid armes.

Sicke or abſent. If anie knight of this order be abſent from this ſolemnitie vpon the euen and daie of S. George, and be inforced not to be preſent either through bodilie ſickneſſe, or his abſence out of the land: he doth in the church, chappell, or chamber where he is remaining, prouide an honorable ſtall for the kings maieſtie in the right hand of the place with a cloth of eſtat, and cuſhions, and ſcutchion of the garter, and therein the armes of the order. Alſo his owne ſtall of which ſide ſoeuer it be diſtant from the kings or the emperours in his owne place, appointed ſo nigh as he can, after the maner and ſituation of his ſtall at Windſore, there to remaine, the firſt euening praier on the euen of S. George, or thrée of the clocke, and likewiſe the nert daie during the time of the diuine ſeruice, vntill the morning praier, and the reſt of the ſeruice be ended: and to weare in the meane time his mantell onelie, with the George and the lace, without either whood, collar or ſurcote. Or if he be ſo ſicke that he doo kéepe his bed, he doth vſe to haue that habit laid vpon him during the times of diuine ſeruice aforeſaid.

Offering. At the ſeruice time alſo vpon the morrow after S. George, two of the chiefe knights (ſauing the deputie of the ſouereigne if he himſelfe be abſent) ſhall offer the kings banner of armes, then other two the ſword with the hilts forwards, which being doone the firſt two ſhall returne againe, and offer the helme and creſt, hauing at each time two heralds of armes going before, according to the ſtatutes. The lord deputie or lieutenant vnto the kings grace, for the time being, alone and aſſiſted with one of the chiefe lords, doth deliuer at his offering a péece of gold, and hauing all the king of armes and heralds going before him, he ſo procéedeth to the offering. When he hath thus offered for the prince, he returneth with like ſolemnitie vnto his ſtall, and nert of all goeth againe with one herald to offer for himſelfe, whoſe oblation being made, euerie knight according to their ſtals, with an herald before him procéedeth to the offering.

Buriall. What ſolemnitie is vſed at the buriall of anie knight of the Garter, it is but in vaine to declare: wherefore I will ſhew generallie what is doone at the diſgrading of one of theſe knights, if through anie grieuous offenſe he be ſeparated from this companie. Whereas otherwiſe the ſigne of the order is neuer taken from him vntill death doo end & finiſh vp his daies. Therfore when anie ſuch thing is doone, promulgation is made therof after this maner inſuing.

Diſgrading. Be it knowne vnto all men that N. N. knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, is found giltie of the abhominable and deteſtable crime of high treaſon, for he hath moſt traitorouſlie conſpired againſt our moſt high and mightie prince ſouereigne of the ſaid order, contrarie to all right, his dutie, and the faithfull oth, which he hath ſworne and taken. For which cauſes therefore he hath deſerued to be depoſed from this noble order, and fellowſhip of the Garter. For it may not be ſuffered that ſuch a traitor and diſloiall member remaine among the faithfull knights of renowmed ſtomach & bountifull prowes, or that his armes ſhould be mingled with thoſe of noble chiualrie. Wherefore our moſt excellent prince and ſupreme of this moſt honorable order, by the aduiſe and counſell of his collegues, willeth and commandeth that his armes which he before time hath deſerued ſhall be from henceforth be taken awaie and throwne downe: and he himſelfe cleans cut off from the ſocietie of this renowmed order, and neuer from this daie reputed anie more for a member of the ſame, that all other by his example may hereafter beware how they commit the like treſpaſſe, or fall in-

to ſuch notorious infamie and rebuke. This notice being giuen, there reſorteth vnto the partie to be diſgraded certeine officers with diuerſe of his late fellowes appointed, which take from him his George, and other inueſtiture, after a ſolemne maner.

And hitherto of this moſt honorable order, hoping that no man will be offended with me, in vttering thus much. For ſith the noble order of the Toiſon Dor or golden fléece, with the ceremonies apperteining vnto the creation and inueſtiture of the ſir and thirtie knights thereof: and likewiſe that of ſaint Michaell and his one and thirtie knights, are diſcourſed vpon at large by the hiſtoriographers of their owne countries, without reprehenſion or checke, eſpeciallie by *Vincentius Lupan lib.* 1. *de Mag. Franc. cap. de equitibus ordinis*, where he calleth them Cheualliers ſans reproche, and thereto addeth that their chaine is commonlie of two hundred crownes at the leaſt, and honour thereof ſo great, that it is not lawfull for them to ſell, giue, or laie the ſame to morgage (would to God they might once breake their name, Sans reproche, but their generall deling in our time with all men, will not ſuffer ſome of the beſt of their owne countries to haue that opinion of them) I truſt I haue not giuen anie cauſe of diſpleaſure, briefelie to ſet forth thoſe things that apperteine vnto our renowmed order of the Garter, in whoſe compaſſe is written commonlie, *Honi ſoit qui maly penſe, which is ſo much to ſaie, as, Euill come to him that euill thinketh: a verie ſharpe imprecation, and yet ſuch as is not contrarie to the word, which promiſeth like meaſure to the meter, as he doth mete to others.

*Some think that this was the anſwer of the quæne, when the king aſked what men would thinke of hir, in loſing the garter after ſuch a maner.

There is yet an other order of knights in England called knights Bannerets, who are made in the field with the ceremonie of cutting awaie the point of his penant of armes, and making it as it were a banner, ſo that being before but a bacheler knight, he is now of an higher degree, and allowed to diſplaie his armes in a banner as barrons do. Howbeit theſe knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kings ſtandard being vnfolded.

Bannerets.

Eſquire. Eſquire (which we call commonlie ſquire) is a French word, and ſo much in Latine as *Scutiger vel armiger*, and ſuch are all thoſe which beare armes, or armoires, teſtimonies of their race from whence they be deſcended. They were at the firſt collerels or bearers of the armes of barons, or knights, & thereby being inſtructed in martiall knowledge, had that name for a dignitie giuen to diſtinguiſh them from common ſouldiers called *Gregarij milites* when they were togither in the field.

Gentlemen. Gentlemen be thoſe whome their race and bloud, or at the leaſt their vertues do make noble and knowne. The Latines call them *Nobiles & generoſos*, as the French do Nobles or Gentlehommes. The etymologie of the name expoundeth the efficacie of the word: for as *Gens* in Latine betokeneth the race and ſurname: ſo the Romans had Cornelios, Sergios, Appios, Curios, Papyrios, Scipiones, Fabios, Æmilios, Iulios, Brutos, &c: of which, who were Agnati, and therefore kept the name, were alſo called Gentiles, gentlemen of that or that houſe and race.

Moreouer as the king doth dubbe knights, and createth the barons and higher degrees, ſo gentlemen whoſe anceſtors are not knowen to come in with William duke of Normandie (for of the Saxon races yet remaining we now make none accompt, much leſſe of the Britiſh iſſue) do take their beginning in England, after this maner in our times.

Lawiers ſtudents in vniuerſities. Phyſicians. Captains. Who ſoeuer ſtudieth the lawes of the realme, who ſo abideth in the vniuerſitie giuing his mind to his booke, or profeſſeth phyſicke and the liberall ſciences, or beſide his ſeruice in the roome of a captaine in the warres, or good counſell giuen at home, whereby his common-wealth is benefited, can liue without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he ſhall for monie haue a cote and armes beſtowed vpon him by heralds (who in the charter of the ſame do of cuſtome pretend antiquitie and ſeruice, and manie gaie things) and therevnto being made ſo good cheape be called maſter, which is the title that men giue to eſquiers and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman euer after. Which is ſo much the leſſe to be diſalowed of, for that the prince doth loſe nothing by it, the gentleman being ſo much ſubiect to taxes and publike paiments as is the yeoman or huſbandman, which he likewiſe doth beare the gladlier for the ſauing of his reputation. Being called alſo to the warres (for with the gouernment of the common-wealth he medleth little) what ſoeuer it coſt him, he will both arraie & arme himſelfe accordinglie, and ſhew the more manly courage, and all the tokens of the perſon which he repreſenteth. No man hath hurt by it but himſelfe, who peraduenture will go in wider buſkens than his legs will beare, or as our prouerbe ſaith, now and then beare a bigger ſaile than his boat is able to ſuſteine.

Certes the making of new gentlemen bred great ſtrife ſometimes amongſt the Romans, I meane when thoſe which were *Noui homines*, were more allowed of for their vertues newlie ſéene and ſhewed, than the old ſmell of ancient race, latelie defaced by the cowardiſe & euill life of their nephues & defendants could make the other to be. But as enuie hath no affinitie with iuſtice and equitie, ſo it forceth not what languages the malicious do giue out, againſt ſuch as are exalted for their wiſdomes. This neuertheleſſe is generalitie to be reprehended in all eſtates of gentilitie, and which in ſhort time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is the vſuall ſending of noblemens & meane gentlemens ſonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but méere atheiſme, infidelitie, vicious converſation, & ambitious and proud behauiour, wherby it commeth to paſſe that they returne far worſe men than they went out. A gentleman at this preſent is newlie come out of Italie, who went thither an earneſt proteſtant, but comming home he could ſaie after this maner: Faith & truth is to be kept, where no loſſe or hinderance of a further purpoſe is ſuſteined by holding of the ſame; and forgiuenеſſe onelie to be ſhewed when full reuenge is made. Another no leſſe forward than he, at his returne from thence could ad thus much; He is a fole that maketh accompt of any religion, but more fole that will loſe anie part of his wealth, or will come in trouble for conſtant leaning to anie: but if he yéeld to loſe his life for his poſſeſſion, he is ſtarke mad, and worthie to be taken for moſt fole of all the reſt. This gaie bootie gate theſe gentlemen by going into Italie, and hereby a man may ſée what fruit is afterward to be looked for where ſuch bloſſoms do appéere. I care not (ſaith a third) what you talke to me of God, ſo as I may haue the prince & the lawes of the realme on my ſide. Such men as this laſt, are eaſilie knowen; for they haue learned in Italie, to go vp and downe alſo in England, with pages at their héeles finelie apparelled, whoſe face and countenance ſhall be ſuch as ſheweth the maſter not to be blind in his choiſe. But leaſt I ſhould offend too much, I paſſe ouer to ſaie anie more of theſe Italionates and their demeanor, which alas is too open and manifeſt to the world, and yet not called into queſtion.

Citizens and burgeſſes haue next place to gentlemen, who be thoſe that are free within the cities, and are of ſome likelie ſubſtance to beare office in the ſame. But theſe citizens or burgeſſes are to ſerue

Citizens and burgeſſes.

the

the commonwealth in their cities and boroughs, or in corporat townes where they dwell. And in the common assemblie of the realme wherein our lawes are made, for in the counties they beare but little swaie (which assemblie is called the high court of parlement) the ancient cities appoint foure, and the boroughs two burgesses to haue voices in it, and giue their consent or dissent vnto such things as passe or staie there in the name of the citie or borow, for which they are appointed.

Merchants. In this place also are our merchants to be installed, as amongst the citizens (although they often change estate with gentlemen, as gentlemen dow with them, by a mutuall conuersion of the one into the other) whose number is so increased in these our daies, that their onelie maintenance is the cause of the exceeding prices of forreine wares, which otherwise when euerie nation was permitted to bring in hir owne commodities, were farre better cheape and more plentifullie to be had. Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great transportation of them into other countries, I speake not, sith the matter will easilie bewraie it selfe. Certes among the Lacedemonians it was found out, that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the state of the commonwealth: wherefore it is to be wished that the huge heape of them were somewhat restreined, as also of our lawiers, so should the rest liue more easilie vpon their owne, and few honest chapmen be brought to decaie, by breaking of the bankerupt. I do not denie but that the nauis of the land is in part mainteined by their traffike, and so are the high prices of wares kept vp now they haue gotten the onelie sale of things, vpon pretense of better furtherance of the common-wealth into their owne hands: whereas in times past when the strange bottoms were suffered to come in, we had sugar for foure pence the pound, that now at the writing of this treatise is well worth halfe a crowne, raisons or corints for a penie that now are holden at six pence, and sometime at eight pence and ten pence the pound: nutmegs at two pence halfe penie the ounce: ginger at a penie an ounce, prunes at halfe penie farding: great raisons three pound for a penie, cinamon at foure pence the ounce, cloues at two pence, and pepper at twelue, and sixteene pence the pound. Whereby we may see the sequele of things not alwaies but verie seldome to be such as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carrie out of the realme, are for the most part broode clothes and carsies of all colours, likewise cottons, frēses, rugs, tin, woll, our best beere, bales, bustian, mockadoes tufted and plaine, rash, lead, fells, &c: which being shipped at sundrie ports of our coasts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or readie monie: to the great gaine and commoditie of our merchants. And whereas in times past their cheese trade was into Spaine, Portingall, France, Flanders, Danske, Norwaie, Scotland, and Iseland onelie: now in these daies, as men not contented with these iournies, they haue sought out the east and west Indies, and made now and then suspicious voiages not onelie vnto the Canaries, and new Spaine, but likewise into Cathaia, Moscouia, Tartaria, and the regions thereabout, from whence (as they saie) they bring home great commodities. But alas I see not by all their trauell that the prices of things are anie whit abated. Certes this enormitie (for so I dow accompt of it) was sufficientlie prouided for, An. 9 Edward 3. by a noble statute made in that behalfe, but vpon what occasion the generall execution thereof is staied or not called on, in good soth I cannot tell. This onelie I know, that euerie function and seuerall vocation striueth with other, which of them should haue all the water of commoditie run into hir owne cesterne.

Yeomen. Yeomen are those, which by our law are called *Legales homines*, free men borne English, and may dispend of their owne free land in yearelie reuenue, to the summe of fortie shillings sterling, or six pounds as monie goeth in our times. Some are of the opinion by Cap. 2. Rich. 2. an. 20. that they are the same which the French men call varlets, but as that phrase is vsed in my time it is farre vnlikelie to be so. The truth is that the word is derived from the Saxon terme Zeoman or Geoman, which signifieth (as I haue read) a settled or staid man, such I meane as being maried and of some yeares, betaketh himselfe to staie in the place of his abode for the better maintenance of himselfe and his familie, whereof the single sort haue no regard, but are likelie to be still fleeting now hither now thither, which argueth want of stabilitie in determination and resolution of iudgement, for the execution of things of anie importance. This sort of people haue a certeine preheminence, and more estimation than labourers & the common sort of artificers, & these commonlie liue wealthilie, kéepe good houses, and trauell to get riches. They are also for the most part farmers to gentlemen (in old time called *Pagani, & opponuntur militibus*, and therfore Persius calleth himselfe *Semipaganus*) or at the least wise artificers, & with grasing, frequenting of markets, and kéeping of seruants (not idle seruants as the gentlemen dow, but such as get both their owne and part of their maisters liuing) do come to great welth, in somuch that manie of them are able and dow buie the lands of vnthriftie gentlemen, and often setting their sonnes to the schooles, to the vniuersities, and to the Ins of the court; or otherwise leauing them sufficient lands whereupon they may liue without labour, dow make them by those means to become gentlemen: these were they that in times past made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called maister as gentlemen are, or sir as to knights apperteineth, but onelie John and Thomas, &c: yet haue they beene found to haue done verie good seruice: and the kings of England in foughten battels, were wont to remaine among them (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongst their horsemen: the prince thereby shewing where his chiefe strength did consist.

Englishmen on foot and Frenchmen on horsse-backe best.

Capite censi or Proletarij. The fourth and last sort of people in England are daie labourers, poore husbandmen, and some retailers (which haue no frée land) copie holders, and all artificers, as tailers, shomakers, carpenters, brickmakers, masons, &c. As for slaues and bondmen we haue none, naie such is the priuilege of our countrie by the especiall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, so soone as they set foot on land they become so frée of condition as their maisters, whereby all note of seruile bondage is vtterlie removed from them, wherein we resemble (not the Germans who had slaues also, though such as in respect of the slaues of other countries might well be reputed frée, but) the old Indians and the Lacedemonians, who supposed it a great iniurie to nature to make or suffer them to be bond, whome she in hir wonted course doth product and bring forth frée. This fourth and last sort of people therefore haue neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule other: yet they are not altogither neglected, for in cities and corporat townes, for default of yeomen they are faine to make vp their inquests of such maner of people. And in villages they are commonlie made churchwardens, sidemen, aleconners, now and then constables, and manie times inioie the name

No slaues nor bondmen in England.

of hedborroughes. Unto this sort also may our great swarmes of idle seruing men be referred, of whome there runneth a prouerbe; Yong seruing men old beggers, bicause seruice is none heritage. These men are profitable to none, for if their condition be well perused, they are enimies to their maisters, to their frends, and to themselues: for by them oftentimes their maisters are incouraged vnto vnlawfull exactions of their tenants, their frends brought vnto pouertie by their rents inhanced, and they themselues brought to confusion by their owne prodigalitie and errors, as men that hauing not wherewith of their owne to mainteine their excesses, do search in high waies, budgets, cofers, males, and stables, which way to supplie their wants. How diuerse of them also coueting to beare an high saile do insinuate themselues with yong gentlemen and noble men newlie come to their lands, the case is too much apparant, whereby the good natures of the parties are not onelie a little impaired, but also their liuelihoods and reuenues so wasted and consumed, that if at all yet not in manie yeares they shall be able to recouer themselues. It were verie good therefore that the superfluous heapes of them were in part diminished. And sith necessitie inforceth to haue some, yet let wisdome moderate their numbers, so shall their maisters be rid of vnnecessarie charge, and the common wealth of manie théeues. No nation cherisheth such store of them as we do here in England, in hope of which maintenance manie giue themselues to idlenesse, that otherwise would be brought to labour, and liue in order like subiects. Of their whoredomes I will not speake anie thing at all, more than of their swearing, yet is it found that some of them do make the first a chefe piller of their building, consuming not onlie the goods but also the health & welfare of manie honest gentlemen, citizens, wealthie yeomen, &c: by such vnlawfull dealings. But how farre haue I wadred in this point, or how farre may I saile in such a large sea: I will therefore now staie to speake anie more of those kind of men. In returning therefore to my matter, this furthermore among other things I haue to saie of our husbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer so excellent in their trades as at this present. But as the workemanship of the later sort was neuer more fine and curious to the eie, so was it neuer lesse strong and substantiall for continuance and benefit of the buiers. Neither is there anie thing that hurteth the common sort of our artificers more than hast, and a barbarous or slauish desire to turne the penie, and by ridding their worke to make spédie vtterance of their wares: which inforceth them to bungle vp and dispatch manie things they care not how so they be out of their hands, whereby the buier is often sore defrauded, and findeth to his cost, that hast maketh wast, according to the prouerbe.

Oh how manie trades and handicrafts are now in England, whereof the common wealth hath no néed: how manie néedfull commodities haue we which are perfected with great cost, &c: and yet may with farre more ease and lesse cost be prouided from other countries if we could vse the meanes. I will not speake of iron, glasse, and such like, which spoile much wood, and yet are brought from other countries better chéepe than we can make them here at home, I could exemplifie also in manie other. But to leaue these things and procéed with our purpose, and herein (as occasion serueth) generallie by waie of conclusion to speake of the common-wealth of England, I find that it is gouerned and mainteined by three sorts of persons.

1 The prince, monarch, and head gouernour, which is called the king, or (if the crowne fall to the woman) the quéene: in whose name and by whose authoritie all things are administred.

2 The gentlemen, which be diuided into two sorts, as the baronie or estate of lords (which conteineth barons and all aboue that degree) and also those that be no lords, as knights, esquiers, & simple gentlemen, as I haue noted alreadie. Out of these also are the great deputies and high presidents chosen, of which one serueth in Ireland, as another did sometime in Calis, and the capteine now at Berwike; as one lord president doth gouerne in Wales, and the other the north parts of this Iland, which later with certeine councellors and iudges were erected by king Henrie the eight. But forsomuch as I haue touched their conditions elsewhere, it shall be inough to haue remembred them at this time.

3 The third and last sort is named the yeomanrie, of whom & their sequele, the labourers and artificers, I haue said somewhat euen now. Whereto I ad that they be not called maisters and gentlemen, but goodmen, as goodman Smith, goodman Cot, goodman Cornell, goodman Pascall, goodman Cockswet, &c: & in matters of law these and the like are called thus, Giles Iewd yeoman, Edward Mountford yeoman, James Cocke yeoman, Herrie Butcher yeoman, &c: by which addition they are exempt from the vulgar and common sorts. Caro calleth them *Aratores & optimos ciues rei publicæ*, of whom also you may read more in the booke of common wealth which sir Thomas Smith sometime penned of this land.

Of gentlemen also some are by the prince chosen, and called to great offices in the common wealth, of which said offices diuerse concerne the whole realme; some be more priuat and peculiar to the kings house. And they haue their places and degrées, prescribed by an act of parlement made An. 31 Henr. octaui, after this maner insuing.

These foure the lord Chancellor, the lord Treasuror (who is *Supremus erarij Anglici quæstor* or *Tribunus erarius maximus*) the lord President of the councell, and the lord Priuie seale, being persons of the degrée of a baron or aboue, are in the same act appointed to sit in the parlement and in all assemblies or councell aboue all dukes, not being of the bloud roiall, Videlicet the kings brother, uncle, or nephue.

And these sir, the lord great Chamberleine of England: the lord high Constable of England: the lord Marshall of England: the lord Admirall of England: the lord great maister or Steward of the kings house: and the lord Chamberleine: by that act are to be placed in all assemblies of councell, after the lord priuie seale, according to their degrées and estats: so that if he be a baron, then he is to sit aboue all barons: or an earle, aboue all earles.

And so likewise the kings secretarie, being a baron of the parlement, hath place aboue all barons, and if he be a man of higher degrée, he shall sit and be placed according thereunto.

## The rehearsall of the temporall nobilitie of England, according to the anciencie of their creations, or first calling to their degrees, as they are to be found at this present.

No duke in England.

Earles.

The Marquise of Winchester.
The earle of Arundell.
The earle of Orford.
The earle of Northumberland.
The earle of Shrewesburie.
The earle of Kent.
The earle of Derbie.
The earle of Worcester.

The

The earle of Rutland.
The earle of Cumberland.
The earle of Suſſex.
The earle of Huntingdon.
The earle of Bath.
The earle of Warwike.
The earle of Southampton.
The earle of Bedford.
The earle of Penbrooke.
The earle of Hertford.
The earle of Leiceſter.
The earle of Eſſex.
The earle of Lincolne.

Viſconts.

The viſcont Montague.
The viſcont Bindon.

Barons.

The lord of Abergeuennie.
The lord Awdeleie.
The lord Zouch.
The lord Barkeleie.
The lord Morleie.
The lord Dacres of the ſouth.
The lord Cobham.
The lord Stafford.
The lord Greie of Wilton.
The lord Scrope.
The lord Dudleie.
The lord Latimer.
The lord Stourton.
The lord Lumleie.
The lord Mountioie.
The lord Ogle.
The lord Darcie of the north.
The lord Pountegle.
The lord Sands.
The lord Vaulx.
The lord Windſore.
The lord Wentworth.
The lord Borough.
The lord Mordaunt.
The lord Cromwell.
The lord Euers.
The lord Wharton.
The lord Rich.
The lord Willoughbie.
The lord Sheffeld.
The lord Paget.
The lord Darcie of Chicheſter.
The lord Howard of Effingham.
The lord North.
The lord Chaundos.
The lord of Hunſdon.
The lord ſaint John of Bletſo.
The lord of Buckhirſt.
The lord Delaware.
The lord Burghleie.
The lord Compton.
The lord Cheineie.
The lord Norreis.

## Biſhops in their anciencie, as they *ſat in parlement, in the fift of the* Queenes maieſties reigne that now is.

Clergie.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie.
The archbiſhop of Yorke.
London.
Durham.
Winchester.

The reſt had their places in ſenioritie of conſecration.

Chicheſter.
Lanaffe.
Hereford.
Elie.
Worceſter.
Bangor.
Lincolne.
Saliſburie.
S. Dauids.
Rocheſter.

Bath and Welles.
Couentrie and Lichfield.
Exceſter.
Norwich.
Peterborough.
Carleill.
Cheſter.
S. Aſaph.
Gloceſter.

And this for their placing in the parlement houſe. Howbeit, when the archbiſhop of Canturburie ſiteth in his prouinciall aſſemblie, he hath on his right hand the archbiſhop of Yorke, and next vnto him the biſhop of Wincheſter, on the left hand the biſhop of London: but if it fall out that the archbiſhop of Canturburie be not there by the vacation of his ſée, then the archbiſhop of Yorke is to take his place, who admitteth the biſhop of London to his right hand, and the prelat of Wincheſter to his left, the reſt ſitting alwaies as afore, that is to ſaie, as they are elders by conſecration, which I thought good alſo to note out of an ancient preſident.

# Of the food and diet of *the Engliſh.*

## Chap. 6.

THe ſituation of our region, lieng neere vnto the north, doth cauſe the heate of our ſtomaches to be of ſomewhat greater force: therefore our bodies do craue a little more ample nouriſhment, than the inhabitants of the hotter regions are accuſtomed withall, whoſe digeſtiue force is not altogither ſo vehement, becauſe their internall heat is not ſo ſtrong as ours, which is kept in by the coldneſſe of the aire, that from time to time (ſpecially in winter) doth enuiron our bodies.

It is no maruell therefore that our tables are oftentimes more plentifullie garniſhed than thoſe of other nations, and this trade hath continued with vs euen ſince the verie beginning. For before the Romans found out and knew the waie vnto our countrie, our predeceſſors fed largelie vpon fleſh and milke, whereof there was great aboundance in this Ile, becauſe they applied their cheefe ſtudies vnto paſturage and feeding. After this maner alſo did our Welſh Britons order themſelues in their diet ſo long as they liued of themſelues, but after they became to be vnited and made equall with the Engliſh they framed their appetites to liue after our maner, ſo that at this date there is verie little difference betweene vs in our diets.

In Scotland likewiſe they haue giuen themſelues (of late yeares to ſpeake of) vnto verie ample and large diet, wherein as for ſome reſpect nature doth make them equall with vs: ſo otherwiſe they far exceed vs in ouer much and diſtemperate gormandize, and ſo ingroſſe their bodies that diuerſe of them do oft become vnapt to anie other purpoſe than to ſpend their times in large tabling and bellie cheere. Againſt this pampering of their carcaſſes doth Hector Boetius in his deſcription of the countrie verie ſharpelie inueigh in the firſt chapter of that treatiſe. Henrie Wardlaw alſo biſhop of S. Andrewes, noting their vehement alteration from competent frugalitie into exceſſiue gluttonie, to be brought out of England with James the firſt (who had beene long time priſoner there vnder the fourth & fift Henries,

and

and at his returne caried diuerse English gentlemen into his countrie with him, whome he verie honorablie preferred there) doth vehementlie exclame against the same in open parlement holden at Perth 1433, before the three estats, and so bringeth his purpose to passe in the end by force of his learned persuasions, that a law was presentlie made there for the restreint of superfluous diet, amongest other things baked meats (dishes neuer before this mans daies seene in Scotland) were generallie so prouided for by vertue of this act, that it was not lawfull for anie to eat of the same vnder the degree of a gentleman, and those onelie but on high and festiuall daies, but alas it was soone forgotten.

In old time these north Britons did giue themselues vniuersallie to great abstinence, and in time of warres their souldiers would often feed but once or twise at the most in two or three daies (especiallie if they held themselues in secret, or could haue no issue out of their bogges and marises, through the presence of the enimie) and in this distresse they vsed to eat a certeine kind of confection, whereof so much as a beane would qualifie their hunger aboue common expectation. In woods moreouer they liued with hearbes and rootes, or if these shifts serued not thorough want of such prouision at hand, then vsed they to creepe into the water or said mosish plots vp vnto the chins, and there remaine a long time, onelie to qualifie the heats of their stomachs by violence, which otherwise would haue wrought and beene readie to oppresse them for hunger and want of sustinance. In those daies likewise it was taken for a great offense ouer all, to eat either goose, hare, or henne, bicause of a certeine superstitious opinion which they had conceiued of those three creatures, howbeit after that the Romans (I saie) had once found an entrance into this Iland, it was not long yer open shipwracke was made of this religious obseruation, so that in processe of time, so well the north and south Britons as the Romans, gaue ouer to make such difference in meats, as they had done before.

From thencefoorth also vnto our daies, and euen in this season wherein we liue, there is no restreint of anie meat, either for religions sake or publike order in England, but it is lawfull for euerie man to feed vpon what soeuer he is able to purchase, except it be vpon those daies whereon eating of flesh is especiallie forbidden by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken onelie to the end our numbers of cattell may be the better increased, & that aboundance of fish which the sea yeeldeth, more generallie received. Beside this there is great consideration had in making of this law for the preseruation of the naule, and maintenance of conuenient numbers of sea faring men, both which would otherwise greatlie decaie, if some meanes were not found whereby they might be increased. But how soeuer this case standeth, white meats, milke, butter & cheese, which were neuer so deere as in my time, and wont to be accounted of as one of the chiefe staies throughout the Iland, are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour sort, whilest such as are more wealthie, do feed vpon the flesh of all kinds of cattell accustomed to be eaten, all sorts of fish taken vpon our coasts and in our fresh riuers, and such diuersitie of wild and tame foules as are either bred in our Iland or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

In number of dishes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England (whose cookes are for the most part musicall headed Frenchmen and strangers) do most exceed, sith there is no daie in maner that passeth ouer their heads, wherein they haue not onelie beefe, mutton, veale, lambe, kid, porke, conie, capon, pig, or so manie of these as the season yeeldeth: but also some portion of the red or fallow deere, beside great varietie of fish and wild foule, and thereto sundrie other delicates wherein the sweet hand of the seafaring Portingale is not wanting: so that for a man to dine with one of them, and to tast of euerie dish that standeth before him (which few vse to do, but each one feedeth vpon that meat him best liketh for the time, the beginning of euerie dish notwithstanding being reserued vnto the greatest personage that sitteth at the table, to whome it is drawen vp still by the waiters as order requireth, and from whome it descendeth againe euen to the lower end, whereby each one may tast thereof) is rather to yeeld vnto a conspiracie with a great deale of meat for the spedie suppression of naturall health, then the vse of a necessarie meane to satisfie himselfe with a competent repast, to sustaine his bodie withall. But as this large feeding is not seene in their geests, no more is it in their owne persons, for sith they haue dailie much resort vnto their tables (and manie times vnlooked for) and thereto reteine great numbers of seruants, it is veris requisit & expedient for them to be somewhat plentifull in this behalfe.

The chiefe part likewise of their dailie prouision is brought in before them (commonlie in siluer vessell if they be of the degree of barons, bishops and vpwards) and placed on their tables, whereof when they haue taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is reserued, and afterward sent downe to their seruing men and waiters, who feed thereon in like sort with conuenient moderation, their reuersion also being bestowed vpon the poore, which lie readie at their gates in great numbers to receiue the same. This is spoken of the principall tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and guests are accustomed to sit, beside which they haue a certeine ordinarie allowance dailie appointed for their hals, where the chiefe officers and household seruants (for all are not permitted by custome to wait vpon their master) and with them such inferiour guests do feed as are not of calling to associat the noble man himselfe (so that besides those afore mentioned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonlie fortie or three score persons fed in those hals, to the great reliefe of such poore suitors and strangers also as oft be partakers thereof and otherwise like to dine hardlie. As for drinke it is vsuallie filled in pots, gobblets, iugs, bols of siluer in noble mens houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all formes, and for want of these elsewhere in pots of earth of sundrie colours and mouldes whereof manie are garnished with siluer) or at the least wise in pewter, all which notwithstanding are seldome set on the table, but each one as necessitie vrgeth, calleth for a cup of such drinke as him liketh to haue: so that when he hath tasted of it he deliuered the cup againe to some one of the standers by, who making it cleane by pouring out the drinke that remaineth, restoreth it to the cupbord from whence he fetched the same. By this deuise (a thing brought vp at the first by Mnesteus of Athens, in conseruation of the honour of Orestes, who had not yet made expiation for the death of his adulterous parents Egistus and Clitemnestra) much idle tipling is furthermore cut off, for if the full pots should continuallie stand at the elbow or neere the trencher, diuerse would alwaies be dealing with them, whereas now they drinke seldome and onelie when necessitie vrgeth, and so auoid the note of great drinking, or often troubling of the seruitours with filling of their bols. Nevertheless in the noble mens hals, this order is not vsed, neither in anie mans house commonlie vnder the degree of a knight or esquire of great

great reuennes. It is a woꝛld to ſée in theſe our daies, wherin gold and ſiluer moſt aboundeth, how that our gentilitie as lothing thoſe mettals (becauſe of the plentie) do now generallie chooſe rather the Venice glaſſes both for our wine and béere, than anie of thoſe mettals oꝛ ſtone wherein beforе time we haue béene accuſtomed to dꝛinke, but ſuch is the nature of man generallie that it moſt coueteth things difficult to be atteined; & ſuch is the eſtimation of this ſtuffe, that manie become rich onelie with their new trade vnto Murana (a towne néere to Venice ſituat on the Adꝛiatike ſea) from whence the verie beſt are dailie to be had, and ſuch as for beautie do well néere match the chriſtall oꝛ the ancient Murrhina vaſa, whereof now no man hath knowledge. And as this is ſéene in the gentilitie, ſo in the wealthie communaltie the like deſire of glaſſe is not neglected, whereby the gaine gotten by their purchaſe is yet much moꝛe increaſed to the beneſit of the merchant. The poꝛeſt alſo will haue glaſſe if they may, but ſith the Venetian is ſomewhat too déere foꝛ them, they content themſelues with ſuch as are made at home of ferne and burned ſtone, but in fine all go one waie, that is, to ſhards at the laſt, ſo that our great expenſes in glaſſes (beſide that they bꝛéed much ſtrife toward ſuch as haue the charge of them) are woꝛſt of all beſtowed in mine opinion, becauſe their péeces do turne vnto no pꝛofit. If the philoſophers ſtone were once found, and one part hereof mixed with foꝛtie of molten glaſſe, it would induce ſuch a mettallicall toughneſſe thereunto, that a fall ſhould nothing hurt it in ſuch maner, yet it might peraduenture bunch oꝛ batter it, neuertheleſſe that inconuenience were quickelie to be redꝛeſſed by the hammer. But whither am I ſlipped? Ro. Bacon.

The gentlemen and merchants kæpe much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himſelfe with foure, fiue, oꝛ ſix diſhes, when they haue but ſmall reſoꝛt, oꝛ peraduenture with one, oꝛ two, oꝛ thꝛée at the moſt, when they haue no ſtrangers to accompanie them at their tables. And yet their ſeruants haue their oꝛdinaris diet aſſigned, beſide ſuch as is left at their maſters boꝛdes, & not appointed to be bꝛought thither the ſecond time, which neuertheleſſe is often ſéene generallie in veniſon, lambe, oꝛ ſome eſpeciall diſh, whereon the merchant man himſelfe liketh to feed when it is cold, oꝛ peraduenture foꝛ ſundꝛie cauſes incident to the féeder is better ſo, than if it were warme oꝛ hot. To be ſhoꝛt, at ſuch time as the merchants do make their oꝛdinarie oꝛ voluntarie feaſts, it is a woꝛld to ſee what great pꝛouiſion is made of all maner of delicat meats, from euerie quarter of the countrie, wherein beſide that they are often comparable herein to the nobilitie of the land, they will ſeldome regard anie thing that the butcher vſuallie billeth, but reiect the ſame as not woꝛthie to come in place. In ſuch caſes alſo geliffes of all colours mixed with a varietie in the repꝛeſentation of ſundꝛie flowres, herbs, trees, foꝛmes of beaſts, fiſh, foules and fruits, and thereunto marchpaine wꝛought with no ſmall curioſitie, tarts of diuerſe hewes and ſundꝛie denominations, conſerues of old fruits foꝛren and home-bꝛed, ſuckets, codinacs, marmilats, marchpaine, ſugerbꝛead, gingerbꝛead, flogentines, wild foule, veniſon of all ſoꝛts, and ſundꝛie outlandiſh confections, altogither ſeaſoned with ſuger (which Plinie calleth *Mel ex arundinibus*, a deuiſe not common noꝛ greatlie vſed in old time at the table, but onelie in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, India & Sicilia) do generallie beare the ſwaie, beſides infinit deuiſes of our owne not poſſible foꝛ me to remember. Of the potato and ſuch venerous roots as are bꝛought out of Spaine, Poꝛtingale, and the Indies to furniſh vp our bankets, I ſpeake not, wherin our Nures of no leſſe foꝛce, and to be had about Croſbie Rauenſwath, do now begin to haue place.

But among all theſe, the kind of meat which is obteined with moſt difficultie and coſt, is commonlie taken foꝛ the moſt delicat, and thereupon each gueſt will ſoneſt deſire to fæd. And as all eſtats do excéed herin, I meane foꝛ ſtrangeneſſe and number of coſtlie diſhes, ſo theſe foꝛget not to vſe the like exceſſe in wine, in ſomuch as there is no kind to be had (neither anie where moꝛe ſtoꝛe of all ſoꝛts than in England, although we haue none growing with vs but yeareлie to the pꝛopoꝛtion of 20000 oꝛ 30000 tun and vpwards, notwithſtanding the dailie reſtreints of the ſame bꝛought ouer vnto vs) wherof at great méetings there is not ſome ſtoꝛe to be had. Neither do I meane this of ſmall wines onlie, as Claret, White, Red, French, &c: which amount to about fiftie ſix ſoꝛts, accoꝛding to the number of regions from whence they come: but alſo of the thirtie kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spaniſh, Canarian, &c: whereof Vernage, Tate pument, Raſpis, Muſcadell, Romnie, Baſtard Tire, Oſeie, Capꝛike, Clareie & Palmeſeie are not leaſt of all accompted of, bicauſe of their ſtrength and valure. Foꝛ as I haue ſaid in meat, ſo the ſtronger the wine is, the moꝛe it is deſired, by means wherof in old time, the beſt was called Theologicum, becauſe it was had from the cleargie and religious men, vnto whoſe houſes manie of the laitie would often ſend foꝛ bottels filled with the ſame, being ſure that they would neither dꝛinke noꝛ be ſerued of the woꝛſt, oꝛ ſuch as was anie waies mingled oꝛ bꝛued by the vintener: naie the merchant would haue thought that his ſoule ſhould haue gone ſtreightwaie to the diuell, if he ſhould haue ſerued them with other than the beſt. Furthermoꝛe when theſe haue had their courſe which nature yéeldeth, ſundꝛie ſoꝛts of artificiall ſtuffe, as ypocras & woꝛmewood wine muſt in like maner ſucceéd in their turnes, beſide ſtale ale and ſtrong béere, which neuertheleſſe beare the greateſt bꝛunt in dꝛinking, and are of ſo manie ſoꝛts and ages as it pleaſeth the bꝛuer to make them.

The béere that is vſed at noble mens tables in their fired and ſtanding houſes, is commonlie of a yeare old, oꝛ peraduenture of two yeares running oꝛ moꝛe, but this is not generall. It is alſo bꝛued in March and therefoꝛe called March béere, but foꝛ the houſehold it is vſuallie not vnder a moneths age, ech one coueting to haue the ſame ſtale as he may, ſo that it be not ſoꝛe, and his bꝛead new as is poſſible ſo that it be not hot. Béere.

The artificer and huſbandman make greateſt accompt of ſuch meat as they may ſoneſt come by, and haue it quickлieſt readie, except it be in London when the companies of euery trade do meet on their quarter daies, at which time they be nothing inferiour to the nobilitie. Their food alſo conſiſteth pꝛincipallie in béefe and ſuch meat as the butcher ſelleth, that is to ſaie, mutton, veale, lambe, poꝛke, &c: whereof he findeth great ſtoꝛe in the markets adioining, beſide ſouſe, bꝛawne, bacon, fruit, pies of fruit, foules of ſundꝛie ſoꝛts, cheeſe, butter, egs, &c: as the other wanteth it not at home, by his owne pꝛouiſion, which is at the beſt hand, and commonlie leaſt charge. In feaſting alſo this latter ſoꝛt, I meane the huſbandmen do excéed after their maner: eſpeciallie at bꝛidales, purifications of women, and ſuch od méetings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is conſumed & ſpent, ech one bꝛinging ſuch a diſh, oꝛ ſo manie with him as his wife & he do conſult vpon, but alwaies with this conſideration, that the léeſer fréend ſhall haue the better pꝛouiſion. This alſo is commonlie ſéene at theſe bankets, that the good man of the houſe is not charged with any thing ſauing bꝛead, dꝛink, ſauce, houſe- Artificer.

rome and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes do deale far otherwise, for albeit that some of them do suffer their lawes to go oft before their clawes, and diuerse of them by making good cheere do hinder themselues and other men: yet the wiser sort can handle the matter well inough in these iunkettings, and therfore their frugalitie deserueth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficientlie liberall, & verie frendlie at their tables, and when they meet, they are so merie without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or French craft and subtiltie, that it would do a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onelie are the inferiour sort somewhat to be blamed, that being thus assembled, their talke is now and then such as sauoureth of scurrilitie and ribaldrie, a thing naturallie incident to carters and clownes, who thinke themselues not to be merie & welcome, if their foolish veines in this behalfe be neuer so little restreined. This is moreouer to be added in these metings, that if they happen to stumble vpon a piece of venison, and a cup of wine or verie strong beere or ale (which latter they commonlie prouide against their appointed daies) they thinke their cheere so great, and themselues to haue fared so well, as the lord Maior of London, with whome when their bellies be full they will not often sticke to make comparison, because that of a subiect there is no publike officer of ante citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office.

I haue dined so well as my lord maior.

I might here talke somewhat of the great silence that is vsed at the tables of the honorable and wiser sort, generallie ouer all the realme (albeit that too much deserueth no cõmendation, for it belongeth to gests neither to be *muti* nor *loquaces*) likewise of the moderate eating and drinking that is dailie seene, and finallie of the regard that each one hath to keepe himselfe from the note of surfetting and dronkennesse (for which cause salt meat, except beefe, bacon, and porke are not anie whit esteemed, and yet these three may not be much powdered) but as in rehearsall thereof I should commend the noble man, merchant, and frugall artificer, so I could not cleare the meaner sort of husbandmen, and countrie inhabitants of verie much babbling (except it be here and there some od yeoman) with whome he is thought to be the merriest that talketh of most ribaldrie, or the wisest man that speaketh fastest among them, & now and then surfetting and dronkennesse, which they rather fall into for want of hed taking, than wilfullie following or delighting in those errours of set mind and purpose. It may be that diuers of them liuing at home with hard and pinching diet, small drinke, and some of them hauing scarse inough of that, are soonest ouertaken when they come vnto such bankets, howbeit they take it generallie as no small disgrace if they happen to be cupshotten, so that it is a greefe vnto them though now sans remedie sith the thing is done and past. If the frends also of the wealthier sort come to their houses from farre, they are commonlie so welcome till they depart as vpon the first date of their comming, whereas in good townes and cities, as London, &c: men oftentimes complaine of little rome, and in reward of a fat capon or plentie of beefe and mutton, largelie bestowed vpon them in the countrie, a cup of wine or beere with a napkin to wipe their lips, and an You are hartelie welcome is thought to be great interteinement, and therefore the old countrie clearkes haue framed this saieng in that behalfe, I meane vpon the interteinment of townesmens and Londoners after the daies of their aboad in this maner:

*Primus iucundus, tollerabilis est q; secundus,*
*Tertius est vanus, sed fetet quatriduanus.*

Bread.

The bread throughout the land is made of such graine as the soile yeeldeth, neuertheless the gentilitie commonlie prouide themselues sufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whilest their household and poore neighbours in some shires are inforced to content themselues with rie, or barlie, pea and in time of dearth manie with bread made either of beans, peason, or otes, or of altogither and some acornes among, of which scourge the poorest do soonest tast, sith they are least able to prouide themselues of better. I will not saie that this extremitie is oft so well to be seene in time of plentie as of dearth, but if I should I could easilie bring my triall. For albeit that there be much more ground eared now almost in euerie place, than hath beene of late yeares, yet such a price of corne continueth in each towne and market without any iust cause (except it be that landlords do get licences to carie corne out of the land onelie to keepe vp the prices for their owne priuate gaines and ruine of the common-wealth) that the artificer and poore laboring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driuen to content himselfe with horsecorne, I meane, beanes, peason, otes, tares, and lintels: and therfore it is a true prouerbe, and neuer so well verified as now, that hunger setteth his first foot into the horse manger. If the world last a while after this rate, wheate and rie will be no graine for poore men to feed on, and some catterpillers there are that can saie so much alreadie.

A famine at hand is first seene in the horse manger when the poore do fall to horsecorne.

Of bread made of wheat we haue sundrie sorts, dailie brought to the table, whereof the first and most excellent is the maincht, which we commonlie call white bread, in Latine *Primarius panis*, whereof Budeus also speaketh, in his first booke De asse, and our good workemen deliuer commonlie such proportion, that of the flower of one bushell with another they make fortie cast of manchet, of which euerie losse weigheth eight ounces into the ouen and six ounces out, as I haue beene informed. The second is the cheat or wheaten bread, so named bicause the colour therof resembleth the graie or yellowish wheat, being cleane and well dressed, and out of this is the coursest of the bran (vsuallie called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The rauled is a kind of cheat bread also, but it reteineth more of the grosse, and lesse of the pure substance of the wheat: and this being more sleightlie wrought vp, is vsed in the halles of the nobilitie, and gentrie onelie, whereas the other either is or should be baked in cities & good townes of an appointed size (according to such price as the corne doth beare) and by a statute prouided by king John in that behalfe. The rauled cheat therfore is generallie so made that out of one bushell of meale, after two and twentie pounds of bran be sifted and taken from it (wherevnto they ad the gurgeons that rise from the manchet) they make thirtie cast, euerie losse weighing eightéene ounces into the ouen and sixteene ounces out: and beside this they so handle the matter that to euerie bushell of meale they ad onelie two and twentie or three and twentie pound of water, washing also in some houses there corne before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour and pleasing to the eie, than otherwise it would be. The next sort is named browne bread of the colour, of which we haue two sorts, one baked vp as it cõmeth from the mill, so that neither the bran nor the floure are anie whit diminished, this Celsus called *Autopirus panis, lib.* 2. and putteth it in the second place of nourishment. The other hath little or no floure left therein at all, howbeit he called it *Panem Cibarium*, and it is not onlie the worst and weakest of all the other sorts, but also appointed in old time for seruants, slaues, and the inferiour kind of people to feed vpon.

Primarius panis.

Cheat bread.

Rauelled bread.

The size of bread is verie ill kept or not at all looked vnto in the countrie townes and markets.

Browne bread.

Panis Cibarius.

vpon. Hereunto likewise, because it is drie and brickie in the working (for it will hardlie be made vp handsomelie into loaues) some adde a portion of rie meale in our time, whereby the rough drinesse or drie roughnes therof is somwhat qualified, & then it is named miscelin, that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that diuerse do sow or mingle wheat & rie of set purpose at the mill, or before it come there, and sell the same at the markets vnder the aforesaid name.

Summer wheat and winter barlie verie rare in England.

In champeigne countries much rie and barlie bread is eaten, but especiallie where wheat is scant and geson. As for the difference that is betweene the summer and winter wheat, most husbandmen know it not, sith they are neither acquainted with summer wheat, nor winter barlie: yet here and there I find of both sorts, specially in the north and about Kendall, where they call it March wheat, and also of summer rie, but in so small quantities as that I dare not pronounce them to be greatlie common among vs.

Drinke. Our drinke, whose force and continuance is partlie touched alreadie, is made of barlie, water, and hops, sodden and mingled togither, by the industrie of our bruers, in a certeine exact proportion. But before our barlie do come vnto their hands, it sustaineth great alteration, and is conuerted into malt, the making whereof, I will here set downe in such order, as my skill therein may extend vnto (for I am scarse a good maister) chiefelie for that forreine writers haue attempted to describe the same, and the making of our beere, wherein they haue shot so farre wide, as the quantitie of ground was betweene themselues & their marke. In the meane time beare with me, gentle reader (I beseech thee) that lead thee from the description of the plentifull diet of our countrie, vnto the fond report of a seruile trade, or rather from a table delicatelie furnished, into a muskie malthouse: but such is now thy hap, wherfore I praie thee be contented.

Malt.

Making of malt. Our malt is made all the yeare long in some great townes, but in gentlemens and yeomens houses, who commonlie make sufficient for their owne expenses onelie, the winter halfe is thought most meet for that commoditie: howbeit the malt that is made when the willow doth bud, is commonlie worst of all, neuertheless each one indeuoureth to make it of the best barlie, which is steeped in a cesterne, in greater or lesse quantitie, by the space of three daies and three nights, vntill it be throughlie soked. This being done, the water is drained from it by little and little, till it be quite gone. Afterward they take it out, and laieng it vpon the cleane floore on a round heape, it resteth so vntill it be readie to shote at the root end, which maltsters call Comming. When it beginneth therefore to shot in this maner, they saie it is come, and then forthwith they spread it abroad, first thicke, and afterward thinner and thinner vpon the said floore (as it commeth) and there it lieth (with turning euerie daie foure or fiue times) by the space of one and twentie daies at the least, the workeman not suffering it in anie wise to take anie heat, whereby the bud end should spire, that bringeth forth the blade, and by which ouersight or hurt of the stuffe it selfe the malt would be spoiled, and turne small commoditie to the bruer. When it hath gone or beene turned so long vpon the floore, they carie it to a kill couered with haire cloth, where they giue it gentle heats (after they haue spread it there verie thin abroad) till it be drie, & in the meane while they turne it often, that it may be vniformelie dried. For the more it be dried (yet must it be done with soft fire) the sweeter and better the malt is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dried downe (as they call it) but slackelie handled, it will breed a kind of worme, called a wiuell, which groweth in the flour of the corne, and in processe of time will so eat out it selfe, that nothing shall remaine of the graine but euen the verie rind or huske.

The best malt is tried by the hardnesse & colour, for if it looke fresh with a yellow hew, & thereto will write like a peece of chalke, after you haue bitten a kirnell in sunder in the middest, then you may assure your selfe that it is dried downe. In some places it is dried at leisure with wood alone, or strawe alone, in other with wood and strawe togither, but of all the strawe dried, is the most excellent. For the wood dried malt when it is brued, beside that the drinke is higher of colour, it doth hurt and annoie the head of him that is not vsed thereto, because of the smoake. Such also as vse both indifferentlie doo barke, cleaue, and drie their wood in an ouen, thereby to remoue all moisture that should procure the fume, and this malt is in the second place, & with the same likewise, that which is made with dried furze, broome, &c: whereas if they also be occupied greene, they are in maner so preiudiciall to the corne, as is the moist wood. And thus much of our malts, in bruing whereof some grinde the same somewhat grosselie, and in seething well the liquor that shall be put vnto it, they adde to euerie nine quarters of mault one of headcorne, which consisteth of sundrie graine, as wheate, and otes ground. But what haue I to doo with this matter, or rather so great a quantitie, where with I am not acquainted. Nevertheless, sith I haue taken occasion to speake of bruing, I will exemplifie in such a proportion as I am best skilled in, because it is the vsuall rate for mine owne familie, and once in a moneth practised by my wife & hir maid seruants, who proceed withall after this maner, as she hath oft informed me.

Bruing of beere. Hauing therefore ground eight bushels of good malt vpon our querne, where the toll is saued, she addeth vnto it halfe a bushell of wheat meale, and so much of otes small ground, and so tempereth or mixeth them with the malt, that you cannot easilie discerne the one from the other, otherwise these later would clunter, fall into lumps, and thereby become vnprofitable. The first liquor which is full eightie gallons, according to the proportion of our furnace, she maketh boiling hot, and then powreth it softlie into the malt, where it resteth (but without stirring) vntill hir second liquor be almost readie to boile. This done she letteth hir mash run till the malt be left without liquor, or at the least wise the greatest part of the moisture, which she perceiueth by the staie and soft issue thereof, and by this time hir second liquor in the furnace is ready to seeth, which is put also to the malt as the first wort also againe into the furnace whereunto she addeth two pounds of the best English hops, and so letteth them seeth togither by the space of two houres in summer, or an houre and an halfe in winter, whereby it getteth an excellent colour, and continuance without impeachment, or anie superfluous tartnesse. But before she putteth hir first wort into the furnace, or mingleth it with the hops, she taketh out a vessell full, of eight or nine gallons, which she shutteth vp close, and suffereth no aire to come into it till it become yellow, and this she reserueth by it selfe vnto further vse, as shall appeare hereafter, calling it Brackwort or Charwort, and as she saith it addeth also to the colour of the drinke, whereby it yeeldeth not vnto amber or fine gold in hew vnto the eie. By this time also hir second wort is let runne, and the first being taken out of the furnace and placed to coole, she returneth the middle wort vnto the furnace, where it is striken ouer, or from whence it is taken againe, when it beginneth to boile and mashed the second time, whilest the third liquor is heat (for there are three liquors) and

Charwort.

this

this last put into the furnace, when the second is mashed againe. When she hath mashed also the last liquor (and set the second to cole by the first) she letteth it ranne, and then séetheth it againe with a pound and an halfe of new hops, or peraduenture two pounds as she séeth cause by the goodnesse or basenesse of the hops, & when it hath sodden in summer two houres & in winter an houre & an halfe, she striketh it also and reserueth it vnto mixture with the rest when time doth serue therefore. Finallie when she setteth hir drinke togither, she addeth to hir brackwort or charwort halfe an ounce of arras, and halfe a quarterne of an ounce of baiberries finelie powdered, and then putting the same into hir wort with an handfull of wheat flowre, she proceedeth in such vsuall order as common bruing requireth. Some in steed of arras & baies adde so much long pepper onelie, but in hir opinion and my liking it is not so good as the first, and hereof we make three hoggesheads of good beere, such (I meane) as is meet for poore men as I am to liue withall, whose small maintenance (for what great thing is fortie pounds a yeare *Computatis computandis* able to performe) may indure no déeper cut, the charges whereof groweth in this manner. I value my malt at ten shillings, my wood at foure shillings which I buie, my hops at twentie pence, the spice at two pence, seruants wages two shillings six pence with meat and drinke, and the wearing of my vessell at twentie pence, so that for my twentie shillings I haue ten score gallons of béere or more, notwithstanding the losse in séething, which some being loth to forgo do not obserue the time, and therefore spéed thereafter in their successe, and worthilie. The continuance of the drinke is alwaie determined after the quantitie of the hops, so that being well hopped it lasteth longer. For it féedeth vpon the hop, and holdeth out so long as the force of the same continueth, which being extinguished the drinke must be spent or else it dieth, and becommeth of no value.

In this trade also our bruers obserue verie diligentlie the nature of the water, which they dailie occupie; and soile through which it passeth, for all waters are not of like goodnesse, sith the fattest standing water is alwaies the best: for although the waters that run by chalke or cledgie soiles be good, and nert vnto the Thames water which is the most excellent, yet the water that standeth in either of these is the best for vs that dwell in the countrie, as whereon the sunne lieth longest, and fattest fish is bred. But of all other the fennie and moorish is the worst, and the cléerest spring water nert vnto it. In this businesse therfore the skilfull workeman doth redéeme the iniquitie of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale (sometime our onelie, but now taken with manie for old and sickmens drinke) is neuer séene nor heard of. Howbeit as the beere well sodden in the bruing, and stale, is cleere and well coloured as muscadell or malueseie, or rather yellow as the gold noble as our potknights call it: so our ale which is not at all or verie little sodden, and without hops, is more thicke, fulsome, and of no such continuance, which are three notable things to be considered in that liquor. But what for that? Certes I know some aleknights so much addicted thereunto, that they will not ceasse from morow vntill euen to visit the same, clensing house after house, till they defile themselues, and either fall quite vnder the bord, or else not daring to stirre from their stooles, sit still pinking with their narrow eies as halfe sleeping, till the fume of their aduersarie be digested that he may go to it afresh. Such slights also haue the alewiues for the vtterance of this drinke, that they will mire it with rosen and salt: but if you heat a knife red hot, and quench it in the ale so nere the bottome of the pot as you can put it, you shall see the rosen come forth hanging on the knife. As for the force of salt, it is well knowne by the effect, for the more the drinker tipleth, the more he may, and so doth he carrie off a drie dronken noll to bed with him, except his lucke be the better. But to my purpose.

In some places of England, there is a kind of drinke made of apples, which they call cider or pomage, but that of peares is named pirrie, and both are grownd and pressed in presses made for the nonce. Certes these two are verie common in Syssex, Kent, Worcester, and other séeds, where these sorts of fruits do abound, howbeit they are not their onelie drinke at all times, but referred vnto the delicate sorts of drinke, as metheglin is in Wales, whereof the Welshmen make no lesse accompt (and not without cause if it be well handled) than the Grécians did of their Ambrosia or Nectar, which for the pleasantnesse thereof, was supposed to be such as the gods themselues did delite in. There is a kind of swith swash made also in Essex, and diuerse other places, with honicombs and water, which the homelie countrie wiues, putting some pepper and a little other spice among, call mead, verie good in mine opinion for such as loue to be lose bodied at large, or a little eased of the cough, otherwise it differeth so much frõ the true metheglin, as chalke from cheese. Trulie it is nothing else but the washing of the combes, when the bonie is wrong out, and one of the best things that I know belonging thereto is, that they spend but litle labour and lesse cost in making of the same, and therefore no great losse if it were neuer occupied. Hitherto of the diet of my countrimen, & somewhat more at large peraduenture than manie men will like of, wherefore I thinke good now to finish this tractation, and so will I, when I haue added a few other things incident vnto that which goeth before, whereby the whole processe of the same shall fullie be deliuered, & my promise to my frend in this behalfe performed.

Cider.
Perrie.
Metheglin.
Mead.
Hydromel.

Heretofore there hath béene much more time spent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in these daies, for whereas of old we had breakefasts in the forenoone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, and thereto reare suppers generallie when it was time to go to rest (a toie brought into England by hardie Canutus and a custome whereof Athenæus also speaketh lib. 1, albeit Hippocrates speake but of twise at the most *lib. 2. De rat. vict. in feb. ac.*) Now these odrepasts thanked be God are verie well left, and ech one in maner (except here and there some yong hungrie stomath that cannot fast till dinner time) contenteth himselfe with dinner & supper onelie. The Normans misliking the gormandise of Canutus, ordeined after their arriuall, that no table should be couered aboue once in the daie, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auarice: but in the end either waxing wearie of their owne frugalitie, or suffering the cockle of old custome to ouergrow the good corne of their new constitution, they fell to such libertie, that in often féeding they surmounted Canutus surnamed the hardie. For whereas he couered his table but three or foure times in the daie, these spred their clothes fiue or six times, and in such wise as I before rehearsed. They brought in also the custome of long and statelie sitting at meat, whereby their feasts resembled those ancient pontificall bankets whereof Macrobius speaketh lib. 3. cap. 13. and Plin. lib. 10. cap. 10. and which for sumptuousnesse of fare, long sitting and curiositie shewed in the same, exceeded all other mens feasting, which fondnesse is not yet left with vs, notwithstanding that it proueth verie beneficiall for the physicians, who most abound, where most excesse and misgouernement of our bodies do appéere, although

Lesse time spent in eating than heretofore.

Canutus a glutton, but the Normans at the last exceeded him in that vice.

although it be a great expense of time, and worthie of reprehension. For the nobilitie, gentlemen, and merchantmen, especiallie at great méetings doo sit commonlie till two or three of the clocke at afternoone, so that with manie is an hard matter, to rise from the table to go to euening prair, and returne from thence to come time inough to supper. For my part I am perswaded that the purpose of the Romans at the first was to reduce the ancient Roman order or Danish custome in féeding once in the daie, and toward the euening, as I haue red and noted. And indéed the Romans had such a custome, and likewise the Grecians, as may appeare by the words of Socrates, who said vnto the Atheniens, *Oriente sole consilium, occidente conuiuium est cogitandum*, although a little something was allowed in the morning to yong children which we now call a breakefast. Plato called the Sicilians monsters, for that they vsed to eat twise in the daie. Among the Persians onelie the king dined when the sunne was at the highest, and shadow of the stile at the shortest: the rest (as it is reported) went alwaies but once to meat when their stomachs craued it, as the Canariens and Indians doo in my time (who if appetite serue refuse not to go to meat at anie houre of the night) and likewise the ancient Caspians. Yet Arhianus noteth it as a rare thing li.4.cap.16. that the Tyrhenians had taken vp an ill custome to féed twise in a daie. Howbeit at the last they fell generallie to allow of suppers toward the setting of the sunne in all places, bicause they would haue their whole familie to go to meat togither, and whersvnto they would appoint their guests to come at a certeine length of the shadow, to be perceiued in their dials. And this is more to be noted of antiquitie, that if anie man (as Plutarch saith) did féed before that time, he incurred a note of reprehension as if he had beene gluttonous and giuen vnto the bellie, 8. Sympos.6. Their slaues in like sort were glad, when it grew to the tenth foot, for then were they sure sone after to go to meat. In the scripture we read of manie suppers & few dinners, onelie for that dining was not greatlie vsed in Christs time, but taken as a thing latelie sprong vp, when pampering of the bellie began to take hold, occasioned by idlenes and great abundance of riches. It is pretie to note in Iuuenal, how he taunteth Marius for that he gaue himselfe to drinke before the ninth houre of the daie: for thinking three houres to be too little for the filling of his bellie, he began commonlie at eight, which was an houre too sone. Afterwards when gurmandise increased yet more amongst the Romans, and from them was dispersed vnto all nations vnder their subiection, it came to passe that six houres onlie were appointed to worke and consult in, and the other six of the daie to feed and drinke in, as the verse saith:

*Sex horæ tantùm rebus tribuantur agendis,*
*viuere post illas, littera Zetha monet.*

Whereunto Maximus Planudes (except my memorie faile me) addeth this scholie after his maner, saieng that from morning vnto none (which is six of the clocke after the vnequall accompt) each one doth trauell about his necessarie affaires, that being done, he betaketh himselfe to the refreshing of his bodie, which is noted and set downe by the Greeke letters of the diall (wherewith the Romane horologies were marked, as ours be with their numerall letters) whereby the time is described; for those which point 7,8,9 and 10 are written with ξ η θ ι, and being ioined yéeld ξηθι, which in English signifieth so much as liue, as if they should meane, eat that thou maist liue. But how Martial diuided his daie, and with him the whole troope of the learned & wiser sort, these verses following doo more euidentlie declare:

*Prima salutantes, atque altera continet hæres,* Li.4.epig.8.
*Exercet raucos tertia causidicos.*
*In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,*
*Sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit.*
*Sufficit in nonam nitidis octaua palæstris,*
*Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros.*
*Hora libellorum decima est Euphemse meorum,*
*Temperat Ambrosias cum tua cura dapes.*
*Et bonus athereo laxatur Nectare Cæsar,*
*Ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.*
*Tunc admitte iocos: gressu timet ire licenti,*
*Ad matutinum nostra Thaleia Iouem.*

Thus we see how the ancient maner of the Gentils was to féed but once in the daie, and that toward night, till gluttonie grew on and altered this good custome. I might here remember also their maner in pulling off their shoes when they sat downe to meat, whereof Martial saith:

*Deposui soleas, affertur protinus ingens*
*Inter lactucas oxygarumq; liber, &c.*

And Tullie also remembreth where he saith *Seruum à pedibus ad te misi*, which office grew of the said custome, as *Serum ad limina* did of keeping the doore, though in most houses both these were commonlie one mans office, also *Ad pocula* of attending on the cup. But bicause the good writers of our time haue obserued these phrases and such like with their causes and descriptions, in their infinite and seuerall treatises, I shall not need to discourse anie farther vpon them. With vs the nobilitie, gentrie, and students, doo ordinarilie go to dinner at eleuen before none, and to supper at fiue, or betweene fiue and six at afternoone. The merchants dine and sup seldome before twelue at none, and six at night especiallie in London. The husbandmen dine also at high none as they call it, and sup at seuen or eight: but out of the tearme in our vniuersities the scholers dine at ten. As for the poorest sort they generallie dine and sup when they may, so that to talke of their order of repast, it were but a needlesse matter. I might here take occasion also to set downe the varietie vsed by antiquitie in their beginnings of their diets, wherin almost euerie nation had a seuerall fashion, some beginning of custome (as we doo in summer time) with salets at supper, and some ending with lettice, some making their entrie with egs, and shutting vp their tables with mulberies, as we doo with fruit and conceits of all sorts. Diuerse (as the old Romans) began with a few crops of rue, as the Venetians did with the fish called Gobius, the Belgies with butter (or as we doo yet also) with butter and egs vpon fish daies. But whereas we commonlie begin with the most grosse food, and end with the most delicate, the Scot thinking much to leaue the best for his mentall seruants maketh his entrance at the best, so that he is sure therby to leaue the worst. We vse also our wines by degrees, so that the hotest commeth last to the table, but to stand vpon such toies would spend much time, and turne to small profit, wherfore I will deale with other things more necessarie for this turne.

## Of their apparell and attire,

### Chap.7.

AN Englishman, inforcing sometime to write of our attire, made sundrie platforms for his purpose, supposing by some of them to find out one stedfast ground whereon to build the summe of his discourse. But in the end (like an orator long without exercise) when he saw what



long sitting reprehended.

at is at of the se at afone.

a difficult peece of worke he had taken in hand, he gaue ouer his trauell, and onelie drue the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a paire of sheares in the one hand, and a peece of cloth in the other, to the end he should shape his apparell after such fashion as himselfe liked, sith he could find no kind of garment that could please him anie while togither, and this he called an Englishman. Certes this writer (otherwise being a lewd popish hypocrite and vngratious priest) shewed himselfe herein not to be altogether void of iudgement, sith the phantasticall follie of our nation, euen from the courtier to the carter is such, that no forme of apparell liketh vs longer than the first garment is in the wearing, if it continue so long and be not laid aside, to receiue some other trinket newlie deuised by the fickle headed tailors, who couet to haue seuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to draw fond customers to more expense of monie. For my part I can tell better how to inueigh against this enormitie, than describe anie certeintie of our attire: sithence such is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none to the Spanish guise, to morrow the French toies are most fine and delectable, yer long no such apparell as that which is after the high Alman fashion, by and by the Turkish maner is generallie best liked of, otherwise the Morisco gowns, the Barbarian sleeues, the mandilion worne to Collie weston ward, and the short French breches make such a comelie vesture, that except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see anie so disguised, as are my countrie men of England. And as these fashions are diuerse, so likewise it is a world to see the costlinesse and the curiositie: the excesse and the vanitie: the pompe and the brauerie: the change and the varietie: and finallie the ficklenesse and the follie that is in all degrees: in somuch that nothing is more constant in England than inconstancie of attire. Oh how much cost is bestowed now adaies vpon our bodies and how little vpon our soules! how manie sutes of apparell hath the one and how little furniture hath the other? how long time is asked in decking vp of the first, and how little space left wherin to feed the later? how curious, how nice also are a number of men and women, and how hardlie can the tailor please them in making it fit for their bodies? how manie times must it be sent backe againe to him that made it? what chafing, what fretting, what reprochfull language doth the poore workeman beare awaie? and manie times when he doth nothing to it at all, yet when it is brought home againe it is verie fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long seames of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we puffe, then we blow, and finallie sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well vpon vs. I will saie nothing of our heads, which sometimes are polled, sometimes curled, or suffered to grow at length like womans lockes, manie times cut off aboue or vnder the eares round as by a woodden dish. Neither will I meddle with our varietie of beards, of which some are shauen from the chin like those of Turks, not a few cut short like to the beard of marques Otto, some made round like a rubbing brush, other with a pique de vant (O fine fashion!) or now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being growen to be so cunning in this behalfe as the tailors. And therfore if a man haue a leane and streight face, a marquesse Ottons cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter like, a long slender beard will make it seeme the narrower; if he be wesell becked, then much heare left on the cheekes will make the owner loke big like a bowdled hen, and so grim as a gose, if Cornelis of Chelmeresford saie true: manie old men do weare no beards at all. Some lustie courtiers also and gentlemen of courage, do weare either rings of gold, stones, or pearle in their eares, whereby they imagine the workemanship of God not to be a little amended. But herein they rather disgrace than adorne their persons, as by their niceneſſe in apparell, for which I saie most nations do not vniustlie deride vs, as also for that we do seeme to imitate all nations round about, vs wherein we be like to the Polypus or Chameleon; and therevnto bestow most cost vpon our arses, & much more than vpon all the rest of our bodies, as women do likewise vpon their heads and shoulders. In women also it is most to be lamented, that they do now farre exceed the lightnesse of our men (who neuertheless are transformed from the cap euen to the verie shoo) and such staring attire as in time past was supposed meet for none but light housewiues onelie, is now become an habit for chast and sober matrones. What should I saie of their doublets with pendant codpeeses on the brest full of iags & cuts, and sleeues of sundrie colours? their galligascons to beare out their bums & make their attire to sit plum round (as they terme it) about them? their fardingals, and diuerslie coloured nether stocks of silke, iersey, and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commended? I haue met with some of these trulles in London so disguised, that it hath passed my skill to discerne whether they were men or women.

Thus it is now come to passe, that women are become men, and men transformed into monsters: and those good gifts which almightie God hath giuen vnto vs to releeue our necessities withall (as a nation turning altogither the grace of God into wantonnesse, for

*Luxuriant animi rebus plerunque secundis*)

not otherwise bestowed than in all excesse, as if we wist not otherwise how to consume and waste them. I praie God that in this behalfe our sinne be not like vnto that of Sodoma and Gomorha, whose errors were pride, excesse of diet, and abuse of Gods benefits aboundantlie bestowed vpon them, beside want of charitie toward the poore, and certeine other points which the prophet shutteth vp in silence. Certes the common-wealth cannot be said to florish where these abuses reigne, but is rather oppressed by vnreasonable exactions made vpon rich farmers, and of poore tenants, wherewith to mainteine the same. Neither was it euer merier with England, than when an Englishman was knowne abroad by his owne cloth, and contented himselfe at home with his fine carsie hosen, and a meane slop: his coat, gowne, and cloake of browne blue or puke, with some prettie furniture of veluet or furre, and a doublet of sad tawnie, or blacke veluet, or other comelie silke, without such cuts and gawrish colours as are worne in these daies, and neuer brought in but by the consent of the French, who thinke themselues the gaiest men, when they haue most diuersities of iagges and change of colours about them. Certes of all estates our merchants do least alter their attire, and therefore are most to be commended: for albeit that which they weare be verie fine and costlie, yet in forme and colour it representeth a great peece of the ancient grauitie apperteining to citizens and burgesses, albeit the yonger sort of their wiues both in attire and costlie housekeeping can not tell when and how to make an end, as being women in deed in whome all kind of curiositie is to be found and seene, and in farre greater measure than in women of higher calling. I might here name a sort of hewes deuised for the nonce, wherewith to please phantasticall heads, as gooseturd greene, pease porrige tawnie, popingaie blue, lustie gallant, the diuell in the head (I should saie the hedge) and such like: but I passe them ouer thinking

Andrew Boord.

Strange cuts.

Much cost vpon the bodie, and little vpon the soule

Excesse in women.

Ezech. 16.

Beards.

Attire of merchants.

thinking it sufficient to haue said thus much of apparell generallie, when nothing can particularlie be spoken of anie constancie thereof.

## Of the high court of parlement, and *authoritie of the same.*

Chap. 8.

IN speaking of parlement lawe, I haue in the chapiter precedent said somewhat of this high and most honorable court. Wherefore it shall not need to remember ought heere that is there touched: I will onelie speake of other things therefore concerning the estate of assemblie, whereby the magnificence thereof shall be in some part better knowne vnto such as shall come after vs. This house hath the most high and absolute power of the realme, for thereby kings and mightie princes haue from time to time beene deposed from their thrones, lawes either enacted or abrogated, offendors of all sorts punished, and corrupted religion either dissanulled or reformed, which commonlie is diuided into two houses or parts, the higher or vpper house consisting of the nobilitie, including all euen vnto the baron and bishop: the lower called the nether house of knights, squires, gentlemen, and burgesses of the commons, with whome also the inferior members of the cleargie are ioined, albeit they sit in diuerse places, and these haue to deale onelie in matters of religion, till it come that they ioine with the rest in confirmation of all such acts as are to passe in the same. For without the consent of the three estates, that is, of the nobilitie, cleargie, and latetie, seldome anie thing is said to be concluded vpon, and brought vnto the prince for his consent and allowance. To be short, whatsoeuer the people of Rome did in their *Centuriatis* or *Tribunitijs comitijs*, the same is and may be done by authoritie of our parlement house, which is the head and bodie of all the realme, and the place wherein euerie particular person is intended to be present, if not by himselfe, yet by his aduocate or atturneie. For this cause also any thing ther enacted is not to be misliked, but obeied of all men without contradiction or grudge. By the space of fortie dais, before this assemblie be begun, the prince sendeth his writs vnto all his nobilitie particularlie, summoning them to appeare at the said court. The like he doth to the shiriffe of euerie countie; with commandement to chose two knights within ech of their counties, to giue their aduise in the name of the shire, likewise to euerie citie and towne, that they may chose their burgesses, which commonlie are men best skilled in the state of their citie or towne, either for the declaration of such benefits as they want, or to shew which waie to reforme such enormities as thorough the practises of ill members are practised and crept in among them: the first being chosen by the gentlemen of the shire, the other by the citizens and burgesses of euerie citie and towne, whereby that court is furnished. The first daie of the parlement being come, the lords of the vpper house, as well ecclesiasticall as temporall, do attend vpon the prince, who rideth thither in person, as it were to open the doore of their authoritie; and being come into the place, after praiers made, and causes shewed, wherefore some not present are inforced to be absent, each man taketh his place according to his degree. The house it selfe is curiouslie furnished with tapisserie, and the king being set in his throne, the spirituall lords take vp the side of the house which is on the right hand of the prince, and the temporall lords the left, I meane, so well dukes and earles, as viscounts and barons, as I before remembred. In the middest and a pretie distance from the prince, lie certeine sackes stuffed with woll or haire, whereon the iudges of the realme, the master of the rols, and secretaries of estate do sit. Howbeit these iudges haue no voice in the house, but onelie shew what their opinion is of such & such matters as come in question among the lords, if they be commanded so to do: as the secretaries are to answer such letters or things passed in the councell, whereof they haue the custodie & knowledge. Finallie, the consent of this house is giuen by each man seuerallie, first for himselfe being present, then seuerallie for so manie as he hath letters & proxies directed vnto him, saieng onlie, Content or Not content, without any further debating. Of the number assembled in the lower house, I haue alreadie made a generall report in the chapter precedent, and their particulars shall follow here at hand. These therefore being called ouer by name do chose a speaker, who is as it were their mouth, and him they present vnto the prince, in whom it is either to refuse or admit him by the lord chancellor, who in the princes name doth answer vnto his oration, made at his first entrance & presentation into the house, wherein he declareth the good liking that the king hath conceiued of his choise vnto that office & function. Being admitted, he maketh fiue requests vnto that honorable assemblie, first that the house may (as in times past) inioy hir former liberties and priuileges: secondlie, that the congregates may frankelie shew their minds vpon such matters as are to come in question: thirdlie, that if anie of the lower house do giue anie cause of offense during the continuance of this assemblie, that the same may inflict such punishment vpon the partie culpable, as to the said assemblie shall be thought conuenient: fourthlie, if anie doubt should arise among them of the lower house, that he in their name might haue free accesse and recourse vnto his maiestie & lords of the higher house, to be further instructed and resolued in the same: fiftlie and last, he craueth pardon for himselfe, if in his going to and fro betweene the houses, he forget or miscake anie thing, requiring that he may returne and be better informed in such things as he did faile in without offense: vnto which petitions the lord chancellor doth answer as appertaineth, and this is done on the first daie, or peraduenture the second, if it could not be conueniently performed in the first.

Besides the lord chancellor there is another in the vpper house called the clerke of the parlement, whose office is to read the billes. For euerie thing that commeth in consultation in either house, is first put in writing in paper, which being read, he that liketh riseth vp and speaketh either with it or against it, and so one after another so long as they shall thinke good; that done they go to another, and so to the third, &c: the instrument still wholie or in part raced or reformed, as cause moueth for the amendment of the same if the substance be reputed necessarie. In the vpper house the lord chancellor demandeth if they will haue it ingrossed, that is to saie, put in parchment, which done, it is read the third time, & after debating of the matter to and fro if the more part do conclude withall, vpon the vtterance of these words, Are ye contented that it be enacted or no? the clerke writeth vnderneath Soit baille aux commons, and so when they see time they send such billes approued to the commons by some of them that sit on the woll sackes, who comming into the house, & demanding licence to speake, do vse this kind of words or the like to the speaker, as sir Thomas Smith doth deliuer

The parlement house diuideth the estate of the realme into nobilitie and the commons.

Time of summons.

Of the vpper house.

Places of the peeres.

Of the lowes house.

Speaker.

Petitions of the speaker.

Clerke of the parlement.

and ſet them downe, whoſe onelie direction I vſe, and almoſt word for word in this chapter, requiting him with the like borowage as he hath vſed toward me in his diſcourſe of the ſundrie degrées of eſtates in the common-wealth of England, which (as I hope) ſhall be no diſcredit to his trauell. Maſter ſpeaker, my lords of the vpper houſe haue paſſed amongſt them, and thinke good that there ſhould be enacted by parlement ſuch an act, and ſuch an act (reading their titles in ſuch ſort as he receiued them) they praie you therefore to conſider & ſhew your aduiſe vpon them. Which done they go their waie, and the doore being ſhut after them, the ſpeaker declareth what meſſage was ſent vnto them, and if they be then void of conſultation vpon anie other bill, he preſentlie demandeth what their pleaſures are, firſt of one, then of another, &c: which are ſolemnelie read, or their contents breéflie ſhewed and then debated vpon among them.

Of the nether houſe.

The ſpeaker ſitteth in a chaire erected ſomewhat higher than the reſt, that he may ſée and be ſéene of all men, and before him on a lower ſeat ſitteth his clerke, who readeth ſuch bils as be firſt propounded in the lower houſe, or ſent downe from the lords: for in that point each houſe hath equall authoritie to propound what they thinke méet, either for the abrogation of old or making of new lawes. All bils be thrise and on diuerſe daies read and diſputed vpon before they come to the queſtion, which is, whether they ſhall be enacted or not; and in diſcourſe vpon them, verie good order is vſed in the lower houſe, wherein he that will ſpeake giueth notice thereof by ſtanding vp bare headed. If manie ſtand vp at once (as now & then it happeneth) he ſpeaketh firſt that was firſt ſéene to moue out of his place, and telleth his tale vnto the ſpeaker, without rehearſall of his name whoſe ſpeches he meaneth to confute, ſo that with a perpetuall oration & not with altercation theſe diſcourſes are continued. But as the partie confuted may not replie on that daie, ſo one man can not ſpeake twiſe to one bill in one daie though he would change his opinion, but on the nert he may ſpeake againe, & yet but once as afore. No vile, ſeditious, vnreuerent or biting words are vſed in this aſſemblie, yet if anie happen to eſcape and be vttered, the partie is puniſhed according to the cenſure of the aſſemblie and cuſtome in that behalfe. In the afternoone they ſit not except vpon ſome vrgent occaſion, neither hath the ſpeaker anie voice in that houſe, wherewith to moue or diſſuade the furtherance or ſtaie of anie bill, but his office is vpon the reading thereof breéflie to declare the contents. If anie bill paſſe, which commeth vnto them from the lords, it is thus ſubſcribed, Les commons ont aſſentus: ſo if the lords agrée vpon anie bill ſent vnto them from the commons, it is ſubſcribed after this maner, Les ſeigniours ont aſſentus. If it be not agréed on after thrise reading, there is conference required and had betwéene the vpper and nether houſes, by certeine appointed for that purpoſe vpon the points in queſtion, whereupon if no finall agréement by the more part can be obteined, the bill is daſhed and reiected, or (as the ſaieng is) cleane caſt out of the doores. None of the nether houſe can giue his voice by proxie but in his owne perſon, and after the bill twiſe read, then ingroſſed and the third time read againe & diſcourſed vpon, the ſpeaker aſketh if they will go to the queſtion, whervnto if they agrée he holdeth vp the bill & ſaith; So manie as will haue this bill go forward ſaie Yea: hervpon ſo manie as allow of the thing crie Yea, the other No, & as the crie is more or leſſe on either ſide, ſo is the bill to ſtaie or elſe go forward. If the number of negatiue and affirmatiue voices ſéeme to be equall, ſo manie as allow of the bill go downe withall, the reſt ſit ſtill, and being told by the poll the greater part do carrie away the matter. If ſomething be allowed and in ſome part reiected, the bill is put to certeine committées to be amended, & then being brought in againe, it is read and paſſeth or ſtaieth as the voices yéeld therto. This is the order of the paſſage of our lawes, which are not ratified till both houſes haue agréed vnto them, and yet not holden for law till the prince haue giuen his aſſent. Vpon the laſt daie therfore of the parlement or ſeſſion, the prince commeth in perſon againe into the houſe, in his robes as at the firſt. Where after thanks giuen to the prince, firſt in the name of the lords by the lord chancellor, then in the name of the commons by the ſpeaker for his great care of the welfare of his realme, &c: the lord chancellor in the princes name giueth thanks to the lords & commons likewiſe for their paines, with promiſe of recompenſe as opportunitie & occaſion ſhall ſerue therefore. This done one readeth the title of euerie act paſſed in that ſeſſion, and then it is noted vpon them what the prince doth allow of with theſe words, Le roy veult. If the prince like not of them, it is written vpon them Le roy aduiſera. And ſo thoſe acts are daſhed, as the other from thenceforth are taken and holden for law, and all imprinted except ſuch as concerne ſome priuat perſons, which are onelie exemplified vnder the ſeale of the parlement, as priuileges to his vſe. And this is the ſumme of the maner after which our parlements in England are holden, without which no forfaiture of life, member or lands of anie Engliſhman, where no law is ordeined for the ſame before hand, is available or can take place amongſt vs. And ſo much in maner out of the third chapter of the ſecond booke of the common-wealth of England written by ſir Thomas Smith: wherevnto I will annex a table of the counties, cities, boroughs and ports, which ſend knights, burgeſſes, and barons to the parlement houſe, and doth inſue as followeth.

## The names of counties, cities, boroughs, and ports, ſending knights, citizens, burgeſſes, and barons to the parlement of England.

### Bedford.

Knights. 2
The borough of Bedford. 2

### Buckingham.

Knights. 2
The borough of Buckingham. 2
The borough of Wickombe. 2
The borough of Ailesburie. 2

### Barckeſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of New Windſore. 2
The borough of Reading. 2
The borough of Wallingford. 2
The borough of Abington. 2

### Cornewall.

Knights. 2
The borough of Launceſton *alias* Newport. 2
The borough of Leſkerd. 2
The borough of Loſtwithiell. 2
The borough of Dunheuet. 2
The borough of Truro. 2
The borough of Bodmin. 2
The borough of Yelſton. 2
The borough of Saltaſh. 2
The borough of Camelford. 2
The borough of Portighſam *alias* Portlow. 2
The borough of Graunpount.
The borough of Eaſtlow. 2
The borough of Prurie. 2
The borough of Tregonie. 2
The borough of Trebenna *alias* Boſſinnie. 2
The borough of S. Jes. 2

The

The borough of Fowaie. 2
The borough of Germine. 2
The borough of Michell. 2
The borough of saint Maries. 2

Cumberland.

Knights. 2
The citie of Caerleill. 2

Cambridge.

Knights. 2
The borough of Cambridge. 2

Chester.

Knights. 2
The citie of Chester. 2

Darbie.

Knights. 2
The borough of Darbie. 2

Deuon.

Knights. 2
The citie of Excester. 2
The borough of Totnes. 2
The borough of Plimmouth. 2
The borough of Bardnestable. 2
The borough of Plimton. 2
The borough of Tauestocke. 2
The borough of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Yerdines. 2

Dorsetshire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Pole. 2
The borough of Dorchester. 2
The borough of Linne. 2
The borough of Melcombe. 2
The borough of Waiemouth. 2
The borough of Burepost. 2
The borough of Shaftesburie. 2
The borough of Warham. 2

Essex.

Knights. 2
The borough of Colchester. 2
The borough of Malden. 2

Yorkeshire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Yorke. 2
The borough of Kingston vpon Hull. 2
The borough of Knaresborough. 2
The borough of Skardborough. 2
The borough of Ripon. 2
The borough of Yudon. 2
The borough of Borroughbridge. 2
The borough of Thuske. 2
The borough of Aldeborough. 2
The borough of Beuerlie. 2

Glocestershire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Glocester. 2
The borough of Cirencester. 2

Huntingtonshire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Huntingdon. 2

Hertfordshire.

Knights. 2
The borough of saint Albons. 2

Herefordshire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Hereford. 2
The borough of Lempster. 2

Kent.

Knights. 2
The citie of Canturburie. 2
The citie of Rochester. 2
The borough of Maidstone. 2
The borough of Quinborough. 2

Lincolne.

Knights. 2
The citie of Lincolne. 2
The borough of Bostone. 2
The borough of great Grimesbie. 2
The borough of Stamford. 2
The borough of Grantham. 2

Leicestershire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Leicester. 2

Lancastershire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Lancaster. 2
The borough of Preston in Andernes. 2
The borough of Liuerpoole. 2
The borough of Newton. 2
The borough of Wigan. 2
The borough of Clithero. 2

Middlesex.

Knights. 2
The citie of London. 4
The citie of Westminster. 2

Monmouth.

Knights. 2
The borough of Monmouth. 2

Northhampton.

Knights. 2
The citie of Peterborough. 2
The borough of Northhampton. 2
The borough of Barkleie. 2
The borough of Higham Ferres. 1

Notingham.

Knights. 2
The borough of Notingham. 2
The borough of Estreatford. 2

Norffolke.

Knights. 2
The citie of Norwich. 2
The borough of Linne. 2
The borough of great Jernemouth. 2
The borough of Thetford. 2
The borough of castell Rising. 2

Northumberland.

Knights. 2
The borough of New castell vpon Tine. 2
The borough of Morpeth. 2
The borough of Barwike. 2

Oxford.

Knights. 2
The citie of Oxford. 2
The borough of Bamburie. 2
The borough of Woodstocke. 2

Rutland.

Knights. 2

Surreie.

Knights. 2
The borough of Southwarke. 2
The borough of Blechingleigh. 2
The borough of Rigate. 2
The borough of Guildford. 2
The borough of Gatton. 2

Stafford.

Knights. 2
The citie of Lichfield. 2
The borough of Stratford. 2
The borough of New castell vnder Linne. 2
The borough of Tamworth. 2

Salop.

Knights. 2
The borough of Salop. 2
The borough of Bruges *alias* Bridgenorth. 2
The borough of Ludlow. 2
The borough of Wenlocke. 2

Southhampton.

Knights. 2
The citie of Winton. 2

The borough of Southhampton. 2
The borough of Portesmouth. 2
The borough of Peterfield. 2
The borough of Stockebridge. 2
The borough of Christ church. 2

Suffolke.

Knights. 2
The borough of Ippeswich. 2
The borough of Dunwich. 2
The borough of Oxford. 2
The borough of Aldeborough. 2
The borough of Sudburie. 2
The borough of Eya. 2

Summerset.

Knights. 2
The citie of Bristow. 2
The citie of Bath. 2
The citie of Welles. 2
The borough of Taunton. 2
The borough of Bridgewater. 2
The borough of Pinched. 2

Sussex.

Knights. 2
The cities of Chichester. 2
The borough of Horsham. 2
The borough of Midhurst. 2
The borough of Lewes. 2
The borough of Shoreham. 2
The borough of Brember. 2
The borough of Stening. 2
The borough of Eastgrenestæd. 2
The borough of Arundell. 2

Westmerland.

Knights. 2
The borough of Appulbie. 2

Wilton.

Knights. 2
The citie of New Sarum. 2
The borough of Wilton. 2
The borough of Dounton. 2
The borough of Hindon. 2
The borough of Heitesburie. 2
The borough of Westburie. 2
The borough of Caine. 2
The borough of Deuises. 2
The borough of Chipenham. 2
The borough of Palmesburie. 2
The borough of Cricklade. 2
The borough of Budwin. 2
The borough of Ludgesale. 2
The borough of Old Sarum. 2
The borough of Wlotton Basset. 2
The borough of Parleborough. 2

Worcester.

Knights. 2
The citie of Worcester. 2
The borough of Withée. 2

Warwike.

Knights. 2
The citie of Couentrie. 2
The borough of Warwike. 2

Barons of the ports.

Hastings. 2
Winchelsete. 2
Rie. 2
Rumneie. 2
Hithe. 2
Douer. 2
Sandwich. 2

Mountgomerie.

Knights. 1
The borough of Mountgomerie. 1

Flint.

Knights. 1
The borough of Flint. 1

Denbigh.

Knights. 1
The borough of Denbigh. 1

Merionneth.

Knights. 1
The borough of Hauerfordwest. 1

Carneruan.

Knights. 1
The borough of Carneruan. 1

Angleseie.

Knights. 1
The borough of Beaumares. 1

Carmarden.

Knights. 1
The borough of new Carmarden. 1

Pembroke.

Knights. 1
The borough of Pembroke. 1

Cairdigan.

Knights. 1
The borough of Cairdigan. 1

Brecknoch.

Knights. 1
The borough of Brecknoch. 1

Radnor.

Knights. 1
The borough of Radnor. 1

Glamorgan.

Knights. 1
The borough of Cardiffe. 1

¶ The summe of the foresaid number of the common house *videlicet*, of

Knights. 90.
Citizens. 46.
Burgesses. 289.
Barons. 14.
439.

## Of the lawes of England since his *first inhabitation.*

### Chap. 9.

Samothes.

THat Samothes or Dis gaue the first lawes to the Celtes (whose kingdome he erected about the fifteenth of Nimbrote) the testimonie of Berosus is prowfe sufficient For he not onelie affirmeth him to publish the same in the fourth of Ninus, but also addeth thereto, how there liued none in his daies of more excellent wisdome, nor politike inuention than he, whereof he was named Samothes, as some other do affirme. What his lawes were, it is now altogither vnknowne, as most things of this age; but that they were altered against the comming of Albion, no man can absolutelie denie, sith new lords vse commonlie to giue new lawes, and conquerors abolish such as were in vse before them.

Albion.

Brute.

The like also may be affirmed of our Brute, notwithstanding that the certeine knowledge so well of the one as of the other is perished, and nothing worthie memorie left of all their doings. Somewhat yet we haue of Mulmutius, who not onelie subdued such princes as reigned in this land, but also brought the realme to good order, that long before had bene torne with ciuill discord. But where his lawes are to be found, and which they be from other mens, no man liuing in these daies is able to determine.

Mulmutius.

Certes

Certes, there was neuer prince in Britaine, of whome his subiects conceiued better hope in the beginning, than of Bladudus, and yet I read of none that made so ridiculous an end: in like sort there hath not reigned anie monarch in this Ile, whose waies were more feared at the first, than those of Dunwallon (king Henrie the fift excepted) and yet in the end he proued such a prince, as after his death there was in maner no subiect, that did not lament his funerals. And this onelie for his policie in gouernance, seuere administration of iustice, and prouident framing of his lawes and constitutions, for the gouernment of his subiects. His people also, coueting to continue his name vnto posteritie, intituled those his ordinances according to their maker, calling them by the name of the lawes of Mulmutius, which indured in execution among the Britons, so long as our homelings had the dominion of this Ile. Afterward when the comeling Saxons had once obteined the superioritie of the kingdom, the maiestie of those lawes fell for a time into such decaie, that although *Non penitùs cecidit, tamen potuit cecidisse videri*, as Leland saith, and the decrees themselues had vtterlie perished in deed at the verie first brunt, had they not beene preserued in Wales, where they remained amongst the relikes of the Britons, & not onlie vntill the comming of the Normans, but euen vntill the time of Edward the first, who obteining the souereigntie of that portion, indeuoured verie earnestlie to extinguish those of Mulmutius, and to establish his owne.

The praise of Dunwallon.

But as the Saxons at their first arriuall did what they could to abolish the British lawes, so in processe of time they yelded a little to relent, & not so much to abhorre and mislike of the lawes of Mulmutius, as to receiue and imbrace the same, especiallie at such time as the said Saxon princes entered into amitie with the British nobilitie, and after that began to ioine in matrimonie with the British ladies, as the British barons did with the Saxon frowes, both by an especiall statute and decree, wherof in another treatise I haue made mention at large. Herof also it came to passe in the end, that they were contented to make a choise, and insert no small numbers of them into their owne volumes, as may be gathered by those of Athelbert the great, surnamed king of Kent, Inas and Alfred kings of the west Saxons, and diuerse other yet extant to be seene. Such also was the lateward estimation of them, that when anie of the Saxon princes went about to make new ordinances, they caused those of Mulmutius (which Gildas sometime translated into Latine) to be first expounded vnto them, and in this perusall if they found anie there alreadie framed, that might serue their turnes, they forthwith reuiued the same, and annexed them to their owne.

But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfred is most of all to be commended, who not onelie chose out the best, but gathered togither all such whatsoeuer the said Mulmutius had made: and then to the end they should lie no more in corners as forlorne bookes, and vnknowne to the learned of his kingdome, he caused them to be turned into the Saxon tong, wherein they continued long after his decease.

As for the Normans, who for a season neither regarded the British, nor cared for the Saxon statutes, they also at the first vtterlie misliked of them, till at the last, when they had well weied that one kind of regiment is not conuenient for all peoples, and that no stranger, being in a forren countrie newlie brought vnder obedience, could make such equall ordinances, as he might thereby gouerne his new common-wealth without some care & trouble: they fell in with such a desire to see by what rule the state of the land was gouerned in time of the Saxons, that hauing perused the same, they not onelie commended their maner of regiment, but also admitted a great part of their lawes (now currant vnder the name of S. Edwards lawes, and vsed as principles and grounds) whereby they not onelie qualified the rigor of their owne, and mitigated their almost intollerable burden of seruitude which they had latelie laid vpon the shoulders of the English, but also left vs a great number of the old Mulmutian lawes, whereof the most part are in vse to this daie as I said, albeit that we know not certeinlie how to distinguish them from others, that are in strength amongst vs.

After Dunwallon, the next lawgiuer was Martia, whome Leland surnameth Proba; and after him John Bale also, who in his Centuries doth iustlie confesse himselfe to haue beene holpen by the said Leland, as I my selfe do likewise for manie things conteined in this treatise. She was wife vnto Guteline king of the Britons: and being made protectrix of the realme, after hir husbands decease in the nonage of hir sonne, and seeing manie things dailie to grow vp among hir people worthie reformation, she deuised sundrie and those verie politike lawes, for the gouernance of hir kingdome, which hir subiects when she was dead and gone, did name the Martian statutes. Who turned them into Latine, as yet I do not read, howbeit (as I said before of the lawes of Mulmutius) so the same Alfred caused those of this excellentlie well learned ladie (whome diuerse commend also for hir great knowledge in the Greeke tong) to be turned into his owne language, whereupon it came to passe that they were dailie executed among his subiects, afterward allowed of (among the rest) by the Normans, and finallie remaine in vse in these our daies, notwithstanding that we can not discerner them also verie readilie from the other.

Martia.

The seuenth alteration of lawes was practised by the Saxons, for I ouerpasse the vse of the ciuill ordinances vsed in Rome, finallie brought hither by the Romans, & yet in perfect notice among the Ciuilians of our countrie, though neuer generallie nor fullie receiued by all the seuerall regions of this Iland. Certes there are great numbers of these later, which yet remaine in sound knowlege, and are to be read, being comprehended for the most part vnder the names of the Martian and the Saxon law. Beside these also I read of the Dane law, so that the people of middle England were ruled by the first, the west Saxons by the second; as Eſſex, Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and part of Herfordshire were by the third, of all the rest the most inequall and intollerable. And as in these daies what soeuer the prince in publike assemblie commanded vpon the necessitie of his subiects, or his owne voluntarie authoritie, was counted for law: so none of them had appointed anie certeine place, whereunto his people might repaire at fixed times for iustice, but caused them to resort commonlie to their palaces, where in proper person they would often determine their causes, and so make shortest worke, or else commit the same to the hearing of other, and so dispatch them awaie. Neither had they any house appointed to assemble in for the making of their ordinances, as we haue now at Westminster. Wherefore Edmund gaue lawes at London & Lincolne, Ethelred at Habam, Alfred at Woodstock and Wannetting, Athelstane in Excester, Grecklade, Feuersham, & Thundersleie, Canutus at Winchester, &c: other in other places, whereof this may suffice.

Martian law. Saxon law. Dane law.

Among other things also vsed in the time of the Saxons, it shall not be amisse to set downe the forme of their Ordalian law, which they brought hither with

with them from beyond the seas out of Scithia, and vsed onelie in the triall of guiltie and vnguiltinesse. Certes it conteined not an ordinarie proceeding by daies and termes, as in the ciuill and common law we see practised in these daies; but a short dispatch & triall of the matter by fire or water, whereof at this present I will deliuer the circumstance, as I haue faithfullie translated it out of an ancient volume, and conferred with an imprinted copie, latelie published by M. Lambert, and now extant to be read. Neuertheless, as the Scithians were the first that vsed this practise, so I read that it was taken vp and occupied also in France in processe of time, yea and likewise in Grecia, as G. Pachymerus remembreth in the first booke of his historie (which beginneth with the empire of M. Paleologus) where he noteth his owne sight and view in that behalfe. But what stand I hereupon?

Ordalian law.

The Ordalian (saith the aforesaid author) was a certeine maner of purgation vsed two waies, whereof the one was by fire, the other by water. In the execution of that which was done by fire, the partie accused should go a certeine number of paces, with an hot iron in his hand, or else bare foted vpon certeine plough shares red hot, according to the maner. This iron was sometime of one pound weight, and then was it called single Ordalium, sometimes of three, and then named treble Ordalium, and whosoeuer did heare or tread on the same without hurt of his bodie he was adiudged giltlesse, otherwise if his skin were scorched, he was forthwith condemned as guiltie of the trespasse whereof he was accused, according to the proportion and quantitie of the burning.

Fire.

Water.

There were in like sort two kinds of triall by the water, that is to say, either by hot or cold: and in this triall the partie thought culpable, was either tumbled into some pond or huge vessell of cold water, wherein if he continued for a season, without wrestling or struggling for life, he was forthwith acquited as guiltlesse of the fact wherof he was accused: but if he began to plunge, and labour once for breath immediatlie vpon his falling into that liquor, he was by and by condemned as guiltie of the crime. Or else he did thrust his arme vp to the shoulder into a lead, copper, or caldron of seething water, from whence if he withdrew the same without anie maner of damage, he was discharged of further molestation: otherwise he was taken for a trespasser, and punished accordinglie. The fierie maner of purgation belonged onelie to noble men and women, and such as were free borne: but the husbandmen and villaines were tried by water. Wherof to shew the vnlearned dealing and blind ignorance of those times, it shall not be impertinent to set forth the whole maner, which continued here in England vntill the time of king John, who seeing the manifold subtilties in the same (by sundrie sorcerous and artificiall practises whereby the working of the said elements were restreined) did extinguish it altogither as flat lewdnesse and bouerie. The Rubrike of the treatise entereth thus: Here beginneth the execution of iustice, whereby the giltie or vngiltie are tried by hot iron. Then it followeth: After accusation lawfullie made, and three daies spent in fasting and praier, the priest being clad in all his holie vestures, sauing his vestiment, shall take the iron laid before the altar with a paire of tongs, and singing the hymne of the three children, that is to sate, O all ye workes of God the Lord, and in Latine *Benedicite omnia opera, &c.* he shall carie it solemnelie to the fire (alreadie made for that purpose) and first saie these words ouer the place where the fire is kindled, whereby this purgation shall be made in Latine as insueth: *Benedic Domine Deus locum istum, vt sit nobis in eo sanitas, sanctitas, castitas, virtus, & victoria, & sanctimonia, humilitas, bonitas, lenitas, & plenitudo legis, & obedientia Deo patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto. Hæc benedictio sit super hunc locum, & super omnes habitantes in eo.* In English: Bless thou O Lord this place, that it may be to vs health, holinesse, chastitie, vertue, and victorie, pureness, humilitie, goodnesse, gentlenesse, and fulnesse of the law, and obedience to God the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost. This blessing be vpon this place, and all that dwell in it. Then followeth the blessing of the fire.

*Domine Deus pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor omnium luminum. Benedic Domine hoc lumen, quod ante sanctificatum est, qui illuminasti omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (vel mundum) vt ab eo lumine accendamur igne claritatis tuæ. Et sicut igne illuminasti Mosen, ita nunc illumina corda nostra, & sensus nostros, vt ad vitam æternam mereamur peruenire, per Christum, &c.* Lord God father almightie, light euerlasting, heare vs, sith thou art the maker of all lights. Bless O Lord this light, that is alreadie sanctified in thy sight, which hast lightned all men that come into the world (or the whole world) to the end that by the same light we may be lightned with the shining of thy brightnesse. As thou diddest lighten Moses, so now illuminate our hearts, and our senses, that we may deserue to come to euerlasting life, through Christ our, &c. This being ended let him say the *Pater noster, &c.*: then these words: *Saluum fac seruum, &c. Mitte ei auxilium Deus, &c. De Sion tuere eum, &c. Dominus vobiscum, &c.* That is, O Lord saue thy seruant, &c. Send him helpe O God from thy holie place, &c. Defend him out of Sion, &c. Lord heare, &c. The Lord be with you, &c.

The praier. *Benedic Domine sancte pater, omnipotens Deus, per inuocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, & per aduentum filij tui, atque per donum spiritus paracleti, ad manifestandum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, vt sit sanctificatum, & omni dæmonum falsitate procul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifestata sit, per eundem Dominum, &c.* In English: Bless we beseech thee O Lord, holie father, euerlasting God, through the inuocation of thy most holie name, by the comming of thy sonne, and gift of the holie ghost, and to the manifestation of thy true iudgement, this kind of mettall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent practises of the diuels vtterlie removed, the manifest truth of thy true iudgement may be reuealed, by the same Lord Jesus, &c.

After this, let the iron be laid into the fire, and sprinkled with holie water, and whilest it heateth, let the priest go to masse, and doo as order requireth: and when he hath receiued the host, he shall call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) first adiuring him, and then permitting him to communicate according to the maner.

### The office of the masse.

*Iustus es Domine, &c.* O Lord thou art iust, &c.

### The Praier.

*Absolue quæsumus Domine delicta famuli tui, vt à peccatorum suorum nexibus, quæ pro sua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, & in hoc iudicio quoad meruit, iustitia tua præueniente, ad veritatis censuram peruenire mereatur, per Christum Dominum, &c.* That is: Pardon we beseech thee O Lord, the sinnes of thy seruant, that being deliuered from the burden of his offenses, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benignitie, and in this his triall (so far as he hath deserued, thy mercie preuenting him) he may come to the knowledge of the truth, by Christ our Lord, &c.

### The Gospell. Mar. 10.

*In illo tempore, cùm egressus esset Iesus in via, procurrens quidam genu flexo ante eum, rogabat eum dicens, Magister bone,*

*bone, quid faciam vt vitam æternam percipiam? Ieſus autem dixit ei, Quid me dicis bonum? &c.* **In thoſe daies when Ieſus went forth toward his iourneie, and one méeting him in the waie running, and kneéling vnto him, asked him saieng: Good maſter what ſhall I doo that I may poſſeſſe eternall life? Ieſus ſaid vnto him, Whie calleſt thou me good? &c.** Then followeth the ſecret, and ſo forth all of the reſt of the maſſe. But before the partie dooth communicate, the prieſt ſhall vſe theſe words vnto him: *Adiuro te per patrem, & filium, & ſpiritum ſanctum, & per veram chriſtianitatem quam ſuſcepiſti, & per ſanctas reliquias quæ in iſta eccleſia ſunt, & per baptiſmum quo te ſacerdos regenerauit, vt non præſumas vllo modo communicare, neq; accedere ad altare, ſi hoc feciſti aut conſenſiſti, &c.* **I adiure thée by the father, the ſonne, and the holie Ghoſt, by the true chriſtendome which thou haſt receiued, by the holie relikes which are in this church, and by the baptiſme wherewith the prieſt hath regenerated thée, that thou preſume not by any maner of means to communicate, nor come about the altar, if thou haſt done or conſented vnto this, whereof thou art accuſed, &c.*** Here let the prieſt ſuffer him to communicate, ſaieng; *Corpus hoc, & ſanguis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, ſit tibi ad probationem hodie.* **This bodie & this blood of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, be vnto thee a triall this daie.** The praier: *Perceptis Domine Deus noſter ſacris muneribus, ſupplices deprecamur, vt huius participatio ſacramenti à propriis nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis ſententiam declaret, &c.* **Hauing receiued O Lord God theſe holie miſteries, we humblie beſéech thée that the participation of this ſacrament may rid vs of our guiltineſſe, and in this thy ſeruant ſet forth the truth.** Then ſhall follow *Kyrieleſon*, the Letanie, and certeine Pſalmes, and after all them *Oremus*: Let vs praie. *Deus qui per ignem ſigna magna oſtendens, Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldæorum quibuſdam pereuntibus eruiſti, Deus qui rubum ardere ante conſpectum Moſis & minimè comburi permiſiſti, Deus qui de incendio fornacis Chaldaicis pleriſque ſuccenſis, tres pueros tuos illæſos eduxiſti, Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodomæ inuoluens, Loth famulum tuum cum ſuis ſalute donaſti, Deus qui in aduentu ſancti ſpiritus tui, illuſtratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuiſti: oſtende nobis in hoc prauitatis noſtræ examine virtutem eiuſdem ſpiritus, &c: & per ignis huius feruorem diſcernere infideles, vt à tactu eius cuius inquiſitio agitur, conſcius exhorreſcat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens verò pœnitus illæſus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vnquam ſecreta effugiunt, fidei noſtræ tua bonitate reſponde, & præſta vt quiſquis purgandi ſe gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel abſoluatur vt innocens, vel noxius detegatur, &c.* In Engliſh thus: **O God, which in ſhewing great tokens by fire diddeſt deliuer Abraham thy ſeruant from the burning of the Chaldeis, whileſt other periſhed; O God which ſuffereddſt the buſh to burne in the ſight of Moſes, and yet not to conſume; O God which deliuereddſt the three children from bodilie harme in the fornace of the Chaldeis, whileſt diuerſe were conſumed; O God which by fire didſt wrap the people of Sodome in their deſtruction, and yet ſauedſt Lot and his daughters from perill; O God which by the ſhining of thy brightneſſe at the comming of the holie ghoſt in likeneſſe of fire, diddeſt ſeparate the faithfull from ſuch as beléeued not: ſhew vnto vs in the triall of this our wickedneſſe, the power of the ſame ſpirit, &c: and by the heat of this fire diſcerne the faithfull from the vnfaithfull, that the guiltie whoſe cauſe is now in triall, by touching thereof, may tremble and feare, and his hand be burned, or being innocent, that he may remaine in ſafetie, &c. O God from whom no ſecrets are hidden, let thy goodneſſe anſwer to our faith, and grant that whoſoeuer in this purgation, ſhall touch and beare this iron, may either be tried an innocent, or reuealed as an offendor, &c.** After this the prieſt ſhall ſprinkle the iron with holie water, ſaieng: **The bleſſing of God the father, the ſonne, and the holie ghoſt, be vpon this iron, to the reuelation of the iuſt iudgement of God.** And forthwith let him that is accuſed beare it, by the length of nine foot, and then let his hand be wrapped and ſealed vp for the ſpace of three daies: after this if any corruption or raw fleſh appeare where the iron touched it, let him be condemned as guiltie: if it be whole and ſound, let him giue thanks to God. **And thus much of the firie** Ordalia, **whereunto that of the water hath ſo preciſe relation, that in ſetting forth of the one, I haue alſo deſcribed the other, wherefore it ſhall be but in vaine to deale anie further withall.** water.

**Hitherto alſo (as I thinke) ſufficientlie of ſuch lawes as were in vſe before the conqueſt. Now it reſteth that I ſhould declare the order of thoſe, that haue beene made and receiued ſince the comming of the Normans, referred to the eight alteration or change of our maner of gouernance, and therevnto do produce three ſcore and foure ſeuerall courts. But for aſmuch as I am no lawier, and therefore haue but little ſkill to proceed in the ſame accordinglie, it ſhall ſuffice to ſet downe ſome generall diſcourſe of ſuch as are vſed in our daies, and ſo much as I haue gathered by report and common heare-ſaie.**

The cup yet in vſe.

**We haue therefore in England ſundrie lawes,** Ciuill law. **and firſt of all the ciuill, vſed in the chancerie, admeraltie, and diuerſe other courts, in ſome of which, the ſeuere rigor of iuſtice is often ſo mitigated by conſcience, that diuerſe things are thereby made eaſie and tollerable, which otherwiſe would appeare to be méere iniurie and extremitie.**

**We haue alſo a great part of the Canon law dailie practiſed among vs, eſpeciallie in caſes of tithes,** Canon law. **contracts of matrimonie, and ſuch like, as are vſuallie to be ſéene in the conſiſtories of our biſhops and higher courts of the two archbiſhops, where the exerciſe of the ſame is verie hotlie followed. The third ſort of lawes that we haue are our owne, & thoſe alwaies ſo variable, & ſubiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuerſe iudgements do paſſe vpon one maner of caſe, whereby the ſaieng of the poet,**

*Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis,*

**may verie well be applied vnto ſuch, as being vrged with theſe words; In ſuch a yeare of the prince, this opinion was taken for ſound law; do anſwer nothing elſe, but that the iudgement of our lawiers is now altered, ſo that they ſaie farre otherwiſe. The regiment that we haue therefore after our owne ordinances, dependeth vpon three lawes, to wit, Statute law, Common law, Cuſtomaris law, and Preſcription, according to the triple maner of our trials and iudgments, which is by parlement, verdict of twelue men at an aſſiſe, or wager of battell, of which the laſt is little vſed in our daies, as no appeale dooth hold in the firſt and laſt rehearſed. But to returne to my purpoſe.**

Lawiers of England not alwaies conſtant in iudgment.

**The firſt is deliuered vnto vs by parlement, which court, being for the moſt part holden at Weſtminſter néere London, is the higheſt of all other, & conſiſteth of three ſeuerall ſorts of people, that is to ſaie, the nobilitie, cleargie, and commons of this realme. And thereto is not ſummoned, but vpon vrgent occaſion when the prince dooth ſee his time, and that by ſeuerall writs, dated commonlie full ſix weékes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agreed vpon in the higher houſe by the lords ſpirituall and temporall, and in the lower houſe by the commons and bodie of the realme (whereof the conuocation of the cleargie holden in Powles, or if occaſion ſo require in Weſtminſter church, is a member) there ſpeaking by the mouth of the knights of the ſhire and burgeſſes, remaine in the end to be confirmed** Parlement law.

by

by the prince, who commonlie resorteth thither of custome, vpon the first and last daies of this court, there to vnderstand what is doone, and giue his roiall consent to such statutes as him liketh of. Comming therefore thither into the higher house, and hauing taken his throne, the speaker of the parlement (for one is alwaies appointed to go betweene the houses, as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlie the matters there determined by the said three estates, and then craueth the princes consent and finall confirmation to the same. The king hauing heard the summe and principall points of each estatute briefflie recited vnto him, answereth in French with great deliberation vnto such as he liketh (Il nous plaist) but to the rest Il ne plaist, whereby the latter are made void and frustrate. That also which his maiestie liketh of, is hereby authorised, confirmed, & euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in anie the like assemblie. The number of the commons assembled in the lower house, beside the clergie, consisteth of ninetie knights. For each shire of England hath two gentlemen or knights of greatest wisedome and reputation, chosen out of the bodie of the same for that onelie purpose, sauing that for Wales one onlie is supposed sufficient in euerie countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is made vp. There are likewise fourtie and six citizens, 289 burgesses, and fourteene barons, so that the whole assemblie of the laitie of the lower house, consisteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine persons, if the iust number be supplied. Of the lawes here made likewise some are penall and restraine the common law, and some againe are found to inlarge the same. The one sort of these also are for the most part taken strictlie according to the letter, the other more largelie and beneficiallie after their intendment and meaning.

Number of congregates in the parlement.

Common law.

The Common law standeth vpon sundrie maximes or principles, and yeares or termes, which do conteine such cases as by great studie and solemne argument of the iudges sound practise confirmed by long experience, fetched euen from the course of most ancient lawes made farre before the conquest, and thereto the deepest reach and foundations of reason, are ruled and adiudged for law. Certes these cases are otherwise called plees or action, whereof there are two sorts, the one criminall and the other ciuill. The meanes and messengers also to determine those causes are our writs or breefes, whereof there are some originall and some iudiciall. The parties plaintiffe & defendant when they appeare proceed (if the case do so require) by plaint or declaration, barre or answer, replication, reioinder, and so by rebut, surrebut to issue and triall if occasion so fall out, the one side affirmatiuelie, the other negatiuelie as common experience teacheth. Our trials and recoueries are either by verdict and demourre, confession or default, wherein if anie negligence or trespasse hath beene committed, either in processe and forme, or in matter and iudgement, the partie grieued may haue a writ of errour to vndo the same, but not in the same court where the former iudgement was giuen.

Customarie law.

Customarie law consisteth of certeine laudable customes vsed in some priuat countrie, intended first to begin vpon good and reasonable considerations, as gauell kind, which is all the male children equallie to inherit, and continued to this daie in Kent: where it is onelie to my knowledge reteined, and no where else in England. It was at the first deuised by the Romans, as appeareth by Cæsar in his cõmentaries, wherein I find, that to breake and daunt the force of the rebellious Germans, they made a law that all the male children (or females for want of males which holdeth still in England) should haue their fathers inheritance equallie diuided amongst them. By this meanes also it came to passe, that whereas before time for the space of sixtie yeares, they had put the Romans to great and manifold troubles, within the space of thirtie yeares after this law made, their power did wax so feeble, and such discord fell out amongst themselues, that they were not able to mainteine warres with the Romans, nor raise anie iust armie against them. For as a riuer runing with one streame is swift and more plentifull of water than when it is drained or drawne into manie branches: so the lands and goods of the ancestors being dispersed amongst their issue males, of one strong there were raised sundrie weake, whereby the originall or generall strength to resist the aduersarie, became infeebled and brought almost to nothing. *Vis vnita* (saith the philosopher) *fortior est eadem dispersa*, and one good purse is better than manie euill, and when euerie man is benefited alike, each one will seeke to mainteine his priuate estate, and few take care to prouide for publike welfare.

Burrow kind, is where the youngest is preferred before the eldest, which is the custome of manie countries of this region; also the woman to haue the third of hir husbands possessions, the husband that marieth an heire to haue such lands as move by hir during his naturall life, if he suruiue hir, and hath a child by hir which hath beene heard crie thorough foure walls, &c: of such like to be learned elsewhere, and sometimes frequented generallie ouer all.

Prescription.

Prescription is a certeine custome, which hath continued time out of minde, but it is more particular than customarie law, as where onelie a parish or some priuat person doth prescribe to haue common, or a waie in another mans soile, or tithes to be paid after this or that maner, I meane otherwise than the common course and order of the law requireth, whereof let this suffice at this time, in steed of a larger discourse of our owne lawes, least I should seeme to enter farre into that whereof I haue no skill. For what hath the meditation of the law of God to do with anie precise knowledge of the law of man, sith they are seuerall trades, and incident to diuerse persons?

Terme.

There are also sundrie vsuall courts holden once in euerie quarter of the yeare, which we commonlie call termes, of the Latine word *Terminus*, wherein all controuersies are determined, that happen within the Queenes dominions. These are commonlie holden at London, except vpon some great occasion they be transferred to other places. At what times also they are kept both for spirituall and temporall dealing, the table insuing shall easilie declare. Finallie how well they are followed by suitors, the great wealth of lawiers without anie trauell of mine can readilie expresse. For as after the comming of the Normans the nobilitie had the start, and after them the cleargie: so now all the wealth of the land doth flow vnto our common lawiers, of whome some one hauing practised little aboue thirteene or fourteene yeares is able to buie a purchase of so manie 1000 pounds: which argueth that they wax rich apace, and will be richer if their clients become not the more wiser & warie hereafter. It is not long, since a sergeant at the law (whome I could name) was arrested vpon an extent, for three or foure hundred pounds, and another standing by did greatlie maruell that he could not spare the gaines of one terme for the satisfaction of that dutie. The time hath beene that our lawiers did sit in Powles vpon stooles against the pillers and walles to get clients, but now some of them will not come from their chambers to the Guildhall in London vnder ten pounds or twentie nobles at the least. And one being demanded why he made so much of

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his trauell, answered, that it was but follie for him to go so farre, when he was assured to get more monie by sitting still at home. A friend of mine also had a sute of late of some valure, and to be sure of counsell at his time, he gaue vnto two lawiers (whose names I forbeare to deliuer) twentie shillings a peece, telling them of the daie and houre wherein his matter should be called vpon. To be short, they came not vnto the barre at all, wherupon he stated for that daie. On the morrow after he met them againe, increased his former gifts by so much more, and told them of the time, but they once againe serued him as before. In the end he met them both in the verie hall doore, and after some timorous reprehension, of their vncourteous demeanour toward him, he bestowed either three angels or foure more vpon each of them, whereupon they promised peremptorilie to speake earnestlie in his cause. And yet for all this, one of them hauing not yet sucked enough, vtterlie deceiued him: the other in deed came in, and wagging a scroll which he had in his hand before the iudge, he spake not aboue three or foure words, almost so soone vttered as a good morrow, and so went from the bar, and this was all the poore man gat for his monie, and the care which his counsellours did seeme to take of his cause, then standing vpon the hazard. But inough of these matters, for if I should set downe how little law poore men can haue for their small fees in these daies, and the great murmurings that are on all sides vttered against their excessiue taking of monie (for they can abide no small gaine) I should extend this treatise into a farre greater volume than is conuenient for my purpose. Wherfore it shall suffice to haue set downe so much of their demeanour, and so much as is euen enough to cause them to looke with somewhat more conscience into their dealings, except they be dull and senseleſſe.

Deceipt.

Many of our lawiers stoope not at small fees.

Prescription.

This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this land haue erected sundrie courts, especiallie of the chancerie at Yorke and Ludlow, for the ease of poore men dwelling in those parts, yet will the poorest (of all men commonlie most contentious) refuse to haue his cause heard so neere home, but indeuoureth rather to his vtter vndoing to trauell vp to London, thinking there soonest to preuaile against his aduersarie, though his case be neuer so doubtfull. But in this toie our Welshmen do exceed of all that euer I heard, for you shall here and there haue some one od poore Dauid of them giuen so much to contention and strife, that without all respect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waie, and carie his hosen on his necke (to saue their feet from wearing) bicause he hath no change. When he commeth there also, he will make such importunate begging of his countrimen, and hard shift otherwise, that he will sometimes carie downe six or seuen writs with him in his purse, wherewith to molest his neighbor, though the greatest quarrell be scarselie worth the fee that he hath paid for anie one of them. But inough of this, least in reuealing the superfluous follie of a few brablers in this behalfe, I bring no good will to my selfe amongst the wisest of that nation. Certes it is a lamentable case to see furthermore, how a number of poore men are dailie abused and vtterlie vndone, by sundrie varlets that go about the countrie, as promoters or brokers betweene the pettie foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onelie to kindle and espie coales of contention, whereby the one side may reape commoditie, and the other spend and be put to trauell. But of all that euer I knew in Esser, Denis and Painford excelled, till John of Ludlow, aliàs Mason came in place, vnto whome in comparison they two were but children:

Poore men contentious.

Promoters seeke matters to set lawiers on worke withall.

for this last in lesse than three or foure yeares, did bring one man (among manie else-where in other places) almost to extreame miserie (if beggerie be the vttermost) that before he had the shauing of his beard, was valued at two hundred pounds (I speake with the least) and finallie feeling that he had not sufficient wherwith to sustaine himselfe and his familie, and also to satisfie that greedie rauenour, which still called vpon him for new fees, he went to bed, and within foure daies made an end of his woefull life, euen with care and pensiuenesse. After his death also he so handled his sonne, that there was neuer sheepe shorne in Maie, so neere clipped of his fleece present, as he was of manie to come: so that he was compelled to let awaie his land, bicause his cattell & flocke were consumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But hereof let this suffice, & in sted of these enormities, a table shall follow of the termes conteining their beginnings and endings, as I haue borrowed them from my freend Iohn Stow, whose studie is the onelie store house of antiquities in my time, and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour.

A man would imagine that the time of the execution of our lawes, being little aboue one quarter, or not fullie a third part of the yeare, and the appointment of the same to be holden in one place onelie, to wit, neere London in Westminster, and finallie the great expenses emploied vpon the same, should be no small cause of the state and hinderance of the administration of iustice in this land: but as it falleth out they proue great occasions and the state of much contention. The reasons of these are soone to be conceiued, for as the broken sleeue doth hold the elbow backe, and paine of trauell cause manie to sit at home in quiet; so the shortnesse of time and feare of delaie doth driue those oftentimes to like of peace, who otherwise would liue at strife, and quickelie be at ods. Some men desirous of gaines would haue the termes yet made shorter, that more delaie might ingender longer sute; other would haue the houses made larger, and more offices erected, wherein to minister the lawes. But as the times of the tearmes are rather too short than too long by one returne a peece: so if there were smaller romes and fowler waies vnto them, they would inforce manie to make pawses before they did rashlie enter into plee. But sith my purpose is not to make an ample discourse of these things, it shall suffice to deliuer the times of the holding of our termes, which insueth after this manner.

The times of our termes no hinderance to iustice.

Terme.

## A perfect rule to know the beginning and ending of euerie terme, with their returnes.

HIlarie terme beginneth the three and twentith daie of Ianuarie (if it be not sundaie) otherwise the next daie after, and is finished the twelfe of Februarie, it hath foure returnes.

{Octabis Hilarij.} {Crastino Purific.}
{Quind. Hilarij.} {Octabis Purific.}

¶ Easter terme beginneth seuentéene daies after Easter, endeth foure daies after the Ascension daie, and hath fiue returnes.

{Quind. Pasch.} {Mense} {Quinque Paschæ.}
{Tres Paschæ.} {Paschæ.} {Crast. Ascention.}

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the fridaie after Trinitie sundaie, and endeth the wednesdaie fortnight after, in which time it hath foure returnes.

{Crast. Trinitatis.} {Quind. Trinitatis.}
{Octabis Trinitatis.} {Tres Trinitatis.}

¶ Michaelmasse terme beginneth the ninth of October (if it be not sundaie) and ending the eight and twentith

twentith of November, it hath eight returnes.

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|---|---|
| Octabis Michael. | Craſt. anima. |
| Quind. Michael. | Craſt. Martini. |
| Tres Michael. | Octa. Martini. |
| Menſe Michael. | Quind. Martini. |

Note also that the eschéker, which is *Fiscus* or *erarium publicum principis*, openeth eight daies before anie terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but foure daies before.

And thus much for our vsuall termes as they are kept for the administration of our common lawes, wherevnto I thinke good to adde the lawdaies accustomablie holden in the arches and audience of Canturburie, with other ecclesiasticall and ciuill courts thorough the whole yeare, or for somuch time as their execution indureth (which in comparison is scarselie one halfe of the time if it be diligentlie examined) to the end each one at home being called vp to answer may trulie know the time of his appearance; being sorie in the meane season, that the vse of the popish calendar is so much reteined in the same, and not rather the vsuall daies of the moneth placed in their romes, sith most of them are fixed and palter not their place of standing. Howbeit some of our infected lawiers will not let them go awaie so easilie, pretending facilitie and custome of vsage, but meaning peraduenture inwardlie to kéepe a commemoration of those dead men whose names are there remembred.

Michaelmas terme.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| S. Faith. | All Soules. | S. Andrew. |
| S. Edward. | S. Martin. | Conception |
| S. Luke. | Edmund. | of the virgin |
| Simon & Iu. | Katharine. | Marie. |

¶ It is to be remembred that the first daie following euerie of these feasts noted in each terme, the court of the arches is kept in Bow church in the forenoone. And the same first daie in the afternoone is the admeraltie court for ciuill and seafaring causes kept in Southwarke, where iustice is ministred & execution done continuallie according to the same.

The second daie following euerie one of the said feasts, the court of audience of Canturburie is kept in the consistorie in Paules in the forenoone. And the selfe daie in the afternoone, in the same place is the prerogatiue court of Canturburie holden.

The third day after anie such feast in the forenoone, the consistorie court of the bishop of London is kept in Paules church in the said consistorie, and the same third daie in the afternoone is the court of the delegates, and the court of the Quéenes highnesse commissioners vpon appeales is likewise kept in the same place on the fourth daie.

Hilarie terme.

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|---|---|---|
| S. Hilarie. | S. Scolastic. | S. Chad. |
| S. Wolstan. | S. Valentine | Perpet. & Fel. |
| Conuersion | Ashwednes. | S. Gregorie. |
| of S. Paule. | S. Matthie. | Annũciation |
| S. Blase. | | of our Ladie. |

Note that the foure first daies of this terme be certeine and vnchanged. The other are altered after the course of the yeare, and sometime kept and sometime omitted. For if it so happen that one of those feasts fall on wednesdaie, commonlie called Ashwednesdaie after the daie of S. Blase (so that the same lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie cannot be kept bicause the lawdaie of the other feast doth light on the same) then the second lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie shall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie be the next daie after the feast of S. Blase, then shall all and euerie court daies be obserued in order, as they may be kept conuenientlie. And marke that although Ashwednesdaie be put the seuenth in order, yet it hath no certeine place, but is changed as the course of Easter causeth it.

Easter terme.

The fiftéenth daie after Easter.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| S. Alphege. | Gordian. | |
| S. Marke. | S. Dunstan. | |
| Inuention of | Ascension daie. | |
| the crosse. | | |

¶ In this terme the first sitting is alwaie kept the mondaie being the fiftéenth daie after Easter, and so forth after the feasts here noted, which next follow by course of the yeare after Easter, and the like space being kept betwéene other feasts.

The rest of the lawdaies are kept to the third of the Ascension, which is the last day of this terme. And if it happen that the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, do come before anie of the feasts aforesaid, then they are omitted for that yeare. And likewise if anie of those daies come before the fiftéenth of Easter, those daies are omitted also.

Trinitie terme.

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|---|---|---|
| Trinitie sundaie. | S. Butolph. | S. Swithune. |
| Corpus Christi. | S. Iohn. | S. Margaret. |
| Boniface bish. | S. Paule. | S. Anne. |
| S. Barnabie. | Translat. Thomas. | |

Here note also that the lawdaies of this terme are altered by meane of Whitsuntide, and the first sitting is kept alwaies on the first lawdaie after the feast of the holie Trinitie, and the second session is kept the first lawdaie after the idolatrous and papisticall feast daie called Corpus Christi, except Corpus Christi daie fall on some day aforenamed: which chanceth sometime, and then the fitter daie is kept. And after the second session account foure daies or thereabout, and then looke which is the next feast day, and the first lawdaie after the said feast shall be the third session. The other law daies follow in order, but so manie of them are kept, as for the time of the yeare shall be thought méet.

It is also generallie to be obserued, that euerie daie is called a lawdaie that is not sundaie or holie daie: and that if the feast daie being knowne of anie court daie in anie terme, the first or second daie following be sundaie, then the court daie is kept the daie after the said holie daie or feast.

## Of prouision made for the poore.

Chap. 10.

THere is no common-wealth at this daie in Europe, wherin there is not great store of poore people, and those necessarilie to be relieued by the welthier sort, which otherwise would starue and come to vtter confusion. With vs the poore is commonlie diuided into three sorts, so that some are poore by impotencie, as the fatherlesse child, the aged, blind and lame, and the diseased person that is iudged to be incurable: the second are poore by casualtie, as the wounded souldier, the decaied householder, and the sicke person visited with grieuous and painefull diseases: the third consisteth of thriftlesse poore, as the riotour that hath consumed all, the vagabund that will abide no where, but runneth vp and downe from place to place (as it were seeking worke and finding none) and finallie the roge and strumpet which are not possible to be diuided in sunder, but runne to and fro ouer all the realme, chéefelie kéeping the champaine soiles in summer to auoid the scorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter to eschew the blustering winds.

Three sorts of poore.

For

For the first two sorts, that is to saie, the poore by impotencie, and the poore by casualtie, which are the true poore in deed, and for whome the word doth bind vs to make some dailie prouision: there is order taken throughout euerie parish in the realme, that weekelie collection shall be made for their helpe and sustentation, to the end they should not scatter abroad, and by begging here and there annoie both towne and countrie. Authoritie also is giuen vnto the iustices in euerie countie, and great penalties appointed for such as make default, to see that the intent of the statute in this behalfe be trulie executed, according to the purpose and meaning of the same, so that these two sorts are sufficientlie prouided for: and such as can liue within the limits of their allowance (as each one will do that is godlie and well disposed) may well forbeare to rome and range about. But if they refuse to be supported by this benefit of the law, and will rather indeuour by going to and fro to mainteine their idle trades, then are they adiudged to be parcell of the third sort, and so in stéed of courteous refreshing at home, are often corrected with sharpe execution, and whip of iustice abroad. Manie there are, which notwithstanding the rigor of the lawes prouided in that behalfe, yéeld rather with this libertie (as they call it) to be dailie vnder the feare and terrour of the whip, than by abiding where they were borne or bred, to be prouided for by the deuotion of the parishes. I found not long since a note of these latter sort, the effect whereof insueth. Idle beggers are such either through other mens occasion, or through their owne default. By other mens occasion (as one waie for example) when some couetous man, such I meane as haue the cast or right veine, dailie to make beggers inough wherby to peister the land, espieng a further commoditie in their commons, holds, and tenures, doth find such meanes as thereby to wipe manie out of their occupiengs, and turne the same vnto his priuate gaines. Herevpon it followeth, that although the wise and better minded, do either forsake the realme for altogether, and seeke to liue in other countries, as France, Germanie, Barbarie, India, Moscouia, and verie Calecute, complaining of no rome to be left for them at home, do so behaue themselues that they are worthilie to be accompted among the second sort: yet the greater part commonlie hauing nothing to staie vpon are wilfull, and thervpon do either proue idle beggers, or else continue starke théeues till the gallowes do eat them vp, which is a lamentable case. Certes in some mans iudgements these things are but trifles, and not worthie the regarding. Some also do grudge at the great increase of people in these daies, thinking a necessarie brood of cattell farre better than a superfluous augmentation of mankind. But I can liken such men best of all vnto the pope and the diuell, who practise the hinderance of the furniture of the number of the elect to their vttermost; to the end the authoritie of the one vpon earth, the deferring of the locking vp of the other in euerlasting chaines, and the great gaines of the first may continue and indure the longer. But if it should come to passe that any forren inuasion should be made, which the Lord God forbid for his mercies sake! then should these men find that a wall of men is farre better than stackes of corne and bags of monie, and complaine of the want when it is too late to seeke remedie. The like occasion caused the Romans to deuise their law Agraria: but the rich not liking of it, and the couetous vtterlie condemning it as rigorous and vnprofitable, neuer ceased to practise disturbance till it was quite abolished. But to proceed with my purpose.

A thing often séene.

At whose hands shall the bloud of these men be required?

Such as are idle beggers through their owne default are of two sorts, and continue their estates either by casuall or méere voluntarie meanes: those that are such by casuall means, are in the beginning iustlie to be referred either to the first or second sort of poore afore mentioned: but degenerating into the thriftlesse sort, they do what they can to continue their miserie, and with such impediments as they haue to straie and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honest exercise. Certes I call these casuall meanes, not in respect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the same, from whence they will not be deliuered, such is their owne vngratious lewdnesse, and froward disposition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward causes, as by making of corosiues, and applieng the same to the more fleshie parts of their bodies: and also laieng of ratsbane, spersewort, crowfoot, and such like vnto their whole members, thereby to raise pitifull and odious sores, and moue the harts of the goers by such places where they lie, to yerne at their miserie, and thervpon bestow large almesse vpon them. How artificiallie they beg, what forcible spéech, and how they select and chose out words of vehemencie, whereby they do in maner coniure or adiure the goer by to pitie their cases, I passe ouer to remember, as iudging the name of God and Christ to be more conuersant in the mouths of none: and yet the presence of the heuenlie maiestie further off from no men than from this vngratious companie. Which maketh me to thinke that punishment is farre meeter for them than liberalitie or almesse, and sith Christ willeth vs chéeflie to haue a regard to himselfe and his poore members.

Vnto this nest is another sort to be referred, more sturdie than the rest, which hauing sound and perfect lims, do yet notwithstanding sometime counterfeit the possession of all sorts of diseases. Diuerse times in their apparell also they will be like seruing men or labourers: oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and séeke for ships which they neuer lost. But in fine, they are all théeues and caterpillers in the commonwealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they do but licke the sweat from the true labourers browes, & bereue the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to mainteine their excesse, consuming the charitie of well disposed people bestowed vpon them, after a most wicked & detestable maner.

At whose hands shall the bloud of these men be required?

It is not yet full threescore yeares since this trade began: but how it hath prospered since that time, it is easie to iudge, for they are now supposed of one sort and another, to amount vnto aboue 10000 persons; as I haue heard reported. Moreouer, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuised a language among themselues, which they name Canting, but other pedlers French, a speach compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselues are able to vnderstand. The first deuiser thereof was hanged by the necke, a iust reward no doubt for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession. A gentleman also of late hath taken great paines to search out the secret practises of this vngratious rable. And among other things he setteth downe and describeth three & twentie sorts of them, whose names it shall not be amisse to remember, wherby ech one may take occasion to read and know as also by his industrie what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

Thomas Harman.

*The seuerall disorders and degrees amongst* our idle vagabonds.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Ruffilers. | 3 Hookers or Anglers. |
| 2 Vprightmen. | 4 Roges. |

5 Wildroges.
6 Priggers or prauns-ers.
7 Palliards.
8 Fraters.
9 Abrams.
10 Freshwater mari-ners, or whiptacks.
11 Dummerers.
12 Drunken tinkers.
13 Swadders or ped-lers.
14 Jarkemen or patri-cors.

¶ Of women kind.

1 Demanders for glim-mar or fire.
2 Baudie baskets.
3 Mortes.
4 Autem mortes.
5 Walking mortes.
6 Dorcs.
7 Delles.
8 Kinching mortes.
9 Kinching cowes.

The punishment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restreine them from their gadding: wherefore the end must néeds be martiall law, to be exercised vpon them, as vpon théeues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enimies to the common-wealth & welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of yong children, burning, breaking and disfiguring their limbs to make them pitifull in the sight of the people, I néed not to rehearse: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to prison, and tried in the next assises (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or sessions of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, or the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses vpon their oths, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be gréeuouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment receiued for the same. And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except some honest person worth fiue pounds in the quéenes books in goods, or twentie shillings in lands, or some rich householder to be allowed by the iustices, will be bound in recognisance to reteine him in his seruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the second time, and proued to haue forsaken his said seruice, he shall then be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other eare and set to seruice: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a fellon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute doth appeare. Among roges and idle persons finallie, we find to be comprised all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, cosiners, and such as gad about the countrie, vsing vnlawfull games, practisers of physiognomie and palmestrie, tellers of fortunes, fensers, players, minstrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretensed schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fées, and others so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From among which companie our bearewards are not excepted, and iust cause: for I haue read that they haue either voluntarilie, or for want of power to master their sauage beasts, béene occasion of the death and deuoration of manie children in sundrie countries by which they haue passed, whose parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cause there is e haue béene manie sharpe lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges. Each one also that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is tared and compelled to fine with the quéenes maiestie for euerie time that he doth so succour them, as it shall please the iustices of peace to assigne, so that the taration exceed not twentie shillings, as I haue béene informed. And thus much of the poore, & such prouision as is appointed for them within the realme of England.

## Of sundrie kinds of punishments *appointed for malefactors.*

### Chap. 11.

IN cases of felonie, manslaughter, roberie, murther, rape, piracie, & such capitall crimes as are not reputed for treason or hurt of the estate, our sentence pronounced vpon the offendor is to hang till he be dead. For of other punishments vsed in other countries we haue no knowledge or vse, and yet so few grieuous crimes committed with vs as else where in the world. To vse torment also or question by paine and torture in these common cases with vs is greatlie abhorred, sith we are found alwaie to be such as despise death, and yet abhorre to be tormented, chosing rather frankelie to open our minds than to yeeld our bodies vnto such seruile halings and tearings as are vsed in other countries. And this is one cause wherefore our condemned persons do go so chéerefullie to their deths, for our nation is free, stout, hautie, prodigall of life and bloud, as sir Thomas Smith saith *lib.* 2. *cap.* 25. *de republica*, and therefore cannot in anie wise digest to be vsed as villanes and slaues, in suffering continuallie beating, seruitude, and seruile torments. No, our gailers are guiltie of fellonie by an old law of the land, if they torment anie prisoner committed to their custodie for the reuealing of his complices.

The greatest and most grieuous punishment vsed in England, for such as offend against the state, is drawing from the prison to the place of execution vpon an hardle or sled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe and quartered aliue, after that their members and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire prouided neere hand and within their owne sight, euen for the same purpose. Sometimes, if the trespasse be not the more hainous, they are suffered to hang till they be quite dead. And when soeuer anie of the nobilitie are conuicted of high treason by their peeres, that is to saie, equals (for an inquest of yeomen passeth not vpon them, but onelie of the lords of the parlement) this maner of their death is conuerted into the losse of their heads onelie, notwithstanding that the sentence do run after the former order. In triall of cases concerning treason, fellonie, or anie other grieuous crime not confessed, the partie accused doth yéeld, if he be a nobleman, to be tried by an inquest (as I haue said) and his péeres: if a gentleman, by gentlemen: and an inferiour, by God and by the countrie, to wit, the yeomanrie (for combat or battell is not greatlie in vse) and being condemned of fellonie, manslaughter, &c: he is eftsoons hanged by the necke till he be dead, and then cut downe and buried. But if he be conuicted of wilfull murther, done either vpon pretended malice, or in anie notable robberie, he is either hanged aliue in chaines néere the place where the fact was committed (or else vpon compassion taken first strangled with a rope) and so continueth till his bones consume to nothing. We haue vse neither of the wheels nor of the barre, as in other countries; but when wilfull manslaughter is perpetrated, beside hanging, the offendor hath his right hand commonlie striken off before or néere vnto the place where the act was done, after which he is led forth to the place of execution, and there put to death according to the law.

The word fellon is deriued of the Saxon words Fell and One, that is to say, an euill and wicked one,

one

a one of vntamable nature, and lewdnesse not to be suffered for feare of euill example and the corruption of others. In like sort in the word fellonie are manie grieuous crimes conteined, as breach of prison An. 1 of Edward the second. Disfigurers of the princes liege people An. 5. of Henrie the fourth. Hunting by night with painted faces and visors An. 1. of Henrie the seuenth. Rape or stealing of women & maidens An. 3 of Henrie the eight. Conspiracie against the person of the prince An. 3. of Henrie the seuenth. Embesilling of goods committed by the master to the seruant, aboue the value of fourtie shillings An. 17. of Henrie the eight. Carieng of horses or mares into Scotland An. 23. of Henrie the eight. Sodomie and buggerie An. 25. of Henrie the eight. Stealing of hawkes egs An. 31. of Henrie the eight. Conturing, sorcerie, witchcraft, and digging vp of crosses An. 33. of Hen. 8. Prophesieng vpon armes, cognisances, names & badges An. 33. of Hen. 8. Casting of slanderous bils An. 37. Hen. 8. Wilfull killing by poison An. 1. of Edw. the first. Departure of a soldier from the field An. 2. of Edward the first. Diminution of coine, all offenses within case of præmunire, embesselling of records, goods taken from dead men by their seruants, stealing of what soeuer cattell, robbing by the high waie, vpon the sea, or of dwelling houses, letting out of ponds, cutting of purses, stealing of dære by night, counterfeitors of coine, euidences, charters, and writings, & diuerse other needlesse to be remembred. If a woman poison hir husband she is burned aliue, if the seruant kill his master he is to be executed for petie treason, he that poisoneth a man is to be boiled to death in water or lead, although the partie die not of the practise: in cases of murther all the accessaries are to suffer paines of death accordinglie. Periurie is punished by the pillorie, burning in the forehead with the letter P, the reuealing of the trées growing vpon the grounds of the offendors and losse of all his moueables. Manie trespasses also are punished by the cutting of one or both eares from the head of the offendor, as the vtterance of seditious words against the magistrates, fraimakers, petie robbers, &c. Rogers are burned through the eares, carters of sheepe out of the land by the losse of their hands, such as kill by poison are either boiled or skalded to death in lead or seething water. Heretikes are burned quicke, harlots and their mates by carting, ducking, and doing of open penance in sheets, in churches and market steds are often put to rebuke. Howbeit as this is counted with some either as no punishment at all to speake of, or but smallie regarded of the offendors, so I would wish adulterie and fornication to haue some sharper law. For what great smart is it to be turned out of an hot sheet into a cold, or after a little washing in the water to be let lose againe vnto their former trades? Howbeit the dragging of some of them ouer the Thames betweene Lambeth and Westminster at the taile of a boat, is a punishment that most terrifieth them which are condemned thereto; but this is inflicted vpon them by none other than the knight marshall, and that within the compasse of his iurisdiction & limits onelie. Canutus was the first that gaue authoritie to the cleargie to punish whoredome, who at that time found fault with the former lawes as being too seuere in this behalfe. For before the time of the said Canutus, the adulterer forfeited all his goods to the king, and his bodie to be at his pleasure; and the adulteresse was to lose hir eies or nose, or both, if the case were more than common: whereby it appéreth of what estimation mariage was amongst them, sith the breakers of that holie estate were so grieuouslie rewarded. But afterward the cleargie dealt more fauourablie with them, shewting rather at the punishments of such priests and clearkes as were maried, than the reformation of adulterie and fornication, wherein you shall find no example that anie seueritie was shewed, except vpon such late men as had defiled their nuns. As in theft therfore so in adulterie and whoredome I would wish the parties trespassant, to be made bond or slaues vnto those that receiued the iniurie, to sell and giue where they listed, or to be condemned to the gallies: for that punishment would proue more bitter to them than halfe an houres hanging, or than standing in a sheet, though the weather be neuer so cold.

Manslaughter in time past was punished by the purse, wherin the quantitie or qualitie of the punishment was rated after the state and calling of the partie killed: so that one was valued sometime at 1200, another at 600, or 200 shillings. And by an estatute made vnder Henrie the first, a citizen of London at 100, whereof else-where I haue spoken more at large. Such as kill themselues are buried in the field with a stake driuen through their bodies.

Witches are hanged or sometimes burned, but théeues are hanged (as I said before) generallie on the gibbet or gallowes, sauing in Halifax where they are beheaded after a strange maner, and whereof I find this report. There is and hath bene of ancient time a law or rather a custome at Halifax, that who soeuer doth commit anie fellonie, and is taken with the same, or confesse the fact vpon examination: if it be valued by foure constables to amount to the sum of thirtéene pence halfe penie, he is forthwith beheaded vpon one of the next market daies (which fall vsuallie vpon the tuesdaies, thursdaies, & saturdaies) or else vpon the same daie that he is so conuicted, if market be then holden. The engine wherewith the execution is done, is a square blocke of wood of the length of foure fot and an halfe, which doth ride vp and downe in a slot, rabet, or regall betwéene two péeces of timber, that are framed and set vpright of fiue yardes in height. In the neather end of the sliding blocke is an ax keied or fastened with an iron into the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there fastned by a woodden pin (with a notch made into the same after the maner of a Samsons post) vnto the middest of which pin also there is a long rope fastened that commeth downe among the people, so that when the offendor hath made his confession, and hath laid his necke ouer the neathermost blocke, euerie man there present doth either take hold of the rope (or putteth forth his arme so neere to the same as he can get, in token that he is willing to sée true iustice executed) and pulling out the pin in this maner, the head blocke wherein the ax is fastened doth fall downe with such a violence, that if the necke of the transgressor were so big as that of a bull, it should be cut in sunder at a stroke, and roll from the bodis by an huge distance. If it be so that the offendor be apprehended for an ox, oxen, sheepe, kine, horsse, or anie such cattell: the selfe beast or other of the same kind shall haue the end of the rope tied somewhere vnto them, so that they being driuen do draw out the pin wherby the offendor is executed. Thus much of Halifax law, which I set downe onelie to shew the custome of that countrie in this behalfe.

Halifax law

Rogers and vagabonds are often stocked and whipped, scolds are ducked vpon cuckingstooles in the water. Such fellons as stand mute and speake not at their arraignement are pressed to death by huge weights laid vpon a bord, that lieth ouer their brest, and a sharpe stone vnder their backs, and these commonlie hold their peace, thereby to saue their goods vnto their wiues and children, which if they were condemned should be confiscated to the prince. Théeues that are saued by their bookes and cleargie, for the first

Mute.

Cleargie.

offense, if they haue stollen nothing else but oxen, sharpe, monie, or such like, which be no open robberies, as by the high waie side, or assailing of anie mans house in the night, without putting him in feare of his life, or breaking vp of his wals or doores, are burned in the left hand, vpon the brawne of the thombe with an hot iron, so that if they be apprehended againe, that marke bewraieth them to haue beene arraigned of felonie before, whereby they are sure at that time to haue no mercie. I doo not read that this custome of saving by the booke is vsed anie where else than in England, neither doo I find (after much diligent inquirie) what Saxon prince ordeined that lawe. Howbeit, this I generallie gather thereof, that it was deuised to traine the inhabiters of this land to the loue of learning, which before contemned letters and all good knowledge, as men onelie giuing themselues to husbandrie and the warres, the like whereof I read to haue beene amongst the Gothes and Vandals, who for a time would not suffer euen their princes to be lerned for weakening of their courages, nor anie learned men to remaine in the counsell house, but by open proclamation would command them to auoid, whensoeuer anie thing touching the state of the land was to be consulted vpon. Pirats and robbers by sea are condemned in the court of the admeraltie, and hanged on the shore at lowe water marke, where they are left till three tides haue ouerwashed them. Finallie, such as hauing wals and banks neere vnto the sea, and doo suffer the same to decaie (after conuenient admonition) whereby the water entereth and drowneth vp the countrie, are by a certeine ancient custome apprehended, condemned, and staked in the breach, where they remaine for euer as parcell of the foundation of the new wall that is to be made vpon them, as I haue heard reported.

Pirats.

And thus much in part of the administration of iustice vsed in our countrie, wherein notwithstanding that we doo not often heare of horrible, merciles, and wilfull murthers (such I meane as are not sildome seene in the countries of the maine) yet now and then some manslaughter and bloudie robberies are perpetrated and committed, contrarie to the lawes, which be seuerelie punished, and in such wise as I before reported. Certes there is no greater mischefe doone in England than by robberies, the first by young shifting gentlemen, which oftentimes doo beare more port than they are able to mainteine. Secondlie by seruingmen, whose wages cannot suffice so much as to find them breeches, wherfore they are now and then constreined either to keepe high waies, and breake into the wealthie mens houses with the first sort, or else to walke vp and downe in gentlemens and rich farmers pastures, there to see and view which horsses feed best, whereby they manie times get something, although with hard aduenture it hath beene knowne by their confession at the gallowes, that some one such chapman hath had fortie, fiftie, or sixtie stolne horsses at pasture here and there abroad in the countrie at a time, which they haue sold at faires and markets farre off, they themselues in the meane season being taken about home for honest yeomen, and verie wealthie drouers, till their dealings haue been bewraied. It is not long since one of this companie was apprehended, who was before time reputed for a verie honest and wealthie townesman, he vttered also more horsses than anie of his trade, because he sold a reasonable pennworth, and was a faire spoken man. It was his custome likewise to saie, if anie man hucked hard with him about the price of a gelding; So God helpe me gentleman or sir, either he did cost me so much, or else by Jesus I stole him. Which talke was plaine inough, and yet such was his estimation, that each beleeued the first part of his tale, and made no account of the later, which was the truer indeed.

Our third annoiers of the common-wealth are roges, which doo verie great mischefe in all places where they become. For whereas the rich onelie suffer iniurie by the first two, these spare neither rich nor poore: but whether it be great gaine or small, all is fish that commeth to net with them, and yet I saie both they and the rest are trussed vp apace. For there is not one yeare commonlie, wherein three hundred or foure hundred of them are not deuoured and eaten vp by the gallowes in one place and other. It appeareth by Cardane (who writeth it vpon the report of the bishop of Leronia) in the geniture of king Edward the first, how Henrie the eight, executing his lawes verie seuerelie against such idle persons, I meane great theeues, pettie theeues and roges, did hang vp three score and twelue thousand of them in his time. He seemed for a while greatlie to haue terrified the rest: but since his death the number of them is so increased, yea although we haue had no warres, which are a great occasion of their breed (for it is the custome of the more idle sort, hauing once serued or but seene the other side of the sea vnder colour of seruice to shake hand with labour, for euer, thinking it a disgrace for himselfe to returne vnto his former trade) that except some better order be taken, or the lawes alreadie made be better executed, such as dwell in vplandish townes and little villages shall liue but in small safetie and rest. For the better apprehension also of theeues and mankillers, there is an old law in England verie well prouided, whereby it is ordered, that if he that is robbed, or anie man complaine and giue warning of slaughter or murther committed, the constable of the village whereunto he commeth and crieth for succour, is to raise the parish about him, and to search woods, groues, and all suspected houses and places, where the trespasser may be, or is supposed to lurke; and not finding him there, he is to giue warning vnto the next constable, and so one constable after serch made to aduertise another from parish to parish, till they come to the same where the offendor is harbored and found. It is also prouided, that if anie parish in this businesse doo not hir dutie, but suffereth the theefe (for the auoiding of trouble sake) in carrieng him to the gaile, if he should be apprehended, or other letting of their worke, to escape the same parish, is not onlie to make fine to the king, but also the same with the whole hundred wherein it standeth, to repaie the partie robbed his damages, and leaue his estate harmlesse. Certes this is a good law, howbeit I haue knowne by mine owne experience, fellons being taken to haue escaped out of the stocks, being rescued by other for want of watch & gard, that theeues haue beene let passe, bicause the couetous and greedie parishoners would neither take the paines, nor be at the charge to carrie them to prison, if it were far off, that when hue and crie haue beene made euen to the faces of some constables, they haue said; God restore your losse, I haue other businesse at this time. And by such meanes the meaning of manie a good law is left vnexecuted, malefactors imboldened, and manie a poore man turned out of that which he hath swet and taken great paines for, toward the maintenance of himselfe and his poore children and familie.

Of

## Of the maner of building and *furniture of our houſes.*

Chap. 12.

THe greateſt part of our building in the cities and good townes of England conſiſteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houſes of the communaltie (except here & there in the Weſt countrie townes) are made of ſtone, although they may (in my opinion) in diuerſe other places be builded ſo good cheape of the one as of the other. In old time the houſes of the Britons were ſlightlie ſet vp with a few poſts & many radels, with ſtable and all offices vnder one roofe, the like whereof almoſt is to be ſéene in the fennie countries and northerne parts vnto this daie, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this ancient maner of building. It is not in vaine therefore in ſpeaking of building to make a diſtinction betweéne the plaine and wooddie ſoiles: for as in theſe, our houſes are commonlie ſtrong and well timbered, ſo that in manie places, there are not aboue foure, ſix, or nine inches betweéne ſtud and ſtud; ſo in the open and champaine countries they are inforced for want of ſtuffe to vſe no ſtuds at all, but onlie franke poſts, raiſins, beames, prickepoſts, groundſels, ſummers (or dormants) tranſoms, and ſuch principals, with here and there a girding, wherevnto they faſten their ſplints or radels, and then caſt it all ouer with thicke claie to kéepe out the wind, which otherwiſe would annoie them. Certes this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in quéene Maries daies to wonder, but cheéflie when they ſaw what large diet was vſed in manie of theſe ſo homelie cottages, in ſo much that one of no ſmall reputation amongſt them ſaid after this maner: Theſe Engliſh (quoth he) haue their houſes made of ſticks and durt, but they fare commonlie ſo well as the king. Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in ſuch courſe cabins, than of their owne thin diet in their princelike habitations and palaces. In like ſort as euerie countrie houſe is thus apparelled on the out ſide, ſo is it inwardlie diuided into ſundrie romes aboue and beneath; and where plentie of wood is, they couer them with tiles, otherwiſe with ſtraw, ſedge, or réed, except ſome quarrie of ſlate be néere hand, from whence they haue for their monie ſo much as may ſuffice them.

The claie wherewith our houſes are impanelled is either white, red, or blue, and of theſe the firſt doth participat verie much with the nature of our chalke, the ſecond is called lome, but the third eſtſoones changeth colour ſo ſone as it is wrought, notwithſtanding that it loke blue when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke alſo we haue our excellent Aſbeſtos or white lime, made in moſt places, wherewith being quenched we ſtrike ouer our claie workes and ſtone walls, in cities, good townes, rich farmers and gentlemens houſes: otherwiſe in ſtéed of chalke (where it wanteth for it is ſo ſcant that in ſome places it is ſold by the pound) they are compelled to burne a certeine kind of red ſtone, as in Wales, and elſe where other ſtones and ſhels of oiſters and like fiſh found vpon the ſea coaſt, which being conuerted into lime doth naturallie (as the other) abhorre and eſchew water whereby it is diſſolued, and neuertheleſſe deſire oile wherewith it is eaſilie mixed, as I haue ſéene by experience. Within their dores alſo ſuch as are of abilitie do oft make their flores and parget of fine alabaſter burned, which they call plaſter of Paris, whereof in ſome places we haue great plentie, and that verie profitable againſt the rage of fire.

In plaſtering likewiſe of our faireſt houſes ouer our heads, we vſe to laie firſt a laine or two of white morter tempered with haire vpon laths, which are nailed one by another (or ſometimes vpon reed or wickers more dangerous for fire, and made faſt here and there with ſaplaths for falling downe) and finallie couer all with the aforeſaid plaſter, which beſide the delectable whiteneſſe of the ſtuffe it ſelfe, is laied on ſo euen and ſmoothlie, as nothing in my iudgment can be done with more exactneſſe. The wals of our houſes on the inner ſides in like ſort be either hanged with tapiſſerie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherein either diuerſe hiſtories, or hearbes, beaſts, knots, and ſuch like are ſtained, or elſe they are ſeeled with oke of our owne, or wainſcot brought hither out of the eaſt countries, whereby the romes are not a little commended, made warme, and much more cloſe than otherwiſe they would be. As for ſtoues we haue not hitherto vſed them greatlie, yet do they now begin to be made in diuerſe houſes of the gentrie and wealthie citizens, who build them not to worke and féed in as in Germanie and elſe where, but now and then to ſweat in, as occaſion and néed ſhall require it. This alſo hath béene common in England, contrarie to the cuſtomes of all other nations, and yet to be ſéene (for example in moſt ſtréets of London) that many of our greateſt houſes haue outwardlie béene verie ſimple and plaine to ſight, which inwardlie haue bene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their eaſe. Hereby moreouer it is come to paſſe, that the fronts of our ſtréets haue not béene ſo vniforme and orderlie builded as thoſe of forreine cities, where (to ſaie truth) the vtterſide of their manſions and dwellings haue oft more coſt beſtowed vpon them, than all the reſt of the houſe, which are often verie ſimple and vneaſie within, as experience doth confirme. Of old time our countrie houſes in ſtéed of glaſſe did vſe much lattiſe and that made either of wicker or fine riffs of oke in chekerwiſe. I read alſo that ſome of the better ſort, in and before the times of the Saxons (who notwithſtanding vſed ſome glaſſe alſo ſince the time of Benedict Biſcop the monke that brought the feat of glaſing firſt into this land) did make panels of horne in ſtéed of glaſſe, & fir them in wodden calmes. But as horne in windowes is now quite laid downe in euerie place, ſo our lattiſes are alſo growne into leſſe vſe, bicauſe glaſſe is come to be ſo plentifull, and within a verie little ſo good cheape if not better than the other.

I find obſcure mention of the ſpecular ſtone alſo to haue béene found and applied to this vſe in England, but in ſuch doubtfull ſort as I dare not affirme it for certeine. Neuertheleſſe certeine it is that antiquitie vſed it before glaſſe was knowen, vnder the name of Selenites. And how glaſſe was firſt found I care not greatlie to remember euen at this preſent, although it be directlie beſide my purpoſed matter. In Syria phenices which boardereth vpon Iurie, & néere to the foot of mount Carmell there is a more or marris, wherout riſeth a broke called ſomtime Belus, and falleth into the ſea néere to Ptolemais. This riuer was fondlie aſcribed vnto Baall, and alſo honored vnder that name by the infidels, long time before there was anie king in Iſraell. It came to paſſe alſo as a certeine merchant ſailed that waie loden with Nitrum, the paſſengers went to land for to repoſe themſelues, and to take in ſome ſtore of freſh water into their veſſell. Being alſo on the ſhore they kindled a fire, and made prouiſion for their dinner, but bicauſe they wanted trewets or ſtones whereon

to set their kettels on, ran by chance into the ship, and brought great peeces of Nitrum with him, which serued their turne for that present. To be short, the said substance being hot, and beginning to melt, it mixed by chance with the grauell that laie vnder it; and so brought forth that shining substance which now is called glasse, and about the time of Semiramis. When the companie saw this, they made no small accompt of their successe, and forthwith began to practise the like in other mixtures, whereby great varietie of the said stuffe did also insue. Certes for the time this historie may well be true: for I read of glasse in Iob, but for the rest I refer me to the common opinion conceiued by writers. Now to turne againe to our windowes. Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noble men were often glased with Berill (an example whereof is yet to be seene in Sudleie castell) and in diuerse other places with fine christall, but this especiallie in the time of the Romans, whereof also some fragments haue beene taken vp in old ruines. But now these are not in vse, so that onelie the cleerest glasse is most estéemed: for we haue diuerse sorts, some brought out of Burgundie, some out of Normandie, much out of Flanders, beside that which is made in England, which would be so good as the best, if we were diligent and carefull to bestow more cost vpon it, and yet as it is, each one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreouer the mansion houses of our countrie townes and villages (which in champaine ground stand altogither by streets, & ioining one to an other, but in woodland soiles dispersed here and there, each one vpon the seuerall grounds of their owners) are builded in such sort generallie, as that they haue neither dairie, stable, nor brewhouse annexed vnto them vnder the same roofe (as in manie places beyond the sea & some of the north parts of our countrie) but all separate from the first, and one of them from an other. And yet for all this, they are not so farre distant in sunder, but that the goodman lieng in his bed may lightlie heare what is doone in each of them with ease, and call quicklie vnto his meinie if anie danger should attach him.

The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters haue beene and are worthilie preferred before those of like science among all other nations. Howbeit such as be latelie builded, are cõmonlie either of bricke or hard stone, or both; their rooms large and comelie, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with bricke and hard stone, as prouision may best be made: but so magnificent and statelie, as the basest house of a baron doth often match in our daies with some honours of princes in old time. So that if euer curious building did florish in England, it is in these our yeares, wherin our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in skill with old Vitruuius, Leo Baptista, and Serlo. Neuertheless, their estimation more than their greedie and seruile couetousnesse, ioined with a lingering humour causeth them often to be reiected, & strangers preferred to greater bargaines, who are more reasonable in their takings, and lesse wasters of time by a great deale than our owne.

The furniture of our houses also exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to passing delicacie: and herein I doo not speake of the nobilitie and gentrie onelie, but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our south countrie, that haue anie thing at all to take to. Certes in noble mens houses it is not rare to see abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapistrie, siluer vessell, and so much other plate, as may furnish sundrie cupbords, to the summe oftentimes of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least: whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuffe doth grow to be almost inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, marchantmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not geson to behold generallie their great prouision of tapistrie, Turkie worke, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and thereto costlie cupbords of plate, worth fiue or six hundred or a thousand pounds, to be deemed by estimation. But as herein all these sorts do far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatnesse and curiositie, the merchant all other; so in time past, the costlie furniture staied there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old and not of their new leases haue for the most part learned also to garnish their cupbords with plate, their ioined beds with tapistrie and silke hangings, and their tables with carpets & fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie (God be praised therefore, and giue vs grace to imploie it well) doth infinitelie appeare. Neither doo I speake this in reproch of anie man, God is my iudge, but to shew that I do reioise rather, to see how God hath blessed vs with his good gifts; and whilest I behold how that in a time wherein all things are growen to most excessiue prices, & what commoditie so euer is to be had, is dailie plucked from the communaltie by such as looke into euerie trade, we doo yet find the means to obtein & atchiue such furniture as heretofore hath beene vnpossible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted three things to be marueilouslie altred in England within their sound remembrance; & other three things too too much increased. One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, whereas in their youngdaies there were not aboue two or three, if so manie in most vplandish townes of the realme (the religious houses, & manour places of their lords alwaies excepted, and peraduenture some great personages) but ech one made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.

Three things greatlie amended in England.

Chimnies.

The second is the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for (said they) our fathers (yea and we our selues also) haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets, on rough mats couered onelie with a sheet vnder couerlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I vse their owne termes) and a good round log vnder their heads in stead of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had within seuen yeares after his mariage purchased a matteres or flockebed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head vpon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peraduenture laie seldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers; so well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture: which also is not verie much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southerne parts. Pillowes (said they) were thought meet onelie for women in childbed. As for seruants, if they had anie sheet aboue them it was well, for seldome had they anie vnder their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking straws that ran off through the canuas of the pallet, and raised their hardened hides.

Hard lodging.

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of vessell, as of treene platters into pewter, and woodden spoones into siluer or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene stuffe in old time, that a man should hardlie find foure peeces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a salt) in a good farmers house, and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may so be iustlie called) they were scarse able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without selling of a cow, or an horsse, or more, although they paid but foure pounds at the vttermost

Furniture of houshold.

This was in the time of generall idlenesse.

moſt by the yeare. Such alſo was their pouertie, that if ſome one od farmer or husbandman had bëene at the alehouſe, a thing greatlie vſed in thoſe daies, amongſt ſix or ſeuen of his neighbours, and there in a brauerie to ſhew what ſtore he had, did caſt downe his purſſe, and therein a noble or ſix ſhillings in ſiluer vnto them (for few ſuch men then cared for gold bicauſe it was not ſo readie paiment, and they were oft inforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angell) it was verie likelie that all the reſt could not laie downe ſo much againſt it: whereas in my time, although peraduenture foure pounds of old rent be improued to fortie, fiftie, or an hundred pounds, yet will the farmer as another palme or date trée thinke his gaines verie ſmall toward the end of his terme, if he haue not ſix or ſeuen yeares rent lieng by him, therewith to purchaſe a new leaſe, beſide a faire garniſh of pewter on his cupbord, with ſo much more in od veſſell going about the houſe, three or foure featherbeds, ſo manie couerlids and carpets of tapiſtrie, a ſilver ſalt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neaſt) and a dozzen of ſpoones to furniſh vp the ſute. This alſo he taketh to be his owne cléere, for what ſtocke of monie ſoeuer he gathereth & laieth vp in all his yeares, it is often ſéene, that the landlord will take ſuch order with him for the ſame, when he renueth his leaſe, which is commonlie eight or ſix yeares before the old be expired (ſith it is now growen almoſt to a cuſtome, that if he come not to his lord ſo long before, another ſhall ſtep in for a reuerſion, and ſo defeat him out right) that it ſhall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath waſhed and ſhauen it from his chin. And as they commend theſe, ſo (beſide the decaie of houſekéeping whereby the poore haue bëene relieued) they ſpeake alſo of three things that are growen to be verie grieuous vnto them, to wit, the inhanſing of rents, latelie mentioned; the dailie oppreſſion of copiholders, whoſe lords ſéeke to bring their poore tenants almoſt into plaine ſeruitude and miſerie, daſlie deuiſing new meanes, and ſéeking vp all the old how to cut them ſhorter and ſhorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then ſeuen times increaſing their fines, driuing them alſo for euerie trifle to loſe and forfeit their tenures (by whome the greateſt part of the realme doth ſtand and is mainteined) to the end they may fléece them yet more, which is a lamentable hering. The third thing they talke of is vſurie, a trade brought in by the Iewes, now perfectlie practiſed almoſt by euerie chriſtian, and ſo commonlie that he is accompted but for a fole that doth lend his monie for nothing. In time paſt it was *Sors pro ſorte*, that is, the principall onelie for the principall; but now beſide that which is aboue the principall properlie called *Vſura*, we chalenge *Fœnus*, that is commoditie of ſoile, & fruits of the earth, if not the ground it ſelfe. In time paſt alſo one of the hundred was much, from thence it roſe vnto two, called in Latine *Vſura, Ex ſextante*; three, to wit *Ex quadrante*; then to foure, to wit *Ex triente*; then to fiue, which is *Ex quincunce*; then to ſix, called *Ex ſemiſſe*, &c: as the accompt of the *Aſſis* ariſeth, and comming at the laſt vnto *Vſura ex aſſe*, it amounteth to twelue in the hundred, and therefore the Latines call it *Centeſima*, for that in the hundred moneth it doubleth the principall; but more of this elſewhere. See Cicero againſt Verres, Demoſthenes againſt Aphobus, and Athenæus *lib.* 13. *in fine*: and when thou haſt read them well, helpe I praie thée in lawfull maner to hang vp ſuch as take *Centũ pro cento*, for they are no better worthie as I doo iudge in conſcience. Forget not alſo ſuch landlords as vſe to value their leaſes at a ſecret eſtimation giuen of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they ſeeme (as it were) to eat them vp and deale with bondmen, ſo that if the leaſſée be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he ſhall paie no leſſe for his new terme, or elſe another to enter with hard and doubtfull couenants. I am ſorie to report it, much more grëeued to vnderſtand of the practiſe; but moſt ſorowfull of all to vnderſtand that men of great port and countenance are ſo farre from ſuffering their farmers to haue anie gaine at all, that they themſelues become graſiers, butchers, tanners, ſhéepmaſters, woodmen, and *denique quid non*, thereby to inrich themſelues, and bring all the wealth of the countrie into their owne hands, leauing the communaltie weake, or as an idoll with broken or fëeble armes, which may in a time of peace haue a plauſible ſhew, but when neceſſitie ſhall inforce, haue an heauie and bitter ſequele.

By the yeare.

## Of cities and townes in *England*.

### Cap. 13.

Six and twentie cities in England.

AS in old time we read that there were eight and twentie flamines and archflamines in the ſouth part of this Ile, and ſo manie great cities vnder their iuriſdiction: ſo in theſe our daies there is but one or two fewer, and each of them alſo vnder the eccleſiaſticall regiment of ſome one biſhop or archbiſhop, who in ſpirituall caſes haue the charge and ouerſight of the ſame. So manie cities therefore are there in England and Wales, as there be biſhoprikes & archbiſhoprikes. For notwithſtanding that Lichfield and Couentrie, and Bath and Welles, do ſéeme to extend the aforeſaid number vnto nine and twentie: yet neither of theſe couples are to be accounted, but as one entier citie and ſée of the biſhop, ſith one biſhoprike can haue relation but vnto one ſée, and the ſaid ſée be ſituate but in one place, after which the biſhop doth take his name. It appeareth by our old and ancient hiſtories, that the cities of this ſoutherlie portion haue bëene of exceëding greatneſſe and beautie, whereof ſome were builded in the time of the Samotheans, and of which not a few in theſe our times are quite decaied, and the places where they ſtood worne out of all remembrance. Such alſo for the moſt part as yet remaine are marueilouſlie altered, inſomuch that whereas at the firſt they were large and ample, now are they come either vnto a verie few houſes, or appeare not to be much greater in compariſon than poore & ſimple villages. Antoninus the moſt diligent writer of the thorough fares of Britaine, noteth among other theſe ancient townes following, as Sitomagus, which he placeth in the waie from Norwich, as Leland ſuppoſeth (wherin they went by Colcheſter) to London, Nouiomagus that lieth betwëene Carleill and Canturburie, within ten miles eaſt of London, and likewiſe Neomagus and Niomagus which take their names of their firſt founder Magus, the ſonne of Samothes, & ſecond king of the Celtes that reigned in this Iland; and not *A profunditate*, onelie, as Bodinus affirmeth out of Plinie, as if all the townes that ended in Magus ſhould ſtand in holes and low grounds: which is to be diſproued in diuerſe cities in the maine, as alſo here with vs. Of theſe moreouer ſir Thomas Eliot ſuppoſeth Neomagus to haue ſtood ſomewhere about Cheſter; & George Lillie in his booke of the names of ancient places, iudgeth Niomagus to be the verie ſame that we do now call Buckingham, and lieth farre from the ſhore. And as theſe and ſundrie other now periſhed tooke their denomination of this prince, ſo there

Sitomagus.
Nouiomagus.
Neomagus
Niomagus.

are

are diuerse causes, which moue me to coniecture, that Salisburie doth rather take the first name of Sarron the sonne of the said Magus, than of Cæsar, Caradoc or Seuerus (as some of our writers do imagine) or else at the least wise of Salisburge of the maine, from whence some Sarons came to inhabit in this land. And for this later not vnlikelie, sith before the comming of the Sarons, the king of the Suessionenses had a great part of this Iland in subiection, as Cæsar saith; and in another place that such of Belgie as stale ouer hither from the maine, builded and called diuerse cities after the names of the same from whence they came, I meane such as stood vpon the coast, as he himselfe doth witnesse. But sith coniectures are no verities, and mine opinion is but one mans iudgement, I will not stand now vpon the proofe of this matter, least I should seeme to take great paines in adding new coniectures vnto old, in such wise to deteine the heads of my readers about these trifles, that otherwise peraduenture would be farre better occupied in matters of more importance. To proceed therefore. As some after the first inhabitation of this Iland, our cities began no doubt to be builded and increased, so they ceased not to multiplie from time to time, till the land was throughlie furnished with hir conuenient numbers, whereof some at this present with their ancient names, do still remaine in knowledge, though diuerse be doubted of, and manie more perished by continuance of time, and violence of the enimie. I doubt not also but the least of these were comparable to the greatest of those which stand in our time, for sith that in those daies the most part of the Iland was reserued vnto pasture, the townes and villages either were not at all (but all sorts of people dwelled in the cities indifferentlie, an image of which estate may yet be seene in Spaine) or at the lest wise stood not so thicke, as they did afterward in the time of the Romans, but chéefelie after the comming of the Sarons, and after them the Normans, when euerie lord builded a church neare vnto his owne mansion house, and thereto imparted the greatest portion of his lands vnto sundrie tenants, to hold the same of him by coppie of court roll, which rolles were then kept in some especiall place indifferentlie appointed by them and their lord, so that the one could haue no resort vnto them without the other, by which means the number of townes and villages was not a little increased. If anie man be desirous to know the names of those ancient cities, that stood in the time of the Romans, he shall haue them here at hand, in such wise as I haue gathered them out of our writers, obseruing euen their manner of writing of them so neare as to me is possible, without alteration of anie corruption crept vp into the same.

Salisburie of Sarron.

Sarronium. Sarrons burg.

Greater cities in times past when husbandmen also were citizens.

The cause of the increase of villages.

1. London otherwise called
- Trenouanton.
- Cair Lud.
- Londinum or Longidinium.
- Augusta of the legion Augusta that soiourned there, when the Romans ruled here.

2 Yorke otherwise called
- Cairbranke.
- Vrouicum or Yurewijc.
- Eorwijc or Eoforwijc.
- Yeworwijc.
- Eboracum.
- Victoria of the legion victrix that laie there sometime.

Leouitius placeth yorke in Scotland de eclipsibus.

A legion conteined sixtie centuries, thirtie manipuli, three cohortes.

3 Canturburie
- Duroruerno *alias* Duraruenno.
- Dorobernia.
- Cantwarbirie.

4 Colchester
- Cair Colon.
- Cair Colden.
- Cair Colkin of Coilus.
- Cair Colun, of the riuer that runneth thereby.
- Colonia, of the colonie planted there by the Romans. (Plin. lib. 2. ca. 75.)
- Coloncester. (Tacitus.)
- Camulodunum. (Ptolome.)

5 Lincolne
- Cair Lud Coit, of the woods that stood about it.
- Cair Loichoit, by corruption.
- Lindum.
- Lindocollinum.

6 Warwijc had sometime 9 parish churches.
- Cair Guttelin.
- Cair Line or Cair Leon.
- Cair Gwair.
- Cair Vmber.
- Cair Gwaerton.

7 Chester vpon Vske was a famous vniuersitie in the time of Arthur.
- Cair legion.
- Carlheon.
- Cairlium.
- Legecester.
- Ciuitas legionum.

8 Carleill
- Cair Lueill.
- Cair Leill.
- Lugibalia.
- Cair Doill.

9 S. Albanes
- Cair Maricipit.
- Cair Municip.
- Verolamium.
- Verlamcester.
- Cair Wattelin, of the street wheron it stood.

10 Winchester.
- Cair Gwent.
- Cair Gwin.
- Cair Wine.
- Venta Simenorum.

11 Ciscester.
- Cair Churne.
- Cair Kyrne.
- Cair Kery.
- Cair Cery.
- Cirnecester.
- Churnecester.

12 Silcester.
- Cair Segent.
- Selecester.

Cair Segent stood vpon the Thames, not farre from Reding.

13 Bath.
- Cair Badon.
- Thermæ.
- Aquæ solis.

14 Shaftesbyry
- Cair Paladour.
- Septonia.

15 Worcester.
- Wigornia.
- Cair Gworangon.
- Brangonia.
- Cair Frangon.
- Woorkecester.

16 Chichester.
- Cair Key or Kair Kis.
- Cair Chic.

17 Bristow
- Cair Oder nant Badon.
- Oder.
- Cair Bren.
- Venta Belgarum.
- Brightstow.

18 Rochester.

18 Rocheſt. Durobreuis, corruptlie Rofceſter. Roffa. — Durobrouis. Dubobrus. Durobrius.

19 Portcheſter. Cair Peris. Cair Poreis.

20 Cairmarden. Cair Maridunum. Cair Merdine. Maridunum. Cair Marlin. Cair Fridhin.

21 Gloceſter. Cair Clowy. Cair Glow. Claudiocestria.

22 Leirceſter. Cair Beir. Cair Leir. Cair Lirion. Wirall, teſte. Matth. Weſt. 895.

23 Cambridge. Grantabric. Cair Graunt.

24 Cair Vrnach, peraduenture Burgh caſtell.

25 Cair Cucurat.

* 26 Cair Draiton, now a ſlender village.

27 Cair Celennon.

28 Cair Megwaid.

As for Cair Dorme (another whereof I read likewiſe) it ſtood ſomewhere vpon the Nene in Huntingdon ſhire, but now vnknowne, ſith it was twiſe raced to the ground, firſt by the Saxons, then by the Danes, ſo that the ruines thereof are in theſe daies not extant to be ſéene. And in like ſort I am ignorant where moſt of them ſtood, that are noted with the ſtar. I find in like ſort mention of a noble citie called Alcluid ouer and beſide theſe afore mentioned, ſometime builded by Ebracus of Britaine; as the fame goeth, and finallie deſtroied by the Danes, about the yeare of Grace 870. It ſtood vpon the banks of the riuer Cluda, to wit, betwéene it and the blanke on the north, and the Lound lake on the weſt, and was ſometime march betwéene the Britons and the Picts, and likewiſe the Picts and the Scots; neuertheleſſe, the caſtell (as I heare) doth yet remaine, and hath béene ſince well repared by the Scots, and called Dombrittain or Dunbritton, ſo that it is not an hard matter by theſe few words to find where Alcluid ſtood. I could here, if leiſure ſerued, and haſt of the printer not require diſpatch, deliuer the ancient names of ſundrie other townes, of which Stafford in time paſt was called Stadtford, and therfore (as I geſſe) builded or the name altered by the Saxons, Kinebanton now Kimbalton. But if anie man be deſirous to ſée more of them, let him reſort to Houeden in the life of Henrie the ſecond, and there he ſhall be farther ſatisfied of his deſire in this behalfe.

when Albane was martyred Aſclepiodotus was legat in Britaine.

It ſhould ſéeme when theſe ancient cities flouriſhed, that the ſame towne, which we now call ſaint Albons, did moſt of all excell: but chéefelie in the Romans time, and was not onelie nothing inferior to London it ſelfe, but rather preferred before it, becauſe it was newer, and made a Municipium of the Romans, whereas the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited onelie by the Britons, as the moſt part of the Iland was alſo in thoſe daies. Good notice hereof alſo is to be taken by Matthew Paris, and others before him, out of whoſe writings I haue thought good to note a few things, whereby the maieſtie of this ancient citie may appeare vnto poſteritie, and the former eſtate of Verlamceſter not lie altogither (as it hath done hitherto) raked vp in forgetfulnes, through the negligence of ſuch as might haue deſerued better of their ſucceſſours, by leauing the deſcription thereof in a booke by it ſelfe, ſith manie particulars thereof were written to their hands, that now are loſt and periſhed. Tacitus in the fourteenth booke of his hiſtorie maketh mention of it, ſhewing that in the rebellion of the Britons, the Romans there were miſerablie diſtreſſed, *Eadem clades* (ſaith he) *municipio Verolamio fuit*. And herevpon Nennius in his catalog of cities calleth it Cair municip, as I before haue noted. Ptolome ſpeaking of it, doth place it among the Catyeuchlanes, but Antoninus maketh it one and twentie Italian miles from London, placing Sullomaca nine mile from thence, whereby it is euident, that Sullomaca ſtood nére to Barnet, if it were not the verie ſame. Of the old compaſſe of the walles of Verolamium there is now ſmall knowledge to be had by the ruines, but of the beautie of the citie it ſelfe you ſhall partlie vnderſtand by that which followeth at hand, after I haue told you for your better intelligence what *Municipium Romanorum* is: for there is great difference betweene that and *Colonia Romanorum*, ſith *Colonia aliò traducitur a ciuitate Roma*, but *Municipes aliunde in ciuitatem veniunt, ſuisq; iuribus & legibus viuunt*: moreouer their ſoile is not changed into the nature of the Romane, but they liue in the ſtedfaſt frendſhip and protection of the Romans, as did ſomtime the Ceretes who were the firſt people which euer obteined that priuilege. The Britiſh Verolamians therefore, hauing for their noble ſeruice in the warres deſerued great commendations at the hands of the Romans, they gaue vnto them the whole frédome of Romans, whereby they were made *Municipes*, and became more frée in truth than their *Colonies* could be. To conclude therefore, *Municipium* is a citie infranchiſed and indued with Romane priuileges, without anie alteration of hir former inhabitants or priuileges; whereas a *Colonie* is a companie ſent from Rome into anie other region or prouince, to poſſeſſe either a citie newlie builded, or to repleniſh the ſame from whence hir former citizens haue béene expelled and driuen out. Now to proceed.

Sullomaca and Barnet all one, or not far in ſunder.

In the time of king Edgar it fell out, that one Eldred was abbat there; who being deſirous to inlarge that houſe, it came into his mind to ſearch about in the ruines of Verolamium (which now was ouerthrowne by the furie of the Saxons & Danes) to ſée if he might there come by anie curious peeces of worke, wherewith to garniſh his building taken in hand. To be ſhort, he had no ſooner begun to dig among the rubbiſh, but he found an exceeding number of pillers, péeces of antike worke, threſholds, doore frames, and ſundrie other peeces of fine maſonrie for windowes and ſuch like, verie conuenient for his purpoſe. Of theſe alſo ſome were of porphyrite ſtone, ſome of diuerſe kinds of marble, touch, and alabaſter, beſide manie curious deuiſes of hard mettall, in finding whereof he thought himſelfe an happie man, and his ſucceſſe to be greatlie guided by S. Albane. Beſides theſe alſo he found ſundrie pillers of braſſe, and ſockets of latton, alabaſter and touch, all which he laid aſide by great heaps, determining in the end (I ſaie) to laie the foundation of a new abbaie, but God ſo preuented his determination, that death tooke him awaie, before his building was begun. After him ſucceeded one Eadmerus, who followed the doings of Eldred to the vttermoſt: and therefore not onlie peruſed what he had left with great diligence, but alſo cauſed his pioners to ſearch

yet further, within the old walles of Verolamium, where they not onelie found infinite other pæces of excellent workemanship, but came at the last to certeine vaults vnder the ground, in which stood diuers idols, and not a few altars, verie superstitiouslie and religiouslie adorned, as the pagans left them belike in time of necessitie. These images were of sundrie mettals, and some of pure gold, their altars likewise were richlie couered, all which ornaments Edmerus toke awaie, and not onelie conuerted them to other vse in his building, but also destroied an innumerable sort of other idols, whose estimation consisted in their formes, and substances could do no seruice. He toke vp also sundrie curious pots, iugs, and cruses of stone and wood most artificiallie wrought and carued, and that in such quantitie, besides infinite store of fine houshold stuffe, as if the whole furniture of the citie had béene brought thither of purpose to be hidden in those vaults. In proceeding further, he toke vp diuerse pots of gold, siluer, brasse, glasse and earth, whereof some were filled with the ashes and bones of the gentils, the mouths being turned downewards (the like of which, but of finer earth, were found in great numbers also of late in a well at little Wallingham in Norffolke, of six or eight gallons a pæce, about the yeare 1578, and also in the time of Henrie the eight) and not a few with the coines of the old Britons and Romane emperours. All which vessels the said abbat brake into pæces, and melting the mettall, he reserued it in like sort for the garnishing of his church.

He found likewise in a stone wall two old bookes, whereof one conteined the rites of the gentils, about the sacrifices of their gods, the other (as they now saie) the martyrdome of saint Albane, both of them written in old British letters, which either bicause no man then liuing could read them, or for that they were not worth the keeping, were both consumed to ashes, sauing that a few notes were first taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much haue I thought good to note of the former beautie of Verolamium, whereof infinite other tokens haue béene found since that time, and diuerse within the memorie of man, of passing workemanship, the like whereof hath no where else béene séene in anie ruines within the compasse of this Ile, either for cost or quantitie of stuffe.

This sounded like a lie.

Furthermore, whereas manie are not afraid to saie that the Thames came sometimes by this citie, indeed it is nothing so; but that the Uerlume (afterward called Uere and the Pure) did and doth so still (whatsoeuer Gildas talketh hereof, whose bookes may be corrupted in that behalfe) there is yet euident proofe to be confirmed by experience. For albeit that the riuer be now growne to be verie small by reason of the ground about it, which is higher than it was in old time; yet it keepeth in maner the old course, and runneth betweene the old citie that was, and the new towne that is standing on Holmehirst crag, as I beheld of late. Those places also which now are meadow beneath the abbaie, were sometimes a great lake, mere, or poole, through which the said riuer ran, and (as I read) with a verie swift and violent course, whereas at this present it is verie slow, and of no such deapth as of ancient times it hath béene. But heare what mine author saith further of the same. As those aforesaid workemen digged in these ruines, they happened oftentimes vpon Lempet shels, pæces of rustie anchors, and kéeles of great vessels, whereupon some by and by gathered that either the Thames or some arme of the sea did beat vpon that towne, not vnderstanding that these things might aswell happen in great lakes and meres, whereof there was one adioining to the north side of the citie, which laie then (as some men thinke) vnwalled, but that also is false. For being there vpon occasion this summer passed, I saw some remnant of the old wals standing in that place, which appeared to haue béene verie substantiallie builded; the ruines likewise of a greater part of them are to be séene running along by the old chappell hard by in maner of a banke. Whereby it is euident that the new towne standeth cleane without the limits of the old, and that the bridge whereof the historie of S. Albane speaketh, was at the nether end of Halliwell street or there about, for so the view of the place doth inforce me to coniecture. This mere (which the Latine copie of the description of Britaine, written of late by Humfrey Lhoid our countrie man calleth corruptlie *Stagnum enaximum* for *Stagnum maximum*) at the first belonged to the king, and thereby Offa in his time did reape no small commoditie. It continued also vntill the time of Alfrye the seuenth abbat of that house, who bought it outright of the king then liuing, and by excessiue charges drained it so narrowlie, that within a while he left it drie (sauing that he reserued a chanell for the riuer to haue hir vsuall course, which he held vp with high bankes) bicause there was alwaies contention betweene the monks and the kings seruants, which fished on that water vnto the kings behoofe.

In these daies therefore remaineth no maner mention of this poole, but onelie in one street, which yet is called Fishpoole street, wherof this may suffice for the resolution of such men, as séeke rather to yéeld to an inconuenience, than that their Gildas should séeme to mistake this riuer.

Hauing thus digressed to giue some remembrance of the old estate of Verolamium, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpose. Certes I would gladlie set downe with the names and number of the cities, all the townes and villages in England and Wales, with their true longitudes and latitudes, but as yet I cannot come by them in such order as I would: howbeit the tale of our cities is soone found by the bishoprikes, sith euerie sée hath such prerogatiue giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie, & to vse *Regale* within hir owne limits. Which priuilege also is granted to sundrie ancient townes in England, especiallie northward, where more plentie of them is to be found by a great deale than in the south. The names therefore of our cities are these:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| London. | Worcester. | Chester. |
| Yorke. | Gloucester. | Chichester. |
| Canturburie. | Hereford. | Oxford. |
| Winchester. | Salisburie. | Peterborow. |
| Cairleill. | Exceter. | Landaffe. |
| Durham. | Bath. | S. Dauids. |
| Elie. | Lichfield. | Bangor. |
| Norwich. | Bristow. | S. Asaph. |
| Lincolne. | Rochester. | |

Whose particular plots and models with their descriptions shall insue, if it may be brought to passe, that the cutters can make dispatch of them before this chronologie be published. Of townes and villages likewise thus much will I saie, that there were greater store in old time (I meane within three or foure hundred yeare passed) than at this present. And this I note out of diuerse records, charters, and donations (made in times past vnto sundrie religious houses, as Glastenburie, Abbandon, Ramsete, Elie, and such like) and whereof in these daies I find not so much as the ruines. Leland in sundrie places complaineth likewise of the decaie of parishes in great cities and townes, missing in some six, or eight, or twelue churches and more, of all which he giueth particular notice. For albeit that the Saxons builded manie townes and villages, and the Normans well

more

more at their first comming, yet since the first two hundred yeares after the latter conquest, they haue gone so fast againe to decaie, that the ancient number of them is verie much abated. Ranulph the monke of Chester telleth of generall surueie made in the fourth, sirtéenth, & nineteenth of the reigne of William Conqueror, surnamed the Bastard, wherein it was found, that (notwithstanding the Danes had ouerthrowne a great manie) there were to the number of 52000 townes, 45002 parish churches, and 75000 knights fées, whereof the cleargie held 28015. He addeth moreouer that there were diuerse other builded since that time, within the space of an hundred yeares after the comming of the Bastard, as it were in lieu or recompense of those that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his new forrest. For by an old booke which I haue, and sometime written as it seemeth by an vndershiriffe of Nottingham, I find, euen in the time of Edw. 4. 45120 parish churches, and but 60216 knights fées, whereof the cleargie held as before 28015, or at the least 28000: for so small is the difference which he doth séeme to vse. Howbeit if the assertions of such as write in our time concerning this matter, either are or ought to be of anie credit in this behalfe, you shall not find aboue 17000 townes and villages, and 9210 in the whole, which is little more than a fourth part of the aforesaid number, if it be throughlie scanned.

Certes this misfortune hath not onelie happened vnto our Ile & nation, but vnto most of the famous countries of the world heretofore, and all by the grédie desire of such as would liue alone and onelie to themselues. And hereof we may take example in Candie of old time called Creta, which (as Homer writeth) was called Hetacompolis, because it conteined an hundred cities, but now it is so vnfurnished that it may hardlie be called Tripolis. Diodorus Siculus saith, that Aegypt had once 18000 cities, which so decated in processe of time, that when Ptolomeus Lagus reigned, there were not aboue 3000: but in our dates both in all Asia & Aegypt this lesser number shall not verie readilie be found. In time past in Lincolne (as the fame goeth) there haue beene two and fiftie parish churches, and good record appeareth for eight and thirtie: but now if there be foure and twentie it is all. This inconuenience hath growen altogither to the church by appropriations made vnto monasteries and religious houses, a terrible canker and enimie to religion.

But to leaue this lamentable discourse of so notable and grieuous an inconuenience, growing (as I said) by incroching and ioining of house to house, and laieng land to land, whereby the inhabitants of manie places of our countrie are deuoured and eaten vp, and their houses either altogither pulled downe or suffered to decaie by litle and litle, although sometime a poore man peraduenture doth dwell in one of them, who not being able to repare it, suffereth it to fall downe, & thereto thinketh himselfe verie friendlie dealt withall, if he may haue an acre of ground assigned vnto him whereon to kéepe a cow, or wherein to set cabbages, radishes, parsneps, carrets, melons, pompons, or such like stuffe, by which he and his poore household liueth as by their principall food, sith they can doo no better. And as for wheaten bread, they eat it when they can reach vnto the price of it, contenting themselues in the meane time with bread made of otes or barleie: a poore estate God wot! Howbeit what care our great incrochers? But in diuers places where rich men dwelled sometime in good tenements, there be now no houses at all, but hoppards, and sheads for poles, or peraduenture gardens, as we may see in castell Hedingham, and diuerse other places. But to proceed.

It is so, that our soils being diuided into champaine ground and woodland, the houses of the first lie vniformlie builded in euerie towne togither with stréets and lanes, whereas in the woodland countries (except here and there in great market townes) they stand scattered abroad, each one dwelling in the midst of his owne occupieng. And as in manie and most great market townes, there are commonlie thrée hundred or foure hundred families or mansions, & two thousand communicants, or peraduenture more: so in the other, whether they be woodland or champains, we find not often aboue fortie, fiftie, or thrée score households, and two or thrée hundred communicants, whereof the greatest part neuertheless are verie poore folkes, oftentimes without all maner of occupieng, sith the ground of the parish is gotten vp into a few mens hands, yea sometimes into the tenure of one, two or thrée, whereby the rest are compelled either to be hired seruants vnto the other, or else to beg their bread in miserie from doore to doore.

There are some (saith Leland) which are not so fauourable when they haue gotten such lands, as to let the houses remaine vpon them to the vse of the poore; but they will compound with the lord of the soile to pull them downe for altogither, saieng that if they did let them stand, they should but toll beggers to the towne, thereby to surcharge the rest of the parish, & laie more burden vpon them. But alas these pitifull men sée not that they themselues hereby do laie the greatest log vpon their neighbors necks. For sith the prince doth commonlie lose nothing of his duties accustomable to be paid, the rest of the parishioners that remaine must answer and beare them out: for they plead more charge other waies, saieng; I am charged alreadie with a light horsse, I am to answer in this sort and after that maner. And it is not yet altogither out of knowledge, that where the king had seuen pounds thirteene shillings at a taske gathered of fiftie wealthie householders of a parish in England: now a gentleman hauing thrée parts of the towne in his owne hands, foure households do beare all the aforesaid paiment, or else Leland is deceiued in his Commentaries lib. 13. latelie come to my hands, which thing he especiallie noted in his trauell ouer this Ile. A common plague & enormitie, both in the hart of the land and likewise vpon the coasts. Certes a great number complaine of the increase of pouertie, laieng the cause vpon God, as though he were in fault for sending such increase of people, or want of wars that should consume them, affirming that the land was neuer so full, &c: but few men do sée the verie root from whence it doth proceed. Yet the Romans found it out, when they florished, and therefore prescribed limits to euerie mans tenure and occupieng. Homer commendeth Achilles for ouerthrowing of fiue and twentie cities: but in mine opinion Ganges is much better preferred by Suidas for building of thrée score in Inde, where he did plant himselfe. I could (if néed required) set downe in this place the number of religious houses and monasteries, with the names of their founders that haue béene in this Iland: but sith it is a thing of small importance, I passe it ouer as impertinent to my purpose. Yet herein I will commend sundrie of the monasticall votaries, especiallie monkes, for that they were authors of manie goodlie borowes and endwares, nére vnto their dwellings, although otherwise they pretended to be men separated from the world. But alas their couetous minds one waie in inlarging their reuenues, and carnall intent an other, appéered herin too too much. For being hold from time to time to visit their tenants, they wrought off great

great wickednelle, and made thoſe endwares little better than brodelhouſes, eſpecialiie where nunries were farre off, or elſe no ſafe acceſſe vnto them. But what doo I ſpend my time in the rehearſall of theſe filthineſſes? Would to God the memorie of them might periſh with the malefactors! My purpoſe was alſo at the end of this chapter to haue ſet downe a table of the pariſh churches and market townes thorough out all England and Wales: but ſith I can not performe the ſame as I would, I am forced to giue ouer my purpoſe: yet by theſe few that inſue you ſhall eaſilie ſee what order I would haue vſed according to the ſhires, if I might haue brought it to paſſe.

| *Shires.* | *Market townes.* | *Pariſhes.* |
|---|---|---|
| Middleſex. | 3 | 73 |
| London within the walles, and without. | | 120 |
| Surrie. | 6 | 140 |
| Suſſex. | 18 | 312 |
| Kent. | 17 | 398 |
| Cambridge. | 4 | 163 |
| Bedford. | 9 | 13 |
| Huntingdon. | 5 | 78 |
| Rutland. | 2 | 47 |
| Barkeſhire. | 11 | 150 |
| Northhampton. | 10 | 326 |
| Buckingham. | 11 | 196 |
| Oxford. | 10 | 216 |
| Southhampton. | 18 | 248 |
| Dorſet. | 19 | 279 |
| Norffolke. | 26 | 625 |
| Suffolke. | 25 | 575 |
| Eſſex. | 18 | 415 |

## Of caſtels and holds.

### Chap. 14.

IT hath béene of long time a queſtion in controuerſie, and not yet determined, whether holds and caſtels néere cities or anie where in the hart of common-wealths, are more profitable or hurtfull for the benefit of the countrie? Neuertheles it ſeemeth by our owne experience that we here in England ſuppoſe them altogither vnnéedfull. This alſo is apparant by the teſtimonie of ſundrie writers, that they haue béene the ruine of manie a noble citie. Of old Saliſburie I ſpeake not, of Anwarpe I ſaie nothing more than of ſundrie other, whereof ſome alſo in my time neuer ceaſe to incroch vpon the liberties of the cities adioining, thereby to hinder them what and wherin they may. For my part I neuer read of anie caſtell that did good vnto the citie abutting theron, but onelie the capitoll of Rome: and yet but once good vnto the ſame, in reſpect of the nine times whereby it brought it into danger of vtter ruine and confuſion. Ariſtotle vtterlie denieth that anie caſtle at all can be profitable to a common wealth well gouerned. Timotheus of Corinthum affirmeth, that a caſtle in a common wealth is but a brœder of tyrants. Pyrhus king of Epire being receiued alſo on a time into Athens, among other courteſies ſhewed vnto him, they led him alſo into their caſtell of Pallas, who at his departure gaue them great thanks for the frendlie intertainment; but with this item, that they ſhould let ſo few kings come into the ſame as they might, leaſt (ſaith he) they teach you to repent too late of your great gentlenelle. Caietanus in his common-wealth hath finallie no liking of them, as appéereth in his eight booke of that moſt excellent treatiſe. But what haue I to deale whether they be profitable or not, ſith my purpoſe is rather to ſhew what plentie we haue of them, which I will performe ſo far as ſhall be néedfull:

There haue béene in times paſt great ſtore of caſtels & places of defenſe within the realme of England, of which ſome were builded by the Britons, manie by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but moſt of all by the barons of the realme, in & about the time of king Stephan, who licenced each of them to build ſo manie as them liſted vpon their owne demeaſnes, hoping thereby that they would haue imploied their vſe to his aduantage and commoditie. But finallie when he ſaw that they were rather fortified againſt himſelfe in the end, than vſed in his defenſe, he repented all too late of his inconſiderate dealing, ſith now there was no remedie but by force for to ſubdue them. After his deceaſe king Henrie the ſecond came no ſooner to the crowne, but he called to mind the inconuenience which his predeceſſour had ſuffered, and he himſelfe might in time ſuſtaine by thoſe fortifications. Therefore one of the firſt things he did was an attempt to race and deface the moſt part of theſe holds. Certes he thought it better to hazard the méeting of the enimie now and then in the plaine field, than to liue in perpetuall feare of thoſe houſes, and the rebellion of his lords vpon euerie light occaſion conceiued, who then were full ſo ſtrong as he, if not more ſtrong; and that made them the readier to withſtand and gainſaie manie of thoſe procédings, which he and his ſucceſſours from time to time intended. Herevpon therefore he cauſed more than eleuen hundred of their ſaid caſtels to be raced and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a little reſtreined. Since that time alſo, not a few of thoſe which remained, haue decaied, partlie by the commandement of Henrie the third, and partlie of themſelues, or by conuerſion of them into the dwelling houſes of noble men, their martiall fronts being remoued: ſo that at this preſent, there are verie few or no caſtels at all mainteined within England, ſauing onelie vpon the coaſts and marches of the countrie for the better kéeping backe of the forren enimie, when ſoeuer he ſhall attempt to enter and annoie vs.

The moſt prouident prince that euer reigned in this land, for the fortification thereof againſt all outward enimies, was the late prince of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, who beſide that he repared moſt of ſuch as were alreadie ſtanding, builded ſundrie out of the ground. For hauing ſhaken off the more than ſeruile yoke of popiſh tyrannie, and eſpieng that the emperour was offended for his diuorce from quéene Catharine his aunt, and thereto vnderſtanding that the French king had coupled the Dolphin his ſonne with the popes néece, and maried his daughter to the king of Scots (whereby he had cauſe more iuſtlie to ſuſpect than ſafelie to truſt anie one of them all as Lambert ſaith) he determined to ſtand vpon his owne defenſe, and therefore with no ſmall ſpéed, and like charge, he builded ſundrie blockehouſes, caſtels, and platformes vpon diuerſe frontiers of his realme, but chieflie the eaſt and ſoutheaſt parts of England, whereby (no doubt) he did verie much qualifie the conceiued grudges of his aduerſaries, and vtterlie put off their haſtie purpoſe of inuaſion. But would to God he had caſt his eie toward Harwich, and the coaſts of Norffolke and Suffolke, where nothing as yet is done: albeit there be none ſo fit and likelie places for the enimie to enter vpon, as in thoſe parts, where, at a full ſea they may touch vpon the ſhore and come to land without reſiſtance. And thus much briefflie for my purpoſe at this preſent. For I néed not to make anie long diſcourſe of caſtels,

steels, sith it is not the nature of a good Englishman to regard to be caged vp as in a coope, and hedged in with stone wals, but rather to meet with his enimie in the plaine field at handstrokes, where he may trauaile his ground, chose his plot, and vse the benefit of sunne shine, wind and weather, to his best aduantage & commoditie. Isocrates also saith that towres, walles, bulworkes, soldiers, and plentie of armour, are not the best keepers of kingdomes; but frends, loue of subiects, & obedience vnto martiall discipline, which they want that shew themselues either cruell or couetous toward their people. As for those tales that go of Beston castell, how it shall saue all England on a date, and likewise the brag of a rebellious baron in old time named Hugh Bigot, that said in contempt of king Henrie the third, and about the fifth yeare of his reigne:

The best keepers of kingdomes.

If I were in my castell of Bungeie,
Vpon the water of Waueneie,
I wold not set a button by the king of Cockneie,

I repute them but as toies, the first meere vaine, the second fondlie vttered if anie such thing were said, as manie other words are and haue beene spoken of like holds (as Wallingford, &c:) but now growen out of memorie, and with small losse not heard of among the common sort. Certes the castell of Bungeie was ouerthrowen by the aforesaid prince, the same yeare that he ouerthrew the walles and castell of Leircester, also the castels of Treske and Malesar, apperteining to Roger Mowbraie, and that of Fremlingham belonging likewise to Hugh Bigot, wherof in the chronologie following you may read at large. I might here in like sort take occasion to speake of sundrie strong places where camps of men haue lien, and of which we haue great plentie here in England in the plaine fields: but I passe ouer to talke of any such needlesse discourses. This neuertheless concerning two of them is not to be omitted, to wit, that the one neere vnto Cambridge now Gogmagogs hill, was called Windleburie before time, as I read of late in an old pamphlet. And to saie the truth I haue often heard them named Winterburie hilles, which difference may easilie grow by corruption of the former word: the place likewise is verie large and strong. The second is to be seene in the edge of Shropshire about two miles from Colme, betweene two riuers, the Clun or Colunus, and the Tewie otherwise named Themis, whereunto there is no accesse but at one place. The Welshmen call it Cair Caradoc, and they are of the opinion, that Caractatus king of the Sillures was ouercome there by Ostorius, at such time as he fled to Cartimanda queene of the Brigants for succour, who betraied him to the Romans, as you may see in Tacitus.

The wandles in time past were called windles.

## Of palaces belonging to *the prince*.

### Chap. 15.

IT lieth not in me to set down exactlie the number & names of the palaces belonging to the prince, nor to make anie description of hir graces court, sith my calling is and hath beene such, as that I haue scarselie presumed to peepe in at hir gates, much lesse then haue I aduentured to search out and know the estate of those houses, and what magnificent behauiour is to be seene within them. Yet thus much will I saie generallie of all the houses and honours perteining to hir maiestie, that they are builded either of square stone or bricke, or else of both. And therunto although their capacitie and hugenesse be not so monstrous, as the like of diuerse forren princes are to be seene in the maine, and new found nations of the world: yet are they so curious, neat, and commodious as any of them, both for conuetance of offices and lodgings, and excellencie of situation, which is not the least thing to be considered of in building. Those that were builded before the time of king Henrie the eight, reteine to these dates the shew and image of the ancient kind of workemanship vsed in this land: but such as he erected after his owne deuise (for he was nothing inferiour in this trade to Adrian the emperour and Iustinian the lawgiuer) do represent another maner of paterne, which as they are supposed to excell all the rest that he found standing in this realme, so they are and shall be a perpetuall president vnto those that do come after, to follow in their works and buildings of importance. Certes masonrie did neuer better flourish in England than in his time. And albeit that in these daies there be manie goodlie houses erected in the sundrie quarters of this Iland; yet they are rather curious to the eie like paper worke, than substantiall for continuance: whereas such as he did set vp excell in both, and therefore may iustlie be preferred farre aboue all the rest. The names of those which come now to my remembrance, and are as yet reserued to hir maiesties onelie vse at pleasure are these: for of such as are giuen awaie I speake not, neither of those that are vtterlie decaied, as Bainards castell in London builded in the daies of the Conquerour by a noble man called William Bainard, whose wife Inga builded the priorie of litle Donemow in the daies of Henrie the first; neither of the tower roiall there also, &c: sith I see no cause wherefore I should remember them and manie of the like, of whose verie ruines I haue no certeine knowledge. Of such I saie therfore as I erst mentioned, we haue first of all White hall at the west end of London (which is taken for the most large & principall of all the rest) was first a lodging of the archbishops of Yorke, then pulled downe, begun by cardinall Wolsele, and finallie inlarged and finished by king Henrie the eight. By east of this standeth Durham place, sometime belonging to the bishops of Durham, but conuerted also by king Henrie the eight into a palace roiall, & lodging for the prince. Of Summerset place I speake not, yet if the first beginner thereof (I meane the lord Edward, the learned and godlie duke of Summerset) had liued, I doubt not but it should haue beene well finished and brought to a sumptuous end: but as vntimelie death tooke him from that house & from vs all, so it prowed the staie of such proceeding as was intended about it. Wherby it commeth to passe that it standeth as he left it. Neither will I remember the Tower of London, which is rather an armorie and house of munition, and therevnto a place for the safekeeping of offendors, than a palace roiall for a king or queene to soiourne in. Yet in times past I find that Belline held his aboad there, and therevnto extended the site of his palace in such wise, that it stretched ouer the Broken wharfe, and came further into the citie, in so much that it approched neere to Bellines gate, & as it is thought some of the ruines of his house are yet extant, howbeit patched vp and made warehouses in that tract of ground in our times. S. Iames sometime a nonrie, was builded also by the same prince. Hir grace hath also Oteland, Ashridge, Hatfield, Hauering, Enuéld, Eltham, Langleie, Richmond builded by Henrie the fift, Hampton court (begun sometime by cardinall Wolsele, and finished by hir father) and therevnto Woodstocke, erected by king

King Henr. 8. not inferior to Adrian and Iustinian.

white hall.

S. Iames.

Oteland.
Ashridge.
Hatfield.
Enuéld.
Richmond.
Hampton.
Woodstocke.

Henrie the first, in which the quéenes maiestie delighteth greatlie to soiourne, notwithstanding that in time past it was the place of a parcell of hir captiuitie, when it pleased God to trie hir by affliction and calamitie.

Windsor. For strength Windlesor or Winsor is supposed to be the chéefe, a castell builded in time past by king Arthur, or before him by Arutragus, as it is thought, and repared by Edward the third, who erected also a notable college there. After him diuerse of his successours haue bestowed excéeding charges vpon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted by the quænes maiestie now liuing, who hath appointed huge summes of monie to be employed vpon the ornature and alteration of the mould, according to the forme of building vsed in our daies, which is more for pleasure than for either profit or safegard. Such also hath béene the estimation of this place, that diuerse kings haue not onelie béene interred there, but also made it the chiefe house of assemblie, and creation of the knights of the honorable order of the garter, than the which there is nothing in this land more magnificent and statelie.

Grænewich. Grænewich was first builded by Humfreie duke of Glocester, vpon the Thames side foure miles east from London, in the time of Henrie the first, and called Pleasance. Afterwards it was greatlie inlarged by king Edw. 4. garnished by king Hen. 7. and finallie made perfect by king Hen. 8. the onelie Phenix of his time for fine and curious masonrie.

Dartford. Not farre from this is Dartford, and not much distant also from the southside of the said streame, sometime a nonnerie builded by Edward the third, but now a verie commodious palace, whereunto it was

Eltham. also conuerted by K. Henrie the eight. Eltham (as I take it) was builded by king Henrie the third, if not before. There are beside these moreouer diuerse other. But what shall I néed to take vpon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the quænes maiestie hath? sith all is hirs, and when it pleaseth hir in the summer season to recreat hir selfe abroad, and view the estate of the countrie, and heare the complaints of hir poore commons iniuried by hir vniust officers or their substitutes, euerie noble mans house is hir palace, where shée continueth during pleasure, and till shée returne againe to some of hir owne, in which she remaineth so long as pleaseth hir.

Of the court. The court of England, which necessarilie is holden alwaies where the prince lieth, is in these daies one of the most renowmed and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the rich and infinit furniture of household, order of officers, or the interteinement of such strangers as dailie resort vnto the same, you shall not find manie equall therevnto, much lesse one excelling it in anie maner of wise. I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter conceiued of the same) make a large discourse of such honorable ports, of such graue councellors, and noble personages, as giue their dailie attendance vpon the quænes maiestie there. I could in like sort set forth a singular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautifull vertues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir person, betweene whose amiable countenances and cost linesse of attire, there séemeth to be such a dailie conflict and contention, as that it is verie difficult for me to gesse, whether of the twaine shall beare awaie the prehéminence. This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and seres of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue not the vse and skill of sundrie speaches, beside an excellent veine of writing before time not regarded. Would to God the rest of their liues and conuersations were correspondent to these gifts! for as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best lerned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men when they come abroad, that anie man shall either heare or read of. Trulie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to saie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beside sound knowledge of the Græke and Latine tongs, are thereto no lesse skilfull in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me: sith I am persuaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen do surmount in this behalfe, so these come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts, which industrie God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting!

English courtiers the best learned & the worst liuers.

Beside these things I could in like sort set downe the waies and meanes, wherby our ancient ladies of the court do shun and auoid idlenesse, some of them exercising their fingers with the nædle, other in caulworke, diuerse in spinning of silke, some in continuall reading either of the holie scriptures, or histories of our owne or forren nations about vs, and diuerse in writing volumes of their owne, or translating of other mens into our English and Latine tong, whilest the youngest sort in the meane time applie their lutes, citharnes, prickesong, and all kind of musike, which they vse onelie for recreation sake, when they haue leisure, and are free from attendance vpon the quænes maiestie, or such as they belong vnto. How manie of the eldest sort also are skilfull in surgerie and distillation of waters, beside sundrie other artificiall practises perteining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies, I might (if I listed to deale further in this behalfe) easilie declare, but I passe ouer such maner of dealing, least I should séeme to glauer, and currie fauour with some of them. Neuertheless this I will generallie saie of them all, that as ech of them are cuning in somthing wherby they kéepe themselues occupied in the court, so there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can helpe to supplie the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicat dishes of their owne deuising, wherein the Portingall is their chéefe counsellor, as some of them are most commonlie with the clearke of the kitchen, who vseth (by a tricke taken vp of late) to giue in a bréefe rehearsall of such and so manie dishes as are to come in at euerie course throughout the whole service in the dinner or supper while: which bill some do call a memoriall, other a billet, but some a fillet, because such are commonlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto some other purpose. But whither am I digressed?

I might finallie describe the large allowances in offices, and yearelie liueries, and therevnto the great plentie of gold and siluer plate, the seuerall peeces whereof are commonlie so great and massie, and the quantitie therof so abundantlie serving all the household, that (as I suppose) Cyrus, Cresus, and Crassus had not the like furniture: naie if Midas were now liuing & once againe put to his choise, I thinke he could aske no more, or rather not halfe so much as is there to be séene and vsed. But I passe ouer to make such nædlesse discourses, resoluing my selfe, that euen in this also, as in all the rest, the excéeding mercie and louing kindnesse of God doth wonderfullie appéere towards vs, in that he hath so largelie indued vs with these his so ample benefits.

In some great princes courts beyond the seas, & which euen for that cause are likened vnto hell by diuerse learned writers that haue spent a great part of their time in them, as Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, one (for example) who in his epistle *Ad aulicum quendam*

dam, ſaith thus: *An non in inferno es amice, qui es in aula, vbi dæmonum habitatio eſt, qui illic ſuis artibus humana licèt effigie regnant, atque vbi ſcelerum ſchola eſt, & animarum iactura ingens, ac quicquid vſpiam eſt perfidiæ ac doli, quicquid crudelitatis & inclemẽtiæ, quicquid effrænatæ ſuperbiæ, & rapacis auariciæ, quicquid obſcenæ libidinis, fœdiſſimæ impudicitiæ, quicquid nefandæ impietatis, & morum peſſimorum, totum illic aceruatur cumulatiſſimè, vbi ſtupra, raptus, inceſtus, adulteria, principum & nobilium ludi ſunt, vbi faſtus & tumor, ira, liuor, fœdáque cupido cum ſocijs ſuis imperauit, vbi criminum omnium procellæ virtutúmque omniũ inenarrabile naufragium, &c.* In ſuch great princes courts (I ſaie) it is a woꝛld to ſée what lewd behauiour is vſed among diuerſe of thoſe that reſoꝛt vnto the ſame, and what whoꝛedome, ſwearing, ribaldꝛie, atheiſme, dicing, carding, carowſing, dꝛunkenneſſe, gluttonie, quareling, and ſuch like inconueniences dó dailie take hold, and ſometimes euen among thoſe, in whoſe eſtates the like behauiour is leaſt conuenient (whereby their talke is verified which ſay that the thing increaſeth and groweth in the courts of pꝛinces ſauing vertue, which in ſuch places doth languiſh and dailie vade away) all which enoꝛmities are either vtterlie erpelled out of the court of England, oꝛ elſe ſo qualified by the diligent endeuour of the chiefe officers of hir graces houſehold, that ſeldome are ante of theſe things apparantlie ſéene there, without due repꝛehenſion, and ſuch ſeuere coꝛrection as belongeth to thoſe treſpaſſes. Finallie to auoid ſolenеſſe, and pꝛeuent ſundꝛie tranſgreſſions, otherwiſe likelie to be committed and done, ſuch oꝛder is taken, that euerie office hath either a bible, oꝛ the bookes of the acts and monuments of the church of England, oꝛ both, beſide ſome hiſtoꝛies and chꝛonicles lieng therein, foꝛ the exerciſe of ſuch as come into the ſame: whereby the ſtranger that entereth into the court of England vpon the ſudden, ſhall rather imagine himſelfe to come into ſome publike ſchole of the vniuerſities, where manie giue eare to one that readeth, than into a pꝛinces palace, if you conferre the ſame with thoſe of other nations. Would to God all honoꝛable perſonages would take exampie of hir graces godlie dealing in this behalfe, and ſhew their confoꝛmitie vnto theſe hir ſo good beginnings! which if they would, then ſhould manie grieuous offenſes (wherewith God is highlie diſpleaſed) be cut off and reſtreined, which now do reigne excéedinglie, in moſt noble and gentlemens houſes, whereof they ſée no paterne within hir graces gates.

Traines of attendants.

I might ſpeake here of the great traines and troopes of ſeruing men alſo, which attend vpon the nobilitie of England in their ſeuerall liueries, and with differences of cogniſances on their ſléeues, whereby it is knowen to whome they apperteine. I could alſo ſet downe what a goodlie ſight it is to ſée them muſter in the court, which being filled with them doth yéeld the contemplation of a noble varietie vnto the beholder, much like to the ſhew of the pecocks taile in the full beautie, oꝛ of ſome medow garniſhed with infinit kinds and diuerſitie of pleaſant floures. But I paſſe ouer the rehearſall hereof to other men, who moꝛe delite in vaine amplification than I, and ſéeke to be moꝛe curious in theſe points than I pꝛofeſſe to be.

The diſcipline of firme peace alſo that is mainteined within a certeine compaſſe of the pꝛinces palace, is ſuch, as is nothing inferiour to that we ſée dailie pꝛactiſed in the beſt gouerned holds & foꝛtreſſes. And ſuch is the ſeuere puniſhment of thoſe that ſtrike within the limits pꝛohibited, that without all hope of mercie, benefit of clergie, oꝛ ſanctuarie, they are ſure to loſe their right hands at a ſtroke, and that in verie ſolemne maner, the fourme whereof I will ſet downe, and then make an end of this chapter, to deale with other matters.

Striking within the court and palace of the pꝛince.

At ſuch time therefoꝛe as the partie tranſgreſſing is conuicted by a ſufficient inqueſt impanelled foꝛ the ſame purpoſe, and the time come of the execution of the ſentence, the ſergeant of the kings wood-yard pꝛouideth a ſquare blocke, which he bꝛingeth to ſome appointed place, and therewithall a great bætle, ſaple, and coꝛds, wherewith to faſten the hand of the offendoꝛ vnto the ſaid blocke, vntill the whole circumſtance of his execution be perfoꝛmed. The yeoman of the ſcullarie likewiſe foꝛ the time being, doth pꝛouide a great fire of coales hard by the blocke, wherein the ſearing irons are to be made readie againſt the chiefe ſurgeon to the pꝛince oꝛ his deputie ſhall occupie the ſame. Upon him alſo doth the ſergeant oꝛ chiefe farrour attend with thoſe irons, whoſe office is to deliuer them to the ſaid ſurgeon when he ſhall be redie by ſearing to vſe the ſame. The gꝛome of the ſalarie foꝛ the time being oꝛ his deputie is furthermoꝛe appointed to be readie with vineger and cold water, and not to depart from the place vntill the arme of the offendoꝛ be bound vp and fullie dꝛeſſed. And as theſe things are thus pꝛouided, ſo the ſergeant ſurgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and ſeare the ſtumpe, when the hand is taken from it. The ſergeant of the cellar is at hand alſo with a cup of red wine, and likewiſe the chiefe officer of the pantrie with manchet bꝛead to giue vnto the ſaid partie after the execution done, and the ſtumpe ſeared, as the ſergeant of the ewerie is with clothes, wherein to wind and wꝛap vp the arme, the yeoman of the poultrie with a cocke to laie vnto it, the yeoman of the chandꝛie with ſeared cloths, and finallie the maiſter cooke oꝛ his deputie with a ſharpe dꝛeſſing knife, which he deliuereth at the place of execution to the ſergeant of the larder, who doth hold it vpꝛight in his hand, vntill the execution be perfoꝛmed by the publike officer appointed therevnto. And this is the maner of puniſhment oꝛdeined foꝛ thoſe that ſtrike within the pꝛinces palace, oꝛ limits of the ſame. Which ſhould firſt haue bæne executed on ſir Edmund Kneuet, in the yeare 1541. But when he had made great ſute to ſaue his right hand foꝛ the further ſeruice of the king in his warres, and willinglie yælded to foꝛgo his left, in the end the king pardoned him of both, to no ſmall benefit of the offendoꝛ, and publication of the bountifull nature that remained in the pꝛince. The like pꝛiuilege almoſt is giuen to churches and churchyards, although in maner of puniſhment great difference do appœre. Foꝛ he that bꝛalleth oꝛ quarelleth in either of them, is by and by ſuſpended *ab ingreſſu eccleſiæ*, vntill he be abſolued: as he is alſo that ſtriketh with the fiſt, oꝛ laieth violent hands vpon anie whome ſo euer. But if he happen to ſmite with ſtaffe, dagger, oꝛ anie maner of weapon, & the ſame be ſufficientlie found by the verdict of twelue men at his arrainement, beſide excommunication, he is ſure to loſe one of his eares without all hope of releaſe. But if he be ſuch a one as hath bæne twiſe condemned and executed, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he marked with an hot iron vpon the chéeke, and by the letter F, which is ſeared déepe into his fleſh, he is from thenceforth noted as a common barratour and fraie maker, and therevnto remaineth excommunicate, till by repentance he deſerue to be abſolued. To ſtrike a clearke alſo (that is to ſaie) a miniſter, is plaine excommunication, and the offendoꝛ not to be abſolued but by the pꝛince oꝛ his eſpeciall cõmiſſion. Such alſo is the generall eſtate of the excõmunicate in euery reſpect, that he can yéeld no teſtimonie in anie matter ſo long as he ſo ſtandeth. No bargaine oꝛ ſale that he maketh is anaileable in law, neither any of his acts whatſoeuer pleadable, wherby he liueth as

an outlaw: a man altogither out of the princes protection, although it be not lawfull to kill him, nor anie man otherwise outlawed, without the danger of fellonie.

## Of armour and munition.

### Chap. 16.

How well or how stronglie our countrie hath béene furnished in times past with armor and artillerie, it lieth not in me as of my selfe to make rehersall. Yet that it lacked both in the late time of quéen Marie, not onlie the experience of mine elders, but also the talke of certeine Spaniards not yet forgotten, did leaue some manifest notice. Upon the first I néed not stand, for few will denie it. For the second I haue heard, that when one of the greatest péeres of Spaine espied our nakednesse in this behalfe, and did solemnelie vtter in no obscure place, that it should be an easie matter in short time to conquer England, bicause it wanted armor, his words were then not so rashlie vttered, as they were politikelie noted. For albeit that for the present time their efficacie was dissembled, and semblance made as though he spake but merilie, yet at the verie enterance of this our gratious quéene vnto the possession of the crowne, they were so prouidentlie called to remembrance, and such spéedie reformation sought of all hands for the redresse of this inconuenience, that our countrie was soner furnished with armour and munition, from diuerse parts of the maine (beside great plentie that was forged here at home) than our enimies could get vnderstanding of anie such prouision to be made. By this policie also was the no small hope conceiued by Spaniards vtterlie cut off, who of open frends being now become our secret enimies, and thereto watching a time wherein to atchieue some heauie exploit against vs and our countrie, did thereupon change their purposes, whereby England obteined rest, that otherwise might haue béene sure of sharpe and cruell wars. Thus a Spanish word vttered by one man at one time, ouerthrew or at the least wise hindered sundrie priuie practises of manie at another. In times past the chéefe force of England consisted in their long bowes. But now we haue in maner generallie giuen ouer that kind of artillerie, and for long bowes in déed do practise to shoot compasse for our pastime: which kind of shooting can neuer yéeld anie smart stroke, nor beat downe our enimies, as our countrie men were wont to do at euerie time of néed. Certes the Frenchmen and Rutters deriding our new archerie in respect of their corslets, will not let in open skirmish, if anie leisure serue, to turne vp their tailes and crie; Shote English, and all bicause our strong shooting is decaied and laid in bed. But if some of our Englishmen now liued that serued king Edward the third in his warres with France, the brech of such a varlet should haue béene nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other fethered in his bowels, before he should haue turned about to sée who shot the first. But as our shooting is thus in manner vtterlie decaied among vs one waie, so our countrie men wer skilfull in sundrie other points, as in shooting in small péeces, the caliuer, and handling of the pike, in the seuerall vses whereof they are become verie expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, and therefore consisteth of corslets, almaine riuets, shirts of maile, iackes quilted and couered ouer with leather, fustian, or canuas, ouer thicke plates of iron that are sowed in the same, & of which there is no towne or village that hath not hir conuenient furniture. The said armour and munition likewise is kept in one seuerall place of euerie towne, appointed by the consent of the whole parish, where it is alwaies readie to be had and worne within an houres warning. Sometime also it is occupied, when it pleaseth the magistrate either to view the able men, & take note of the well keeping of the same, or finallie to sée those that are inrolled to exercise each one his seuerall weapon, at the charge of the townesmen of each parish according to his appointment. Certes there is almost no village so poore in England (be it neuer so small) that hath not sufficient furniture in a readinesse to set forth three or foure soldiors, as one archer, one gunner, one pike, & a bilman at the least. No there is not so much wanting as their verie liueries and caps, which are least to be accounted of, if anie hast required: so that if this good order may continue, it shall be vnpossible for the sudden enimie to find vs vnprouided. As for able men for seruice, thanked be God, we are not without good store, for by the musters taken 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1172674, and yet were they not so narrowlie taken, but that a third part of this like multitude was left vnbilled and vncalled. What store of munition and armour the quéenes maiestie hath in hir storehouses, it lieth not in me to yéeld account, sith I suppose the same to be infinit. And whereas it was commonlie said after the losse of Calis, that England should neuer recouer the store of ordinance there left and lost: that same is at this time proued false, sith euen some of the same persons do now confesse, that this land was neuer better furnished with these things in anie kings daies that reigned since the conquest.

## The names of our greatest ordinance are commonlie these.

Robinet, whose weight is two hundred pounds, and it hath one inch and a quarter within the mouth.

Falconet weigheth fiue hundred pounds, and his widenesse is two inches within the mouth.

Falcon hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Minion poiseth eleauen hundred pounds, and hath three inches and a quarter within the mouth.

Sacre hath fiftéene hundred pounds, and is three inches and a halfe wide in the mouth.

Demie Culuerijn weigheth three thousand pounds, and hath foure inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Culuerijn hath foure thousand pounds, and fiue inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Demie Canon six thousand pounds, and six inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Canon seauen thousand pounds, and eight inches within the mouth.

E. Canon eight thousand pounds, and seauen inches within the mouth.

Basiliske 9000 pounds, eight inches, and three quarters within the mouth. By which proportions also it is easie to come by the weight of euerie shot, how manie scores it doth flée at point blanke, how much ponder is to be had to the same, & finallie how manie inches in height ech bullet ought to carrie.

The

| The names of the greateſt ordinance. | | Weight of the ſhot. | Scores of cariage. | Pounds of ponder. | Height of bullet. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Robinet. | hath | 1. li. | 0 | ½ | 1 |
| Falconet. | | 2. li. | 14 | 2 | 1 ¾ |
| Falcon. | | 2. ½. | 16 | 2½ | 2 ¼ |
| Minion. | | 4. ½. | 17 | 4½ | 3 |
| Sacre. | | 5 | 18 | 5 | 3 ¼ |
| Demie Culuerijn. | | 9 | 20 | 9 | 4 |
| Culuerijn. | | 18 | 25 | 18 | 5 ¼ |
| Demie canon. | | 30 | 38 | 28 | 6 ¼ |
| Canon. | | 60 | 20 | 44 | 7 ¾ |
| E. Canon. | | 42 | 20 | 20 | 6 ¾ |
| Baſiliske. | | 60 | 21 | 60 | 8 ¼ |

I might here take iuſt occaſion to ſpeake of the princes armories. But what ſhall it nede? ſith the whole realme is hir armorie, and therefore hir furniture infinit. The Turke had one gun made by one Orban a Dane, the caſter of his ordinance, which could not be drawen to the ſiege of Conſtantinople, but by ſeauentie yokes of oxen, and two thouſand men; he had two other there alſo whoſe ſhot poiſed aboue two talents in weight, made by the ſame Orban. But to proceed. As for the armories of ſome of the nobilitie (whereof I alſo haue ſeene a part) they are ſo well furniſhed, that within ſome one barons cuſtodie I haue ſeene three ſcore or a hundred corſlets at once, beſide caliuers, handguns, bowes, ſheffes of arrowes, pikes, bils, polaxes, flaskes, touchboxes, targets, &c: the verie ſight whereof appalled my courage. What would the wearing of ſome of them do then (trow you) if I ſhould be inforced to vſe one of them in the field? But thanked be God, our peaceable daies are ſuch, as no man hath anie great cauſe to occupie them at all, but onelie taketh good leiſure to haue them in a readineſſe, and therefore both high and lowe in England

*Cymbala pro galeis pro ſcutis tympana pulſant.*

I would write here alſo of our maner of going to the warres, but what hath the long blacke gowne to do with gliſtering armour? what ſound acquaintance can there be betwixt Mars and the Muſes? or how ſhould a man write anie thing to the purpoſe of that wherewith he is nothing acquainted? This neuertheleſſe will I adde of things at home, that ſeldome ſhall you ſee anie of my countriemen aboue eightéene or twentie yéeres old to go without a dagger at the leaſt at his backe or by his ſide, although they be aged burgeſſes or magiſtrates of anie citie, who in appearance are moſt exempt from brabling and contention. Our nobilitie weare commonlie ſwords or rapiers with their daggers, as doth euerie common ſeruing man alſo that followeth his lord and maſter. Some deſperate cutters we haue in like ſort, which carrie two daggers or two rapiers in a ſheath alwaies about them, wherewith in euerie dronken fraie they are knowen to worke much miſchiefe; their ſwords & daggers alſo are of a great length, and longer than the like vſed in anie other countrie, whereby ech one pretendeth to haue the more aduantage of his enimie. But as manie orders haue béene taken for the intollerable length of theſe weapons; ſo I ſée as yet ſmall redreſſe: but where the cauſe thereof doth reſt, in ſooth for my part I wote not. I might here ſpeake of the exceſſiue ſtaues which diuerſe that trauell by the waie do carrie vpon their ſhoulders, whereof ſome are twelue or thirtéene foote long, beſide the pike of twelue inches: but as they are commonlie ſuſpected of honeſt men to be théeues and robbers, or at the leaſt wiſe ſcarſe true men which beare them; ſo by reaſon of this and the like ſuſpicious weapons, the honeſt traueller is now inforced to ride with a caſe of dags at his ſadle bow, or with ſome prettie ſhort snapper, whereby he may deale with them further off in his owne defenſe before he come within the danger of theſe weapons. Finallie, no man trauelleth by the waie without his ſword, or ſome ſuch weapon, with vs; except the miniſter, who cõmonlie weareth none at all, vnleſſe it be a dagger or hanger at his ſide. Seldome alſo are they or anie other waifaring men robbed without the conſent of the chamberleine, tapſter, or oſtler where they bait & lie, who féeling at their alighting whether their capcaſes or budgets be of anie weight or not, by taking them downe from their ſadles, or otherwiſe ſée their ſtore in drawing of their purſes, do by and by giue intimation to ſome one or other attendant datlie in the yard or houſe, or dwelling hard by vpon ſuch matches, whether the preie be worth the following or no. If it be for their turne, then the gentleman peraduenture is aſked which waie he trauelleth, and whether it pleaſe him to haue another gheſt to beare him companie at ſupper, who rideth the ſame waie in the morning that he doth, or not. And thus if he admit him or be glad of his acquaintance, the cheate is halfe wrought. And often it is ſéene that the new gheſt ſhall be robbed with the old, onelie to colour out the matter and kéepe him from ſuſpicion. Sometimes when they knowe which waie the paſſenger trauelleth, they will either go before and lie in wait for him, or elſe come galloping apace after, whereby they will be ſure, if he ride not the ſtronger, to be fingering with his purſe. And theſe are ſome of the policies of ſuch ſhrews or cloſe boted gentlemen as lie in wait for fat booties by the high waies, and which are moſt commonlie practiſed in the winter ſeaſon about the feaſt of Chriſtmas, when ſeruing men and vnthriftie gentlemen want monie to plaie at the dice and cards, lewdlie ſpending in ſuch wiſe whatſoeuer they haue wickedlie gotten, till ſome of them ſharplie ſet vpon their cheuiſances, be trulled vp in a Tiburne tippet, which happeneth vnto them commonlie before they come to middle age. Wherby it appéereth that ſome ſort of youth will off haue his ſwinge, although it be in a halter.

*Male muſis non Marte.*

I might alſo intreat of our old maner of warfare vſed in and before the time of Ceſar, when as the chéefe brunt of our fight was in *Eſſedis* or wagons; but this I alſo paſſe ouer, noting neuertheleſſe out of Propertius, that our ſaid wagons were gorgeous and gailie painted, which he ſetteth downe in theſe foure verſes inſuing, *Arethuſæ ad Lycotam, lib. 4. eleg. 3.*

*Te modò viderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus,*
*Te modò munito Sericus hoſtis equo,*
*Hibernique Getæ, pictóque Brittannia curru,*
*Vſtus & Eoa diſcolor Indus aqua.*

## Of the nauie of England.

### Chap. 17.

THere is nothing that hath brought me into more admiration of the power and force of antiquitie, than their diligence and care had of their nauies: wherein, whether I consider their spéedie building, or great number of ships which some one kingdome or region possessed at one instant; it giueth me still occasion, either to suspect the historie, or to thinke that in our times we come verie farre behind them. For what a thing is it to haue a ship growing on the stub, and sailing on the sea within the space of fiue and fiftie daies? And yet such a naute was to be séene in the first war of Carthage, led thither by Duellius the Romane. In the warres also against Hieron two hundred and twentie tall ships bare leafe & saile within fiue and fortie daies. In the second warre of Carthage the naute that went with Scipio was felled in the wood, and séene to saile on the sea fullie furnished in fire werkes: which vnto them that are ignorant of things doth séeme to be false and vnpossible. In like maner for multitude, we find in Polybius, that at one skirmish on the sea the Romans lost seauen hundred vessels, which bare ech of them fiue rowes of oares on a side, and the Carthaginenses fiue hundred. And albeit the formes and apparell of these vessels were not altogither correspondent to our ships and gallies made in these daies: yet the capacitie of most of them did not onelie match, but farre exceed them; so that if one of their biremes onlie conteined so much in burden as a ship of ours of six hundred tun: what shall we thinke of those which had seauen rowes of oares walking on a side? But least I should séeme to speake more of these forren things than the course of the historie doth permit without licence to digresse: giue me leaue (I beséech thee gentle reader) to wade yet a little further in the report of these ancient formes & kinds of vessels. For albeit that the discourse hereof maketh little to the description of our present naute in England: yet shall the report thereof not be vnprofitable and vnpleasant to such as shall reade among the writings of their capacities and moulds. It shall not be amisse therefore to begin at the naute of Xerxes, of which ech meane vessell (as appéareth by Herodot) was able to receiue two hundred and thirtie souldiers, and some of them three hundred. These were called triremes, and were indéede gallies that had three rowes of oares on euerie side; for the word *Nauis* is indifferentlie applied so well to the gallie as ship, as to the conuersant in histories is easie to be found. In old time also they had gallies of foure rowes, fiue rowes, six, seauen, eight, nine, twelue, yea fiftéene rowes of oares on a side; iudge you then of what quantitie those vessels were. Plinie lib. 7. noteth one Damasthenes to be the first maker of the gallies with two rowes called biremes: Thucidides referreth the triremes to Ammocles of Corinthum; the quadriremes were deuised by Aristotle of Carthage; the quinquiremes by Nesichthon of Salamina; the gallie of six rowes by Xenagoras of Syracusa: from this to the tenth Nesigiton brought vp; Alexander the great caused one to be made of twelue; Ptolomeus Soter of fiftéene; Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus of thirtie; Ptolom. Philad. of fortie; Ptol. Triphon of fiftie: all which aboue foure were none other (in mine opinion) than vnweldie carts, and more seruing for pleasure and to gaze vpon, than anie vse in the wars for which they should be deuised. But of all other I note one of fortie rowes, which Ptolo. Philopater builded, conteining 200 and eightie cubits in length, and eight and fortie cubits in breadth: it held also foure thousand oares, foure hundred mariners, and three thousand souldiers, so that in the said vessell were seauen thousand and foure hundred persons: a report incredible, if truth and good testimonie did not confirme the same. I must néeds confesse therefore, that the ancient vessels far exceeded ours for capacitie: neuertheless if you regard the forme, and the assurance from perill of the sea, and therewithall the strength and nimblenesse of such as are made in our time, you shall easilie find that ours are of more value than theirs: for as the greatest vessell is not alwaies the safest, so that of most huge capacitie is not alwaies the aptest to shift and breake the seas: as might be séene by the great Henrie, the hugest vessell that euer England framed in our times. Neither were the ships of old like vnto ours in mould and maner of building aboue the water (for of low gallies in our seas we make small account) nor so full of ease within, sith time hath ingendred more skill in the wrights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. And now to come vnto our purpose at the first intended.

The naute of England may be diuided into three sortes, of which the one serueth for the warres, the other for burden, and the third for fishermen, which get their liuing by fishing on the sea. How manie of the first order are mainteined within the realme, it passeth my cunning to expresse: yet sith it may be parted into the naute roiall and common fléete, I thinke good to speake of those that belong vnto the prince, and so much the rather, for that their number is certeine & well knowne to verie manie. Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautifull or gallant sort of ships than the quéenes maiestie of England at this present, and those generallie are of such exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or foure of those of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.

Neither are the moulds of anie forren barkes so conuenientlie made, to breake so well one sea as another lieng vpon the shore in anie part of the continent as those of England. And therefore the common report that strangers make of our ships amongst themselues is dailie confirmed to be true, which is, that for strength, assurance, nimblenesse and swiftnesse of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours. And all these are committed to the regiment and safe custodie of the admerall, who is so called (as some imagine) of the Gréeke word Almiras a capiteine on the sea, for so saith Zonaras *in Basilio Macedone & Basilio Porphyriogenito*, though other fetch it from Ad mare the Latine words, another sort from Amyras the Saracen magistrate, or from some French deriuation: but these things are not for this place, and therefore I passe them ouer. The quéenes highnesse hath at this present (which is the foure and twentith of hir reigne) alreadie made and furnished, to the number of foure or fiue and twentie great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham rode, beside three gallies, of whose particular names and furnitures (so far forth as I can come by them) it shall not be amisse to make report at this time.

The

## The names of ſo manie ſhips belonging to hir maieſtie as I could come by at this preſent.

| | |
|---|---|
| The Bonaduenture. | Foreſight. |
| Elizabeth Ionas. | Swift ſute. |
| White Beare. | Aid. |
| Philip and Marie. | Handmaid. |
| Triumph. | Dread nought. |
| Bull. | Swallow. |
| Tiger. | Genet. |
| Antlope. | Barke of Bullen. |
| Hope. | Achates. |
| Lion. | Falcon. |
| Victorie. | George. |
| Marie Roſe. | Reuenge. |

It is ſaid, that as kings and princes haue in the yong daies of the world, and long ſince framed themſelues to erect euerie yeare a citie in ſome one place or other of their kingdoms (and no ſmall wonder that Sardanapalus ſhould begin & finiſh two, to wit, Anchialus and Tharſus in one daie) ſo hir grace doth yearelie build one ſhip or other to the better defenſe of hir frontiers from the enimie. But as of this report I haue no aſſured certeintie, ſo it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaid ſo much of theſe things: yet this I thinke worthie further to be added, that if they ſhould all be driuen to ſeruice at one inſtant) which God forbid) ſhe ſhould haue a power by ſea of about nine or ten thouſand men, which were a notable companie, beſide the ſupplie of other veſſels apperteining to hir ſubiects to furniſh vp hir votage.

Beſide theſe hir grace hath other in hand alſo, of whom hereafter as their turnes do come about, I will not let to leaue ſome further remembrance. She hath likewiſe three notable gallies: the Spéed well, the Trie right, and the Blacke gallie, with the ſight whereof and reſt of the nauie roiall, it is incredible to ſaie how greatlie hir grace is delighted: and not without great cauſe (I ſaie) ſith by their meanes hir coaſts are kept in quiet, and ſundrie forren enimies put backe, which otherwiſe would inuade vs. The number of thoſe that ſerue for burden with the other, whereof I haue made mention alreadie, and whoſe vſe is dailie ſéene, as occaſion ſerueth, in time of the warres, is to mée vtterlie vnknowne. Yet if the report of one record be anie thing at all to be credited, there are 135 ſhips that exceed 500 tun, topmen vnder 100 and aboue fortie 656: hoies 100: but of hulkes, catches, fiſherboats, and craiers, it lieth not in me to deliuer the iuſt account, ſith they are hardlie to come by. Of theſe alſo there are ſome of the quéenes maieſties ſubiects that haue two or three, ſome foure or ſix, and (as I heard of late) one man whoſe name I ſuppreſſe for modeſties ſake, hath bene knowne not long ſince to haue had ſixtéene or ſeuentéene, and emploied them wholie to the waſting in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped no ſmall commoditie and gaine. I might take occaſion to tell of the notable and difficult votages made into ſtrange countries by Engliſhmen, and of their dailie ſucceſſe there: but as theſe things are nothing incident to my purpoſe, ſo I ſurceaſe to ſpeake of them. Onelie this will I ad, to the end all men ſhall vnderſtand ſomewhat of the great maſſes of treaſure dailie emploied vpon our nauie, how there are few of thoſe ſhips, of the firſt and ſecond ſort, that being apparelled and made readie to ſale, are not worth one thouſand pounds, or three thouſand ducats at the leaſt, if they ſhould preſentlie be ſold. What ſhall we thinke then of the greater, but eſpeciallie of the nauie roiall, of which ſome one veſſell is worth two of the other, as the ſhipwrights haue often told me? It is poſſible that ſome couetous perſon hearing this report, will either not credit it at all, or ſuppoſe monie ſo emploied to be nothing profitable to the quéenes coffers: as a good huſband ſaid once when he hard there ſhould be prouiſion made for armor, wiſhing the quéenes monie to be rather laid out to ſome ſpéedier returne of gaine vnto hir grace, becauſe the realme (ſaith he) is in caſe good enough, and ſo peraduenture he thought. But if as by ſtore of armour for the defenſe of the countrie, he had likewiſe vnderſtanded that the good kéeping of the ſea, is the ſafegard of our land, he would haue altered his cenſure, and ſone giuen ouer his iudgement. For in times paſt, when our nation made ſmall account of nauigation, how ſone did the Romans, then the Saxons, & laſt of all the Danes inuade this Iland: whoſe crueltie in the end inforced our countrimen, as it were euen againſt their wils, to prouide for ſhips from other places, and build at home of their owne, whereby their enimies were oftentimes diſtreſſed. But moſt of all were the Normans therein to be commended. For in a ſhort proceſſe of time after the conqueſt of this Iland, and good conſideration had for the well kéeping of the ſame, they ſuppoſed nothing more commodious for the defenſe of the countrie, than the maintenance of a ſtrong nauie, which they ſpéedilie prouided, maintained, and thereby reaped in the end their wiſhed ſecuritie, wherewith before their times this Iland was neuer acquainted. Before the comming of the Romans, I do not read that we had anie ſhips at all, except a few made of wicker and couered with buffle hides, like vnto the which there are ſome to be ſéene at this preſent in Scotland (as I heare) although there be a little (I wote not well what) difference betwéene them. Of the ſame alſo Solinus ſpeaketh, ſo far as I remember: neuertheleſſe it may be gathered by his words, how the vpper parts of them aboue the water onelie were framed of the ſaid wickers, and that the Britons did vſe to faſt all the whiles they went to the ſea in them: but whether it were done for policie or ſuperſtition, as yet I do not read.

The Britons faſted all the while they were at the ſea in theſe ſhips.

In the beginning of the Saxons regiment we had ſome ſhips alſo, but as their number and mould was litle and nothing to the purpoſe, ſo Egbert was the firſt prince that euer throughlie began to know this neceſſitie of a nauie, and vſe the ſeruice thereof in the defenſe of his countrie. After him alſo other princes, as Alfred, Edgar, Ethelred, &c: indeuoured more and more to ſtore themſelues at the full with ſhips of all quantities, but chieflie Edgar, for he prouided a nauie of 1600 *alias* 3600 ſaile, which he diuided into foure parts, and ſent them to abide vpon foure ſundrie coaſts of the land to kéepe the ſame from pirats. Next vnto him (and worthie to be remembred) is Ethelred, who made a law, that euerie man holding 310 hidelands, ſhould find a ſhip furniſhed to ſerue him in the warres. Howbeit, and as I ſaid before, when all their nauie was at the greateſt, it was not comparable for force and ſure building, to that which afterward the Normans prouided; neither that of the Normans anie thing like to the ſame that is to be ſéene now in theſe our daies. For the ſourneies alſo of our ſhips, you ſhall vnderſtand, that a well builded veſſell will run or ſaile commonlie thrée hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a wéeke, or peraduenture ſome will go 1200 leagues in ſix wéekes and an halfe. And ſuerlie, if their lading be readie againſt they come thither, there be of them that will be here, at the weſt Indies, & home againe in twelue or thirteene wéekes from Colcheſter; although the ſaid Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornewall, as I haue béene informed. This alſo I vnderſtand

by

by report of some trauellers, that if anie of our vessels happen to make a voiage to Hispaniola or new Spaine, called in time past Quinquezia and Haiti, and lieth betweene the north tropike and the equator, after they haue once touched at the Canaries, (which are eight daies sailing or two hundred and fiftie leages from S. Lucas de Barameda in Spaine) they will be there in thirtie or fourtie daies, & home againe in Cornewall in other eight weekes, which is a goodlie matter, beside the safetie and quietnesse in the passage. But more of this elsewhere.

## Of faires and markets.

### Chap. 18.

There are (as I take it) few great townes in England, that haue not their weekelie markets, one or more granted from the prince, in which all maner of prouision for houshold is to be bought and sold, for ease and benefit of the countrie round about. Wherby as it cõmeth to passe that no buier shall make anie great iourneie in the purueiance of his necessities: so no occupier shall haue occasion to trauell far off with his commodities, except it be to seeke for the highest prices, which commonlie are neere vnto great cities, where round and speediest vtterance is alwaies to be had. And as these haue beene in times past erected for the benefit of the realme, so are they in many places too too much abused: for the reliefe and ease of the buier is not so much intended in them, as the benefit of the seller. Neither are the magistrats for the most part (as men loth to displease their neighbours for their one yeares dignitie) so carefull in their offices, as of right and dutie they should bee. For in most of these markets neither assises of bread nor orders for goodnesse and sweetnesse of graine, and other commodities that are brought thither to be sold, are anie whit looked vnto; but eche one suffered to sell or set vp what and how himselfe listeth: & this is one euident cause of dearth and scarsitie in time of great abundance.

I could (if I would) exemplifie in manie, but I will touch no one particularlie, sith it is rare to see in anie countrie towne (as I said) the assise of bread well kept according to the statute. And yet if anie countrie baker happen to come in among them on the market daie with bread of better quantitie, they find fault by and by with one thing or another in his stuffe; whereby the honest poore man, whome the lawes of nations do commend, for that he indeuoureth to liue by anie lawfull meanes, is driuen awaie, and no more to come there vpon some round penaltie, by vertue of their priuileges. Howbeit though they are so nice in the proportion of their bread, yet in lieu of the same, there is such headie ale & beere in most of them, as for the mightinesse thereof among such as seeke it out, is commonlie called huffecap, the mad dog, father whoresonne, angels food, dragons milke, go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg, &c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence into a troubled cõscience, after he had considered well of his reachlesse life, and dangerous estate: another thinking belike to change his colour and not his mind, caried him straightwaie to the strongest ale, as to the nert physician. It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag. Neither did Romulus and Remus sucke their thee woolfe or sheepheards wife Lupa, with such eger and sharpe deuotion, as these men hale at huscap, till they be red as cockes, & litle wiser than their combs. But how am I fallen from the market into the alehouse? In returning therefore vnto my purpose, I find that in corne great abuse is dailie suffered, to the great preiudice of the towne and countrie, especiallie the poore artificer and householder, which tilleth no land, but laboring all the weeke to buie a bushell or two of graine on the market daie, can there haue none for his monie: bicause bodgers, loders, and common carriers of corne do not onlie buie vp all, but giue aboue the price, to be serued of great quantities. Shall I go anie further? Well I will saie yet a little more, and somewhat by mine owne experience.

At Michaelmasse time poore men must make monie of their graine, that they may paie their rents. So long then as the poore man hath to sell, rich men will bring out none, but rather buie vp that which the poore bring, vnder pretense of seed corne, or alteration of graine, although they bring none of their owne, bicause one wheat often sowen without change of seed, will soone decaie and be conuerted into darnell. For this cause therefore they must needs buie in the markets, though they be twentie miles off and where they be not knowne, promising there if they happen to be espied (which God wot is verie seldome) to send so much to their next market, to be performed I wot not when.

If this shift serue not (neither doth the for vse alwaies one tracke for feare of a snare) they will compound with some one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of huscap or merie go downe, will not let to buie it for them, and that in his owne name. Or else they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, and thereto get him a licence vpon some forged surmise, which being done, they will feed him with monie, to buie for them till he hath filled their lofts, and then if he can do any good for himselfe so it is, if not, they will giue him somewhat for his paines at this time, & reserue him for an other yeare. How manie of the like prouiders stumble vpon blind creekes at the sea coast, I wote not well; but that some haue so done and yet do vnder other mens wings, the case is too too plaine. But who dare find fault with them, when they haue once a licence? yea though it be but to serue a meane gentlemans house with corne, who hath cast vp all his tillage, bicause he boasteth how he can buie his graine in the market better cheape, than he can sow his land, as the rich grasier often doth also vpon the like deuise, bicause grasing requireth a smaller household and lesse attendance and charge. If anie man come to buie a bushell or two for his expenses vnto the market crosse, answer is made; Forsooth here was one euen now that bad me monie for it, and I hope he will haue it. And to saie the truth, these bodgers are faire chapmen, for there are no more words with them, but Let me see it, what shall I giue you, knit it vp, I will haue it, go carie it to such a chamber, and if you bring in twentie seme more in the weeke daie to such an Inne or sollar where I laie my corne, I will haue it and giue you pence or more in euerie bushell for six weekes day of paiment than an other will. Thus the bodgers beare awaie all, so that the poore artificer and labourer cannot make his prouision in the markets, sith they will hardlie now adaies sell by the bushell, nor breake their measure; and so much the rather, for that the buier will loke (as they saie) for so much ouer measure in a bushell as the bodger will do in a quarter. Naie the poore man cannot oft get anie of the farmer at home, bicause he prouideth altogither to serue the bodger, or hath an hope grounded vpon a greedie and insatiable desire of gaine, that the sale will be better in the market: so that he must giue

Suborned bodgers.

Bodgers licenced.

giue two pence or a groate more in a bushell at his house than the last market craued, or else go without it, and sléepe with an hungrie bellie. Of the common carriage of corne ouer vnto the parts beyond the seas I speake not; or at the leastwise if I should, I could not touch it alone but néeds must ioine other prouision withall, whereby not onelie our frends abroad, but also manie of our aduersaries and countriemen the papists are abundantlie relieued (as the report goeth) but sith I sée it not, I will not so trust mine eares as to write it for a truth. But to returne to our markets againe.

By this time the poore occupier hath all sold his crop for néed of monie, being readie peraduenture to buie againe yer long. And now is the whole sale of corne in the great occupiers hands, who hitherto haue threshed little or none of their owne, but bought vp of other men, so much as they could come by. Henceforth also they begin to sell, not by the quarter or load at the first, for marring the market, but by the bushell or two, or an horseload at the most, therby to be séene to kéepe the crosse, either for a shew, or to make men eger to buie, and so as they may haue it for monie, not to regard what they paie. And thus corne wareth déere, but it will be déerer the nert market daie. It is possible also that they mislike the price in the beginning for the whole yeare insuing, as men supposing that corne will be litle worth for this, & of better price in the nert yeare. For they haue certeine superstitious obseruations, where by they will giue a gesse at the sale of corne for the yeare following. And our countriemen do vse commonlie for barlsie where I dwell, to iudge after the price at Baldocke vpon S. Matthews daie, and for wheat as it is sold in séed time. They take in like sort experiment by sight of the first flockes of cranes that flée southward in winter, the age of the mone in the beginning of Januarie, & such other apish toies, as by laieng twelue cornes vpon the hot hearth for the twelue moneths, &c: whereby they shew themselues to be scant good christians, but what care they so they may come by monie? Herevpon also will they thresh out thrée parts of the old corne, toward the latter end of the summer, when new commeth apace to hand, and cast the same in the fourth vnthreshed, where it shall lie vntill the nert spring, or peraduenture till it must and putrifie. Certes it is not deintie to sée muskie corne in manie of our great markets of England, which these great occupiers bring forth when they can kéepe it no longer. But as they are inforced oftentimes vpon this one occasion somwhat to abate the price, so a plague is not seldome ingendred thereby among the poorer sort that of necessitie must buie the same, wherby manie thousands of all degrees are consumed, of whose deaths (in mine opinion) these farmers are not vnguiltie. But to proceed. If they laie not vp their graine or wheat in this maner, they haue yet another policie, whereby they will séeme to haue but small store left in their barnes: for else they will gird their sheues by the band, and stacke it vp of new in lesse rome, to the end it may not onlie séeme lesse in quantitie, but also giue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barne, or growing in the field. If there happen to be such plentie in the market on anie market daie, that they cannot sell at their own price, then will they set it vp in some frends house, against an other or the third daie, & not bring it forth till they like of the sale. If they sell anie at home, beside harder measure, it shall be dérer to the poore man that bieth it by two pence or a groat in a bushell than they may sell it in the market. But as these things are worthie redresse, so I wish that God would once open their eies that deale thus, to sée their owne errours: for as yet some of them little care how manie poore men suffer extremitie, so that they may fill their purses, and carie awaie the gaine.

It is a world also to sée how most places of the realme are pestered with purueiours, who take vp egs, butter, chéese, pigs, capons, hens, chickens, hogs, bakon, &c: in one market, vnder pretense of their commissions, & suffer their wiues to sell the same in another, or to pulters of London. If these chapmen be absent but two or thrée market daies, then we may perfectlie sée these wares to be more reasonablie sold, and therevnto the crosses sufficientlie furnished of all things. In like sort, since the number of buttermen haue so much increased, and since they trauell in such wise, that they come to mens houses for their butter faster than they can make it; it is almost incredible to sée how the price of butter is augmented: whereas when the owners were inforced to bring it to the market townes, & fewer of these butter buiers were stirring, our butter was scarslie worth eightéene pence the gallon, that now is worth thrée shillings foure pence, & perhaps fiue shillings. Wherby also I gather that the maintenance of a superfluous number of dealers in most trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greatest causes why the prices of things become excessiue: for one of them do cómonlie vse to out bid another. And whilest our countrie commodities are commonlie bought and sold at our priuate houses, I neuer loke to sée this enormitie redressed, or the markets well furnished.

I could saie more, but this is euen inough, & more peraduenture than I shall be well thanked for: yet true it is though some thinke it no trespasse. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall measure is not in vse throughout all England, but euerie market towne hath in maner a seuerall bushell, and the lesser it be, the more sellers it draweth to resort vnto the same. Such also is the couetousnesse of manie clearkes of the market, that in taking view of measures, they will alwaie so prouide, that one and the same bushell shall be either to big or to little at their nert comming, and yet not depart without a fée at the first: so that what by their mending at one time and empairing the same at another, the countrie is greatlie charged, and few iust measures to be had in anie stéed. It is oft found likewise, that diuerse vnconscionable dealers haue one measure to sell by, & another to buie withall, the like is also in weights and yet all sealed and bronded. Wherefore it were verie good that these two were reduced vnto one standard, that is, one bushell, one pound, one quarter, one hundred, one tale, one number: so should things in time fall into better order, and fewer causes of contention be moued in this land. Of the complaint of such poore tenants as paie rent corne vnto their landlords, I speake not, who are often dealt withall verie hardlie. For beside that in the measuring of ten quarters, for the most part they lose one through the iniquitie of the bushell (such is the grédinesse of the appointed receiuers thereof) fault is found also with the goodnesse and cleannesse of the graine. Wherby some péece of monie must néeds passe vnto their purses to stop their mouths withall, or else my lord will not like of the corne; Thou art worthie to lose thy lease, &c. Or if it be cheaper in the market, than the rate allowed for it is in their rents, then must they paie monie and no corne, which is no small extremitie. And thereby we may sée how each one of vs indeuoureth to fléece and eat vp another.

Another thing there is in our markets worthie to be loked vnto, and that is the recariage of graine from the same into lofts and sollars, of which before I gaue some intimation: wherefore if it were ordered, that euerie seller should make his market by an houre, or else the bailie or clearke of the said market

to

to make sale therof according to his discretion, without libertie to the farmer to set vp their corne in houses and chambers, I am perswaded that the prices of our graine would soone be abated. Againe, if it were enacted that each one should kéepe his nert market with his graine, and not to run six, eight, ten, foure téene, or twentie miles from home to sell his corne, where he doth find the highest price, and therby leaueth his neighbours vnfurnished, I do not thinke but that our markets would be farre better serued than at this present they are. Finallie if mens barns might be indifferentlie viewed immediatlie after harvest, and a note gathered by an estimat, and kept by some appointed & trustie person for that purpose, we should haue much more plentie of corne in our towne crosses than as yet is commonlie séene: bicause each one hideth and hoordeth what he may vpon purpose either that it will be dérer, or that he shall haue some priuie vaine by bodgers, who do accustomablie so deale, that the sea doth load awaie no small part thereof into other countries & our enimies, to the great hinderance of our common-wealth at home, and more likelie yet to be, except some remedie be found. But what do I talke of these things, or desire the suppression of bodgers being a minister? Certes I may speake of them right well, as féeling the harme in that I am a buier, neuertheless I speake generallie in ech of them.

To conclude therefore, in our markets all things are to be sold necessarie for mans vse, and there is our prouision made commonlie for all the wéeke insuing. Therefore as there are no great townes without one weekelie market at the least, so there are verie few of them that haue not one or two faires or more within the compasse of the yeare assigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that some of them are not much better than Lowse faire or the common kirkemesses beyond the sea, yet there are diuerse not inferiour to the greatest marts in Europe, as Sturbridge faire nære to Cambridge, Bristow faire, Bartholomew faire at London, Lin mart, Cold faire at Newport pond for cattell, and diuerse other, all which or at least wise the greatest part of them (to the end I may with the more ease to the reader and lesse trauell to my selfe fulfill my taske in their recitall) I haue set downe, according to the names of the moneths wherein they are holden, at the end of this booke, where you shall find them at large, as I borrowed the same from I. Stow, and the reports of others.

## Of Parkes and Warrens.

### Chap. 19.

IN euerie shire of England there is great plentie of parkes, whereof some here and there, to wit, welnere to the number of two hundred for hir daily prouision of that flesh apperteine to the prince, the rest to such of the nobilitie and gentlemen as haue their lands and patrimonies lieng in or nære vnto the same. I would gladlie haue set downe the iust number of these inclosures to be found in euerie countie: but sith I cannot so do, it shall suffice to saie, that in Kent and Esser onelie are to the number of an hundred, and twentie in the bishoprike of Durham, wherein great plentie of fallow dære is cherished and kept. As for warrens of conies, I iudge them almost innumerable, and dailie like to increase, by reason that the blacke skins of those beasts are thought to counteruaile the prices of their naked carcases, and this is the onelie cause whie the grate are lesse esteemed. Nære vnto London their quickest merchandize is of the yong rabbets, wherfore the older conies are brought from further off, where there is no such speedie vtterance of rabbets and sucklings in their season, nor so great losse by their skins, sith they are suffered to growe vp to their full greatnesse with their owners. Our parkes are generallie inclosed with strong pale made of oke, of which kind of wood there is great store cherished in the woodland countries from time to time in ech of them, onelie for the maintenance of the said defense, and safekæping of the fallow déere from ranging about the countrie. Howbeit in times past diuerse haue bæn fenced in with stone walles (especiallie in the times of the Romans, who first brought fallow déere into this land (as some coniecture) albeit those inclosures were ouerthrowne againe by the Saxons & Danes, as Cauisham, Towner, and Woodstocke, beside other in the west countrie, and one also at Bolton. Among other things also to be séene in that towne, there is one of the fairest clockes in Europe. Where no wood is, they are also inclosed with piles of slate; and therto it is douted of manie whether our bucke or doe are to be reckoned in wild or tame beasts or not. Plinie dæmeth them to be wild, Martial is also of the same opinion, where he saith, *Imbelles damæ quid nisi præda sumus?* And so in time past the like controuersie was about bées, which the lawiers call *Feras, tit. de acquirendo rerum dominio, & lib. 2. instit.* But Plinie attempting to decide the quarell calleth them *Medias inter feras & placidas aues*. But whither am I so suddenlie digressed? In returning therefore vnto our parks, I find also the circuit of these inclosures in like manner conteine often times a walke of foure or fiue miles, and sometimes more or lesse. Wherby it is to be séene what store of ground is emploied vpon that vaine commoditie, which bringeth no manner of gaine or profit to the owner, sith they commonlie giue awaie their flesh, neuer taking penie for the same, except the ordinarie fée and parts of the déere giuen vnto the kéeper by a custome, who beside three shillings foure pence, or fiue shillings in monie, hath the skin, head, vmbles, chine, and shoulders: whereby he that hath the warrant for an whole bucke, hath in the end little more than halfe, which in my iudgement is scarselie equall dealing; for venison in England is neither bought nor sold, as in other countries, but mainteined onelie for the pleasure of the owner and his friends. Albeit I heard of late of one ancient ladie, which maketh a great gaine by selling yærelie hir husbands venison to the cookes (as another of no lesse name will not sticke to ride to the market to sée hir butter sold) but not performed without infinite scoffes and mockes, euen of the poorest pezzants of the countrie, who thinke them as odious matters in ladies and women of such countenance to sell their venison and their butter, as for an earle to féele his oren, sheepe, and lambs, whether they be readie for the butcher or not, or to sell his woll vnto the clothier, or to kéepe a tan-house, or deale with such like affaires as belong not to men of honor, but rather to farmers, or graziers; for which such, if there be anie may well be noted (and not vniustlie) to degenerate from true nobilitie, and betake themselues to husbandrie. And euen the same enormitie tooke place sometime among the Romans, and entred so farre as into the verie senate, of whome some one had two or three ships going vpon the sea, pretending prouision for their houses; but in truth following the trades of merchandize, till a law was made which did inhibit and restraine them. Liuie also telleth of another

ther law which passed likewise against the senators by Claudius the tribune, and helpe onelie of C. Flaminius, that no senator, or he that had bæne father to anie senator should possesse anie ship or vessell aboue the capacitie of three hundred amphoras, which was supposed sufficient for the cariage and recariage of such necessities as should apperteine vnto his house: sith further trading with merchandizes and commodities doth declare but a base and couetous mind, not altogither void of enuie, that anie man should liue but he; or that if anie gaine were to be had, he onelie would haue it himselfe: which is a wonderfull dealing, and must needs proue in time the confusion of that countrie wherein such enormities are exercised. Where in times past, manie large and wealthie occupiers were dwelling within the compasse of some one parke, and thereby great plentie of corne and cattell seene, and to be had among them, beside a more copious procreation of humane issue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furnished with able men to serue the prince in his affaires: now there is almost nothing kept but a sort of wild and sauage beasts, cherished for pleasure and delight; and yet some owners still desirous to inlarge those grounds, as either for the breed and feeding of cattell, do not let dailie to take in more, not sparing the verie commons wherupon manie townships now and then do liue, affirming that we haue alreadie to great store of people in England; and that youth by marrieng too soone do nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, to the hurt and vtter vndoing (they saie) of the common wealth.

Tillage and mankind diminished by parkes.

Certes if it be not one curse of the Lord, to haue our countrie conuerted in such sort from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and shrowds of wild beasts, I know not what is anie. How manie families also these great and small games (for so most keepers call them) haue eaten vp and are likelie hereafter to deuoure, some men may coniecture, but manie more lament, sith there is no hope of restraint to be looked for in this behalfe, because the corruption is so generall. But if a man may presentlie giue a gheese at the vniuersalitie of this euill by contemplation of the circumstance, he shall saie at the last, that the twentith part of the realme is imploied vpon deere and conies alreadie, which seemeth verie much if it be not dulie considered of.

The decaie of the people is the destruction of a kingdome.

King Henrie the eight, one of the noblest princes that euer reigned in this land, lamented oft that he was constreined to hire forren aid, for want of competent store of souldiors here at home, perceiuing (as it is indeed) that such supplies are oftentimes more hurtfull than profitable vnto those that interteine them, as may cheeflie be seene in Valens the emperor, our Mortiger, and no small number of others. He would oft marueil in priuate talke, how that when seauen or eight princes ruled here at once, one of them could lead thirtie or fortie thousand men to the field against another, or two of them 100000 against the third, and those taken out onelie of their owne dominions. But as he found the want, so he saw not the cause of this decaie, which grew beside this occasion now mentioned, also by laieng house to house, and land to land, whereby manie mens occupiengs were conuerted into one, and the breed of people not a little thereby diminished. The auarice of landlords by increasing of rents and fines also did so wearie the people, that they were readie to rebell with him that would arise, supposing a short end in the warres to be better than a long and miserable life in peace.

Priuileges and faculties also are another great cause of the ruins of a common wealth, and diminution of mankind: for whereas law and nature doth permit all men to liue in their best maner, and whatsoeuer trade they be exercised in, there commeth some priuilege or other in the waie, which cutteth them off from this or that trade, wherby they must needs shift soile, and seeke vnto other countries. By these also the greatest commodities are brought into the hands of few, who imbase, corrupt, and yet raise the prices of things at their owne pleasures. Example of this last I can giue also in bookes, which (after the first impression of anie one booke) are for the most part verie negligentlie handled: whereas if another might print it so well as the first, then would men striue which of them should do it best; and so it falleth out in all other trades. It is an easie matter to proue that England was neuer lesse furnished with people than at this present; for if the old records of euerie manour be sought, and search made to find what tenements are fallen, either downe, or into the lords hands, or brought and vnited togither by other men: it will soone appeere, that in some one manour seuentéen, eightéene, or twentie houses are shrunke. I know what I saie by mine owne experience: notwithstanding that some one cotage be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpose. Of cities and townes either vtterlie decaied, or more than a quarter or halfe diminished, though some one be a little increased here and there; of townes pulled downe for sheepe-walks, and no more but the lordships now standing in them, beside those that William Rufus pulled downe in his time; I could saie somewhat: but then I should swarue yet further from my purpose, whereunto I now returne.

Wée had no parkes left in England at the comming of the Normans, who added this calamitie also to the seruitude of our nation, making men of the best sort furthermore to become keepers of their game, whilest they liued in the meane time vpon the spoile of their reuenues, and dailie ouerthrew townes, villages, and an infinit sort of families, for the maintenance of their venerie. Neither was anie parke supposed in these times to be statelie enough, that conteined not at the least eight or ten hidelands, that is, so manie hundred acres or families (or as they haue bæne alwaies called in some places of the realme carrucats or cartwares) of which one was sufficient in old time to mainteine an honest yeoman.

King John trauelling on a time northwards, to wit 1209 to warre vpon the king of Scots, because he had married his daughter to the earle of Bullen without his consent: in his returne ouerthrew a great number of parkes and warrens, of which some belonged to his barons, but the greatest part to the abbats and prelats of the clergie. For hearing (as he trauelled) by complaint of the countrie, how these inclosures were the cheefe decaie of men, and of tillage in the land, he sware with an oth that he would not suffer wild beasts to feed vpon the fat of his soile, and see the people perish for want of abilitie to procure and buie them food that should defend the realme. Howbeit, this act of his was so ill taken by the religious and their adherents, that they inuerted his intent herein to another end; affirming most slanderouslie how he did it rather of purpose to spoile the corne and grasse of the commons and catholikes that held against him of both estates, and by so doing to impouerish and bring the north part of the realme to destruction, because they refused to go with him into Scotland. If the said prince were aliue in these daies, wherein Andrew Boord saith there are more parks in England than in all Europe (ouer which he trauelled in his owne person) and saw how much ground they consume,

I thinke he would either double his othes, or laie the most of them open that tillage might be better looked vnto. But this I hope shall not need in time, for the owners of a great sort of them begin now to smell out, that such parcels might be employed to their more gaine, and therefore some of them dow grow to be disparked.

Next of all we haue the franke chase, which taketh something both of parke and forrest, and is giuen either by the kings grant or prescription. Certes it differeth not much from a parke; nay, it is in maner the selfe same thing that a parke is, sauing that a parke is inuironed with pale, wall, or such like: the chase alwaie open and nothing at all inclosed, as we see in Enuield & Maluerne chases. And as it is the cause of the seisure of the franchise of a parke not to keepe the same inclosed, so it is the like in a chase if at anie time it be imparked. It is trespasse, and against the law also, for anie man to haue or make a chase, parke, or free warren without good warrantie of the king by his charter or perfect title of prescription: for it is not lawfull for anie subiect either to carnilate, that is, build stone houses, imbattell, haue the querke of the sea, or keepe the assise of bread, ale, or wine, or set vp furels, tumbrell, thew, or pillorie, or inclose anie ground to the aforesaid purposes within his owne soile, without his warrant and grant. The beasts of the chase were commonlie the bucke, the roe, the for, and the marterne. But those of venerie in old time were the hart, the hare, the bore and the woolfe; but as this held not in the time of Canutus, so in steed of the woolfe the beare is now crept in, which is a beast cõmonlie hunted in the east countries, and fed vpon as excellent venison, although with vs I know not anie that feed thereon or care for it at all. Certes it should seeme, that forrests and franke chases haue alwaies beene had, and religiouslie preserued in this Iland for the solace of the prince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that euer they were inclosed more than at this present, or otherwise fenced than by vsuall notes of limitation, whereby their bounds were remembred from time to time, for the better preseruation of such venerie and vert of all sorts as were nourished in the same. Neither are anie of the ancient laws prescribed for their maintenance, before the daies of Canutus, now to be had; sith time hath so dealt with them that they are perished and lost. Canutus therefore seeing the dailie spoile that was made almost in all places of his game, did at the last make sundrie sanctions and decrees, whereby from thenceforth the red and fallow deere were better looked to throughout his whole dominions. We haue in these daies diuerse forrests in England and Wales, of which, some belong to the king, and some to his subiects, as Waltham forrest, Windlesor, Pickering, Feckenam, Delamore, Gillingham, Kingswood, Wencedale, Clun, Rath, Bredon, Weire, Charlie, Leircester, Lee, Rokingham, Selwood, New forrest, Wichwood, Hatfeld, Sauernake, Westbirie, Blacamore Peke, Deane, Penrise, & manie other now cleane out of my remembrance: and which although they are far greater in circuit than manie parkes and warrens, yet are they in this our time lesse deuourers of the people than these latter, sith beside much tillage, & manie townes are found in each of them, whereas in parks and warrens we haue nothing else than either the keepers & wareners lodge, or at least the manor place of the chéefe lord & owner of the soile. I find also by good record, that all Esser hath in time past wholie beene forrest ground, except one cantred or hundred; but how long it is since it lost the said denomination in good soth I dow not read. This neuerthelesse remaineth yet in memorie, that the towne of Walden in Essex standing in the limits of the aforesaid countie doth take hir name thereof. For in the Celtike tong, wherewith the Saxon or Scithian speech doth not a little participate, huge woods and forrests were called Walds, and likewise their Druides were named Wale or Waldie, because they frequented the woods, and there made sacrifice among the okes and thickets. So that if my coniecture in this behalfe be anie thing at all, the aforesaid towne taketh denomination of of Wald and end, as if I should say, The end of the woddie soile; for being once out of that parish, the champaine is at hand. Or it may be that it is so called of Wald and dene: for I haue read it written in old euidences Waldæne, with a diphthong. And to saie truth, Dene is the old Saxon word for a vale or lowe bottome, as Dune or Don is for an hill or hillie soile. Certes if it be so, then Walden taketh hir name of the woodie vale, in which it sometime stood. But the first deriuation liketh me better, and the highest part of the towne is called also Chipping Walden, of the Saxon word Gipping, which signifieth Leaning or hanging, and may verie well be applied thereunto, sith the whole towne hangeth as it were vpon the sides of two hils, whereof the lesser runneth quite through the middest of the same. I might here for further confirmation of these things bring in mention of the Wald of Kent: but this may suffice for the vse of the word Wald, which now differeth much from Wold. For as that signifieth a woodie soile, so this betokeneth a soile without wood, or plaine champaine countrie, without anie store of trees, as may be seene in Cotswold, Porkewold, &c. Beside this I could saie more of our forrests, and the aforesaid inclosures also, & therein to proue by the booke of forrest law, that the whole countie of Lancaster hath likewise beene forrest heretofore. Also how William the Bastard made a law, that whosoeuer did take anie wild beast within the kings forrest should lose an eare; as Henrie the first did punish them either by life or lim: which ordinance was confirmed by Henrie the second and his peeres at Woodstocke, whereupon great trouble insued vnder king John and Henrie the third, as appeareth by the chronicles: but it shall suffice to haue said so much as is set downe alreadie.

Gipping, of going vp to anie place.

Howbeit, that I may restore one antiquitie to light, which hath hitherto lien as it were raked vp in the embers of oblivion, I will giue out those laws that Canutus made for his forrest: whereby manie things shall be disclosed concerning the same (wherof peradventure some lawiers haue no knowlege) and diuerse other notes gathered touching the ancient estate of the realme not to be found in other. But before I deale with the great charter (which as you may perceiue, is in manie places vnperfect by reason of corruption, and want also of congruitie, crept in by length of time, not by me to be restored) I will note another breefe law, which he made in the first yeare of his reigne at Winchester, afterward inserted into these his later constitutions, canon 32, & beginneth thus in his owne Saxon tong; Ic will that elc one, &c: I will and grant that ech one shall be worthie of such venerie as he by hunting can take either in the plaines or in the woods, within his owne fee or dominion; but ech man shall abstaine from my venerie in euerie place, where I will that my beasts shall haue firme peace and quietnesse, vpon paine to forfet so much as a man may forfet. Hitherto the statute made by the aforesaid Canutus, which was afterward confirmed by king Edward surnamed the Confessor; & ratified by the Bastard in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great charter it selfe in such rude order and Latine

as I find it word for word, and which I would gladlie haue turned into English, if it might haue sounded to anie benefit of the vnskilfull and vnlearned.

## Incipiunt constitutiones Canuti regis de foresta.

*HAe sunt sanctiones de foresta, quas ego Canutus rex cum consilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, vt cunctis regni nostri Angliæ ecclesijs & pax & iustitia fiat, & vt omnis delinquens secundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.*

*1 Sint iam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus, qui habent saluas suas debitas consuetudines (quos Angli* Pegened *appellant) in qualibet regni mei prouincia constituti, ad iustitiam distribuēdam, vna cum pœna merita & materijs forestæ cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quàm Danis per totum regnum meum Angliæ, quos quatuor primarios forestæ appellandos censemus.* Pegened.

*2 Sint sub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli* Lesspegend *nuncupant, Dani verò* yoong men *vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris suscipiant.* Lesspegend. Nunc fortè Fringald.

*3 In administranda autem iustitia nullatenus volo vt tales se intromittant: mediocrésq; tales post ferarum curam susceptam, pro liberalibus semper habeantur, quos Dani* Ealdermen *appellant.* Ealdermen.

*4 Sub horum iterum quolibet sint duo minutorum hominum, quos* Tineman *Angli dicunt, hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum sermilia opera subibunt.* Tineman.

*5 Si talis minutus seruus fuerit, tam citò quàm in foresta nostra locabitur, liber esto, omnésq; hos ex sumptibus nostris manutenebimus.*

*6 Habeat etiam quilibet primariorum quolibet anno de nostra warda, quam* Michni *Angli appellant, duos equos, vnum cum sella, alterum sine sella, vnum gladium, quinque lanceas, vnum cussidem, vnum scutum, & ducentos solidos argenti.* Michni.

*7 Mediocrium quilibet vnum equum, vnam Lanceam, vnum scutum, & 60 solidos argenti.*

*8 Minutorum quilibet, vnum lanceam, vnam arcubalistam, & 15 solidos argenti.*

*9 Sint omnes tam primarij, quàm mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quieti ab omnibus prouincialibus summonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quæ* Hundred laghe *Angli dicunt, & ab omnibus armorum oneribus, quod* Warscot *Angli dicunt, & forinceſis querelis.* Hundzed law. Warscot.

*10 Sint mediocrium & minutorum causæ, & earum correctiones, tam criminalium quàm ciuilium per prouidam sapientiam & rationem primariorum iudicatæ & decisæ: primariorum verò enormia si quæ fuerint (ne scelus aliquod remaneat inultum) nosmet in ira nostra regali puniemus.*

*11 Habeant hi quatuor vnam regalem potestatem (salua semper nobis nostra præsentia) quatérq; in anno generales forestæ demonstrationes & viridis & veneris forisfactiones, quas* Muchehunt *dicunt, vbi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente forestam, eántque ad triplex iudicium, quod Angli* Ofgangfordell *dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex iudicium. Accipiat secum quinque, & sit ipse sextus, & sic iurando acquirat triplex iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur, nisi vbi nuda veritas nequit aliter inuestigari.* Muchehunt. Ofgangfordell. Purgatio ignis, triplex ordalia.

*12 Liberalis autem homo. 1.* Pegen, *modo crimen suum non sit inter maiora, habeat fidelem hominem qui possit pro eo iurare iuramentum. 1.* Forathe: *si autem non habet, ipsemet iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliquod iuramentum.* Pegen. Forathe.

*13 Si aduena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit sit calumniatus de foresta, & talis est sua inopia vt non possit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualem * nullus Anglus iudicare potest: tunc subeat captionem regis, & ibi expectet quousque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquæ: attamen si quis extraneo aut peregrino de longè venienti * * sibi ipsi nocet, si aliquod iudicium iudicauerint.*

*14 Quicúnq; coram primarios homines meos forestæ in falso testimonio steterit & victus fuerit, non sit dignus imposterum stare aut portare testimonium, quia legalitatem suam perdidit, & pro culpa soluat regi decem solidos, quos Dani vocant* Halfehang, *aliàs* Halsehang. Halfehang.

*15 Si quis vim aliquam primarijs forestæ meæ intulerit, si liberalis sit amittat libertatem & omnia sua, si villanus abscindatur dextra.*

*16 Si alteruter iterum peccauerit, reus sit mortis.*

*17 Si quis autem contra primarium pugnauerit, in plito emendet secundum pretium sui ipsius, quod Angli* Pere & pite *dicunt, & soluat primario quadraginta solidos.* Pere & Pite.

*18 Si pacem quis fregerit ante mediocres forestæ, quod dicunt* Gethbrech, *emendet regi decem solidis.* Gethbzech.

*19 Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percusserit, emendetur prout interfectio feræ regalis mihi emendari solet.*

*20 Si quis delinquens in foresta nostra capietur, pœnas luet secundum modum & genus delicti.*

*21 Pœna & forisfactio non vna eadémq; erit liberalis (quem Dani* Ealderman *vocant) & illiberalis: domini & serui: noti & ignoti: nec vna eadémq; erit causarum tum ciuilium tum criminalium, ferarum forestæ, & ferarum regalium: viridis & veneris tractatio: nam crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non immeritò numerabatur: viridis verò (fractione chaceæ nostræ regalis excepta) ita pusillum & exiguum est, quòd vix ea respicit nostra constitutio: qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, sit criminis forestæ reus.* Ealderman.

*22 Si liber aliquis feram forestæ ad cursum impulerit, siue casu, siue præhabita voluntate, ita vt cursu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem solidis regi emendet, si illiberalis dupliciter emendet, si seruus careat corio.*

*23 Si verò harum aliquot interfecerit, soluat dupliciter & persoluat, sitque pretij sui reus contra regem.*

*24 Sed si regalem feram, quam Angli* Staggon *appellant, alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per vnum annum, alter per duos careat libertate naturali: si verò seruus, pro vtlegato habeatur, quem Angli* Frendlesman *vocant.* Staggon or Stagge. Frendlesman.

*25 Si verò occiderit, amittat liber scutum libertatis, si sit illiberalis careat libertate, si seruus vita.*

*26 Episcopi, abbates, & barones mei non calumniabuntur pro venatione, si non regales feras occiderint: & si regales, restabunt rei regi pro libito suo, sine certa emendatione.*

*27 Sunt aliæ (præter feras forestæ) bestiæ, quæ*

*dum inter septa & sepes forestæ continentur, emendationi subiacent: quales sunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quàm plurima animalia, quæ quãquam infra septa forestæ viuunt, &*

Bubali olim in Anglia.

*oneri & curæ mediocrium subiacent forestæ, tamen nequaquã censeri possunt, qualia sunt bubali, vaccæ, & similia. Vulpes & lupi, nec forestæ nec veneris habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi subiacet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio sit regalis chaceæ, & mitius emendetur. Aper verò quanquam forestæ sit, nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi est assuetus.*

*28 Bosco nec subbosco nostro sine licentia primariorum forestæ nemo manum apponat, quòd si quis fecerit reus sit fractionis regalis chaceæ.*

Ilices aliquando in Britãnia nisi intelligatur de quercu.

*29 Si quis verò ilicem aut arborẽ aliquam, quæ victum feris suppeditat sciderit, præter fractionem regalis chaceæ, emendet regi viginti solidis.*

*30 Volo vt omnis liber homo pro libito suo habeat venerem siue viridem in planis suis super terras suas, sine chacea tamen; & deuitent omnes meam, vbicúnq; eam habere voluero.*

*31 Nullus mediocris habebit nec custodiet canes, quos Angli* Greihounds *appellant. Liberali verò, dum genuiscisio eorum facta fuerit coram primario forestæ licebit, aut sine genuiscisione dum remoti sunt à limitibus forestæ per decem miliaria: quando verò propius venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno solido. Si verò infra septa forestæ reperiatur, dominus canis forisfaciet & decem solidos regi.*

Greihounds.

Uelter Langeran.

Ramhundt.

*32 Velteres verò quos* Langeran *appellant, quia manifestè constat in ijs nihil esse periculi, cuilibet licebit sine genuiscisione eos custodire. Idem de canibus quos* Ramhundt *vocant.*

*33 Quòdsi casu inauspicato huiusmodi canes rabidi fiant & vbiq; vagãtur, negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emendetur regi pro illicitis, &c. Quòdsi intra septa forestæ reperiantur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet secundum pretium hominis mediocris, quòd secundum legem Werinorum. 1. Churingorum, est ducentorum solidorum.*

Pretium hominis mediocris.

*34 Si canis rabidus momorderit feram, tunc emendet secundum pretiũ hominis liberalis, quod est duodecies solidis centum. Si verò fera regalis mor sa fuerit, reus sit maximi criminis.*

Pretium liberi hominis.

And these are the constitutions of Canutus concerning the forrest, verie barbarouslie translated by those that tooke the same in hand. Howbeit as I find it so I set it downe, without anie alteration of my copie in anie iot or tittle.

## Of gardens and orchards.

### Chap. 19.

After such time as Calis was woone from the French, and that our countriemen had learned to trade into diuerse countries (wherby they grew rich) they began to wax idle also, and therevpon not onlie left off their former painfulnesse and frugalitie, but in like sort gaue themselues to liue in excesse and vanitie, whereby manie goodlie commodities failed, and in short time were not to be had amongst vs. Such strangers also as dwelled here with vs, perceiuing our sluggishnesse, and espieng that this idlenesse of ours might redound to their great profit, forthwith imploted their endeuours to bring in the supplie of such things as we lacked, continuallie from forren countries; which yet more augmented our idlenes. For hauing all things at reasonable prices as we supposed, by such meanes from them, we thought it meere madnesse to spend either time or cost about the same here at home. And thus we became enimies to our owne welfare, as men that in those daies reposed our felicitie in following the wars, wherewith we were often exercised both at home and other places. Besides this, the naturall desire that mankind hath to esteeme of things farre sought, because they be rare and costlie, and the irksome contempt of things neere hand, for that they are common and plentifull, hath borne no small swaie also in this behalfe amongst vs. For hereby we haue neglected our owne good gifts of God, growing here at home as vile and of no valure, and had euerie trifle and toie in admiration that is brought hither from far countries, ascribing I wot not what great forces and solemne estimation vnto them, vntill they also haue waxen old, after which they haue beene so little regarded, if not more despised amongst vs than our owne. Examples hereof I could set downe manie, & in manie things, but sith my purpose is to deale at this time with gardens and orchards, it shall suffice that I touch them onelie, and shew our inconstancie in the same, so farre as shall seeme & be conuenient for my turne. I comprehend therefore vnder the word garden, all such grounds as are wrought with the spade by mans hand, for so the case requireth. Of wine I haue written alreadie else-where sufficientlie, which commoditie (as I haue learned further since the penning of that booke) hath beene verie plentifull in this Iland, not onlie in the time of the Romans, but also since the conquest, as I haue seene by record: yet at this present haue we none at all or else verie little to speake of growing in this Iland: which I impute not vnto the soile, but the negligence of my countrimen. Such herbes, fruits, and roots also as grow yeerelie out of the ground, of seed, haue beene verie plentifull in this land, in the time of the first Edward, and after his daies: but in processe of time they grew also to be neglected, so that from Henrie the fourth till the latter end of Henrie the seuenth, & beginning of Henrie the eight, there was litle or no vse of them in England, but they remained either vnknowne, or supposed as food more meet for hogs & sauage beasts to feed vpon than mankind. Whereas in my time their vse is not onelie resumed among the poore commons, I meane of melons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, skirets, parsneps, carrets, cabbages, nanewes, turneps, and all kinds of salad herbes, but also fed vpon as deintie dishes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobilitie, who make their prouision yearelie for new seeds out of strange countries, from whence they haue them aboundantlie. Neither do they now staie with such of these fruits as are wholesome in their kinds, but aduenture further vpon such as are verie dangerous and hurtfull, as the verangenes, mushroms, &c: as if nature had ordeined all for the bellie, or that all things were to be eaten, for whose mischiefous operation the Lord in some measure hath giuen and prouided a remedie.

Hops in time past were plentifull in this land, afterwards also their maintenance did cease, and now being reuiued, where are anie better to be found? where anie greater commoditie to be raised by them? onelie poles are accounted to be their greatest charge. But sith men haue learned of late to sow ashen keies in ashyards by themselues, that inconuenience

tenence in short time will be redressed. Madder hath growne abundantlie in this Iland, but of long time neglected, and now a little reuiued, and offereth it selfe to proue no small benefit vnto our countrie, as manie other things else, which are now fetched from vs; as we before time when we gaue our selues to idleneſſe, were glad to haue them other. If you loke into our gardens annexed to our houses, how wonderfullie is their beautie increased, not onelie with floures, which Colmella calleth *Terrena sydera*, saieng;

*Pingit & in varios terrestria sydera flores,*

and varietie of curious and costlie workmanship, but also with rare and medicinable hearbes sought vp in the land within these fortie yeares: so that in comparison of this present, the ancient gardens were but dunghils and laistowes to such as did possesse them. How art also helpeth nature in the dailie colouring, dubling and inlarging the proportion of our floures, it is incredible to report: for so curious and cunning are our gardeners now in these daies, that they presume to do in maner what they list with nature, and moderate hir course in things as if they were hir superiours. It is a world also to see, how manie strange hearbs, plants, and annuall fruits, are dailie brought vnto vs from the Indies, Americans, Taprobane, Canarie Iles, and all parts of the world: the which albeit that in respect of the constitutions of our bodies they do not grow for vs, bicause that God hath bestowed sufficient commodities vpon euerie countrie for hir owne necessitie; yet for delectation sake vnto the eie, and their odoriferous sauours vnto the nose, they are to be cherished, and God to be glorified also in them, bicause they are his good gifts, and created to do man helpe and seruice. There is not almost one noble man, gentleman, or merchant, that hath not great store of these floures, which now also do begin to war so well acquainted with our soiles, that we may almost accompt of them as parcell of our owne commodities. They haue no lesse regard in like sort to therish medicinable hearbs fetched out of other regions nèerer hand: insomuch that I haue seene in some one garden to the number of three hundred or foure hundred of them, if not more; of the halfe of whose names within fortie yéeres passed we had no maner knowledge. But herein I find some cause of iust complaint, for that we extoll their vses so farre that we fall into contempt of our owne, which are in truth more beneficiall and apt for vs than such as grow elsewhere, sith (as I said before) euerie region hath abundantlie within hir owne limits whatsoeuer is needfull and most conuenient for them that dwell therein. How do men extoll the vse of Tabacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cause be in the repugnancie of our constitution vnto the operation thereof, or that the ground doth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of so great efficacie as they write. And beside this, our common germander or thistle benet is found & knowne to bee so wholesome and of so great power in medicine, as anie other hearbe, if they be vsed accordinglie. I could exemplifie after the like maner in sundrie other, as the *salsa parilla, Mechoacan, &c*: but I forbeare so to do, because I couet to be briefe. And trulie the estimation and credit that we yéeld and giue vnto compound medicines made with forren drugs, is one great cause wherefore the full knowledge and vse of our owne simples hath bene so long raked vp in the imbers. And as this may be verified, so to be one sound conclusion, for the greater number of simples that go vnto anie compound medicine, the greater confusion is found therein, because the qualities and operations of verie few of the particulars are throughlie knowne. And euen so our continuall desire of strange drugs, whereby the physician and apothecarie onlie hath the benefit, is no small cause that the vse of our simples here at home doth go to losse, and that we tread those herbes vnder our feet, whose forces if we knew, & could applie them to our necessities, we wold honor & haue in reuerence as to their case behoueth. Alas what haue we to do with such Arabian & Grecian stuffe as is dailie brought from those parties, which lie in another clime? And therefore the bodies of such as dwell there, are of another constitution, than ours are here at home. Certes they grow not for vs, but for the Arabians and Grecians. And albeit that they maie by skill be applied vnto our benefit, yet to be more skilfull in them than in our owne, is follie; and to vse forren wares when our owne maie serue the turne is more follie; but to despise our owne and magnifie aboue measure the vse of them that are sought and brought from farre, is most follie of all: for it sauoureth of ignorance, or at the leastwise of negligence, and therefore worthie of reproch.

Among the Indians, who haue the most present cures for euerie disease, of their owne nation, there is small regard of compound medicins, & lesse of forren drugs, because they neither know them nor can vse them, but worke wonders euen with their owne simples. With them also the difference of the clime doth shew hir full effect, for whereas they will heale one another in short time with application of one simple, &c: if a Spaniard or English man stand in need of their helpe, they are driuen to haue a longer space in their cures, and now and then also to vse some addition of two or three simples at the most, whose forces vnto them are throughlie knowne, because their exercise is onelie in their owne, as men that neuer sought or heard what vertue was in those that came from other countries. And euen so did Marcus Cato the learned Roman indeuor to deale in his cures of sundrie diseases, wherein he not onelie vsed such simples as were to be had in his owne countrie, but also examined and learned the forces of each of them, wherewith he dealt so diligentlie, that in all his life time, he could attaine to the exact knowledge but of a few, and thereto wrote of those most learnedlie, as would easilie be seene, if those his bookes were extant. For the space also of 600 yéeres, the colewort onelie was a medicine in Rome for all diseases, so that his vertues were thoroughlie knowne in those parts.

In Plinies time the like affection to forren drugs did rage among the Romans, whereby their owne did grow in contempt. Crieng out therefore of this extreame follie, lib. 22. cap. 24, he speaketh after this maner: *Non placent remedia tam longè nascentia, non enim nobis gignuntur, immò ne illis quidem, alioquin non venderent; si placet etiam superstitionis gratiâ emantur, queniam supplicamus, &c. Salutem quidem sine his posse constare, vel ob id probabimus, vt tanto magis sui tandem pudeat.* For my part I doubt not, if the vse of outlandish drugs had not blinded our physicians of England in times passed, but that the vertues of our simples here at home would haue béene far better knowne, and so well vnto vs, as those of India are to the practisioners of those partes, and thereunto be found more profitable for vs than the forren either are or maie be. This also will I ad, that euen those which are most common by reason of their plentie, and most vile bicause of their abundance, are not without some vniuersall and especiall efficacie, if it were knowne, for our benefit: sith God in nature hath so disposed his creatures, that the most needfull are the most plentifull, and seruing for such generall diseases as our constitution most commonlie is affected withall,

withall. Great thanks therefore be giuen vnto the physicians of our age and countrie, who not onelie indeuour to search out the vse of such simples as our soile doth yeeld and bring forth, but also to procure such as grow elsewhere, vpõ purpose so to acquaint them with our clime, that they in time through some alteration receiued from the nature of the earth, maie likewise turne to our benefit and commoditie, and be vsed as our owne.

The chiefe workeman, or as I maie call him the founder of this deuise, is Carolus Clusius, the noble herbarist, whose industrie hath wonderfullie stirred them vp vnto this good act. For albeit that Matthiolus, Rembert, Lobell, and other haue trauelled verie farre in this behalfe, yet none hath come neere to Clusius, much lesse gone further in the finding and true descriptions of such herbes as of late are brought to light. I doubt not but if this man were in England but one seuen yeeres, he would reueale a number of herbes growing with vs, whereof neither our physicians nor apothecaries as yet haue anie knowledge. And euen like thankes be giuen vnto our nobilitie, gentlemen, and others, for their continuall nutriture and cherishing of such homeborne and forren simples in their gardens, for hereby they shall not onlie be had at hand and preserued, but also their formes made more familiar to be discerned, and their forces better knowne than hitherto they haue beene.

And euen as it fareth with our gardens, so doth it with our orchards, which were neuer furnished with so good fruit, nor with such varietie as at this present. For beside that we haue most delicate apples, plummes, peares, walnuts, filberds, &c: and those of sundrie sorts, planted within fortie yeeres passed, in comparison of which most of the old trees are nothing worth: so haue we no lesse store of strange fruit, as abricotes, almonds, peaches, figges, cornetræs in noble mens orchards. I haue seene capers, orenges, and lemmons, and heard of wild oliues growing here, beside other strange trees, brought from far, whose names I know not. So that England for these commodities was neuer better furnished, neither anie nation vnder their clime more plentifullie indued with these and other blessings from the most high God, who grant vs grace withall to vse the same to his honour and glorie! and not as instruments and prouocations vnto further excesse and vanitie, wherewith his displeasure may be kindled, least these his benefits do turne vnto thornes and briers vnto vs for our annoiance and punishment, which he hath bestowed vpon vs for our consolation and comfort.

We haue in like sort such workemen as are not onelie excellent in grafting the naturall fruits, but also in their artificiall mixtures, whereby one træ bringeth forth sundrie fruits, and one and the same fruit of diuers colours and tasts, dallieng as it were with nature and hir course, as if hir whole trade were perfectlie knowne vnto them: of hard fruits they will make tender, of sowre sweet, of sweet yet more delicate, bereuing also some of their kernels, other of their cores, and finallie induing them with the sauour of muske, ambre, or sweet spices at their pleasures. Diuerse also haue written at large of these seuerall practises, and some of them how to conuert the kernels of peaches into almonds, of small fruit to make farre greater, and to remoue or ad superfluous or necessarie moisture to the trees, with other things belonging to their preseruation, and with no lesse diligence than our physicians do commonlie shew vpon our owne diseased bodies, which to me doth seeme right strange. And euen so do our gardeners with their herbes, whereby they are strengthened against noisome blasts, and preserued from putrifaction and hinderance, whereby some such as were annuall, are now made perpetuall, being yearelie taken vp, and either reserued in the house, or hauing the rosse pulled from their rotes, laid againe into the earth, where they remaine in safetie. What choise they make also in their waters, and therewith some of them do now and then keepe them moist, it is a world to see; insomuch that the apothecaries shops maie seeme to be needfull also to our gardens and orchards, and that in sundrie wise: naie the kitchin it selfe is so farre from being able to be missed among them, that euen the verie dishwater is not without some vse amongest our finest plants. Whereby and sundrie other circumstances not here to bee remembred, I am persuaded, that albeit the gardens of the Hesperides were in times past so greatlie accounted of because of their delicacie: yet if it were possible to haue such an equall iudge, as by certeine knowledge of both were able to pronounce vpon them, I doubt not but he would giue the price vnto the gardens of our daies, and generallie ouer all Europe, in comparison of those times, wherein the old ercæded. Plinie and other speake of a rose that had three score leaues growing vpon one button: but if I should tell of one which bare a triple number vnto that proportion, I know I shall not be beleeued, and no great matter though I were not, howbeit, such a one was to be seene in Antwarpe 1585, as I haue heard, and I know who might haue had a slip or stallon thereof, if he would haue ventured ten pounds vpon the growth of the same, which should haue bene but a tickle hazard, and therefore better vndone, as I did alwaies imagine. For mine owne part, good reader, let me boast a litle of my garden, which is but small, and the whole *Area* thereof little aboue 300 foot of ground, and yet, such hath beene my good lucke in purchase of the varietie of simples, that notwithstanding my small abilitie, there are verie neere three hundred of one sort and other conteined therein, no one of them being common or vsuallie to bee had. If therefore my little plot, void of all cost in keeping be so well furnished, what shall we thinke of those of Hampton court, Nonesuch, Tibaults, Cobham garden, and sundrie other appertaining to diuerse citizens of London, whom I could particularlie name, if I should not seeme to offend them by such my demeanour and dealing?

## Of waters generallie.

### Chap. 21.

There is no one commoditie in England, whereof I can make lesse report than of our waters. For albeit our soile abound with water in all places, and that in the most ample maner: yet can I not find by some experience that almost anie one of our riuers hath such od and rare qualities as diuers of the maine are said to be indued withall. Vitruuius writeth of a well in Paphlagonia, whose water seemeth as it were mired with wine, & addeth thereto that diuerse become drunke by superfluous taking of the same. The like force is found *In amne Liceſio*, a riuer of Thracia, vpon whose bankes a man shall hardlie misse to find some traueller or other sleeping for drunkennesse, by drinking of that liquor. Neere also vnto Ephesus are certeine welles, which taste like sharpe vineger, and therefore

therefore are much esteemed of by such as are sicke and euill at ease in those parts. At Hieropolis is a spring of such force (as Strabo saith) that the water thereof mired with certaine herbes of choise, doth colour woll with such a glosse, that the die thereof contendeth with skarlet, murreie, and purple, and oft ouercommeth the same. The Cydnus in Tarsus of Cilicia, is of such vertue, that who so batheth himselfe therein, shall find great ease of the gowt that runneth ouer all his ioints. In one of the fortunate Iles (saith Pomponius the Cosmographer) are two springs, one of the which bringeth immoderate laughter to him that drinketh thereof, the other sadnesse and restraint of that effect, whereby the last is taken to be a souereigne medicine against the other, to the great admiration of such as haue beholden it. At Susis in Persia there is a spring, which maketh him that drinketh downe anie of the water, to cast all his teeth: but if he onlie wash his mouth withall, it maketh them fast, & his mouth to be verie healthfull. So there is a riuer among the Gadarens, wherof if a beast drinke, he forthwith casteth hoofe, haire, and hornes, if he haue anie. Also a lake in Assyria, neere vnto the which there is a kind of glewie matter to be found, which holdeth such birds as by hap doo light thereon so fast as birdlime, by means whereof verie manie doo perish and are taken that light vpon the same: howbeit if anie portion hereof happen to be set on fire by casualtie or otherwise, it will neuer be quenched but by casting on of dust, as Caietanus doth report. Another at Halicarnassus called Salmacis, which is noted to make such men effeminate as drinke of the water of the same. Certes it maie be (saith Strabo) that the water and aire of a region maie qualifie the courage of some men, but none can make them effeminate, nor anie other thing because of such corruption in them, sooner than superfluous wealth, and inconstancie of liuing and behauiour, which is a bane vnto all natures, lib. 4. All which, with manie other not now comming to memorie, as the Letheus, Styx, Phlegeton, Cocitus, &c: haue strange & incredible reports made of them by the new and ancient writers, the like whereof are not to be found in England, which I impute wholie to the blessing of God, who hath ordeined nothing amongst vs in this our temperate region, but that which is good, wholesome, and most commodious for our nation. We haue therefore no hurtfull waters amongst vs, but all wholesome and profitable for the benefit of the people. Neuertheles as none of them is to be found without hir fish: so we know by experience, that diuerse turneth, some other elme, and eken stakes or poles that lie or are throwne into them into hard stone, in long continuance of time, which is the strangest thing that I can learne at this present whereupon to rest for a certentie. Yet I read of diuerse welles, whereunto our old writers ascribe either wonderfull vertues, or rare courses, as of one vpon the shore, beyond the which the sea floweth euerie daie twise a large mile and more; and yet is the surge of that water alwaies seuen foot from the salt sea: whereby it should seeme that the head of the spring is moueable. But alas I do not easilie beleeue it, more than that which is written of the Llingwan lake in Wales, which is neere to the Seuerne, and receiueth the flowing sea into hir chanell as it were a gulfe, and yet is neuer full: but when the sea goeth awaie by reason of the ebbe, it casteth vp the water with such violence, that hir banks are ouerflowne and drowned, which is an absurd report. They ad also, that if all the people of the countrie stood neere to the same, with their faces toward the lake, in such maner that the dashing of the water might touch and wet their clothes, they should haue no power to go from thence, but maugre their resistance be drawne into that gulfe and perish; whereas if they turned their backs vnto the same, they should suffer no such inconuenience though they stood neuer so neere. Manie other such like toies I could set downe of other welles and waters of our countrie. But whie should I write that for other men to read, whereto I giue no credit my selfe, more than to the report which Iohannes du Choul doth make in his description of Pilats lake, *In monte Pilati in Gallia*, or Boccatius of the Scaphigiolo in the Appenine hils, or Fœlix Malliolus of Pilats lake *In monte fracto* (where Iacobus de Voragino bishop of Gene, & Ioachimus Vadianus in Pompon. Melam do also make mention) sith I take them but for fables, & far vnworthie that anie good man should staine his paper with such friuolous matters as are reported of them, being deuised at the first by Satanas the father of lies, for the holding of the ignorant & credulous in their superstitions and errors. Such also is the tale that goeth of Menefrids well, & nothing inferior to that of Mercurie neere to port Caperta in Rome, wherein such as went by would dip branches of baie, and sprinkle the same vpon themselues: and so manie as stood about them, calling vpon Mercurie, and craning pardon for their sinnes, as if that ceremonie had bene of force vnto forgiuenesse and remission of their trespasses. And so it appeareth partlie by Cicero, who (being a man neither thinking well of their owne gods nor liking of the augures) doth write in his first *De legibus* (except my memorie faile me) *aspersione aquæ labem tolli corpoream, & castimoniam corporis præstari*, which maketh me to thinke further, that they thought it equall with our late holie-water, wherewith it maie be compared. I might further also (if I would) make relation of diuerse welles, which haue wrought manie miracles in time of superstition, as S. Butolphs well in Hadstocke, S. Germans well at Falkeburne, Holie well at S. Albones and London, and sundrie other in other places: but as their vertues are now found out to be but baits to draw men and women vnto them, either for gaine vnto the places where they were, or satisfaction of the lewd disposition of such as hunted after other gaine, so it shall suffice to haue touched them far off. Onlie this will I ad, that we haue ne hurtfull waters, no not vnto our sheepe, though it please Cardan to auouch otherwise; for our waters are not the causes, but the signes of their infections when they drinke, as I elsewhere haue noted in the chapter of cattell, as also that we haue a spring neere Saffron Walden, and not farre from the house of the lord Audleie, which is of such force, that it loseth the bodie of him that drinketh therof in verie gentle maner, and beside that is verie delectable & pleasant to be taken, as I haue found by experience. I heare also of two welles neere London, of which the one is verie excellent water, the other will beare no sope, and yet so situat that the one is hard by the other. And thus much of waters.

## Of woods and marishes.

### Chap. 22.

Great abundance of wood sometime in England.

IT should seeme by ancient records, and the testimonie of sundrie authors, that the whole countries of Lhoegres and Cambria, now England and Wales, haue sometimes beene verie well replenished with great woods & groues, although at this time the said commoditie be not a little decaied in both, and in such wise that a man

shall oft ride ten or twentie miles in ech of them, and finde verie little or rather none at all, except it be neere vnto townes, gentlemens houses, & villages, where the inhabitants haue planted a few elmes, okes, hasels, or ashes about their dwellings for their defense from the rough winds, and keeping of the stormie weather from annoiance of the same. This scarsitie at the first grew (as it is thought) either by the industrie of man, for maintenance of tillage (as we vnderstand the like to be done of late by the Spaniards in the west Indies, where they fired whole woods of verie great compasse therby to come by ground whereon to sow their graines) or else thorough the couetousnesse of such, as in preferring of pasture for their sheepe and greater cattell, do make small account of firebote and timber: or finallie by the crueltie of the enimies, whereof we haue sundrie examples declared in our histories. Howbeit where the rocks and quarrie grounds are, I take the swart of the earth to be so thin, that no tree of anie greatnesse, other than shrubs and bushes, is able to grow or prosper long therein for want of sufficient moisture wherewith to feed them with fresh humour, or at the leastwise of mould, to shrowd, staie vpright, and cherish the same in the blustering winters weather, till they may grow vnto anie greatnesse, and spread or yeeld their rootes downe right into the soile about them: and this either is or may be one other cause, wherefore some places are naturallie void of wood. But to proceed. Although I must needs confesse that there is god store of great wood or timber here and there, euen now in some places of England, yet in our daies it is far vnlike to that plentie, which our ancestors haue seene heretofore, when statelie building was lesse in vse. For albeit that there were then greater number of mesuages and mansions almost in euery place; yet were their frames so slight and slender, that one meane dwelling house in our time is able to counteruaile verie manie of them, if you consider the present charge with the plentie of timber that we bestow vpon them. In times past men were contented to dwell in houses, builded of sallow, willow, plumtree, hardbeame, and elme, so that the vse of oke was in maner dedicated wholie vnto churches, religious houses, princes palaces, noblemens lodgings, & naulgation: but now all these are reiected, and nothing but oke ante whit regarded. And yet see the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie through Persian delicacie crept in among vs altogither of straw, which is a sore alteration. In those the courage of the owner was a sufficient defense to keepe the house in safetie, but now the assurance of the timber, double doores, lockes and bolts must defend the man from robbing. Now haue we manie chimnies and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poses. Then had we none but rere dosses, and our heads did neuer ake. For as the smoke in those daies was supposed to be a sufficient hardning for the timber of the house; so it was reputed a far better medicine to keepe the goodman and his familie from the quacke or pose, wherewith as then verie few were oft acquainted.

Desire of much wealth and ease abateth manhood, & ouerthroweth a manlie courage.

Of the curiousnesse of these piles I speake not, sith our workemen are growne generallie to such an excellencie of deuise in the frames now made, that they far passe the finest of the old. And such is their husbandrie in dealing with their timber, that the same stuffe which in time past was reiected as crooked, vnprofitable, and to no vse but the fire, doth now come in the fronts and best part of the worke. Whereby the common saieng is likewise in these daies verified in our mansion houses, which earst was said onelie of the timber for ships, that no oke can grow so crooked but it falleth out to some vse, & that necessarie in the naue. It is a world to see moreouer how diuerse men being bent to building, and hauing a delectable veine in spending of their goods by that trade, do dailie imagine new deuises of their owne to guide their workemen withall, and those more curious and excellent alwaies than the former. In the proceeding also of their workes, how they set vp, how they pull downe, how they inlarge, how they restreine, how they ad to, how they take from, whereby their heads are neuer idle, their purses neuer shut, nor their bookes of account neuer made perfect.

*Destruunt, ædificant, mutant quadrata rotundis*

saith the poet. So that if a man should well consider of all the od crotchets in such a builders braine, he would thinke his head to haue euen inough of those affaires onelie, & therefore iudge that he should not well be able to deale in anie other. But such commonlie are our workemasters, that they haue beside this veine afore mentioned, either great charge of merchandizes, little lesse businesse in the commonwealth, or finallie no small dealings otherwise incident vnto them, whereby gaine ariseth, and some trouble oft among withall. Which causeth me to wonder not a little how they can plaie the parts so well of so manie sundrie men, whereas diuerse other of greater forecast in apparance can seldome shift well or thriue in anie one of them. But to our purpose.

We haue manie woods, forests, and parks, which cherish trees abundantlie, although in the woodland countries there is almost no hedge that hath not some store of the greatest sort, beside infinit numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and springs, that are maintained of purpose for the building and prouision of such owners as do possesse the same. Howbeit as euerie soile doth not beare all kinds of wood, so there is not anie wood, parke, hedgerow, groue, or forrest, that is not mixed with diuerse, as oke, ash, hasell, hawthorne, birch, beech, hardbeame, hull, sorbe, quicken aspe, poplers, wild cherie, and such like, whereof oke hath alwaies the prehenminence, as most meet for building and the naue, whervnto it is reserued. This tree bringeth forth also a profitable kind of mast, whereby such as dwell neere vnto the aforesaid places do cherish and bring vp innumerable heards of swine. In time of plentie of this mast, our red and fallow deere will not let to participat thereof with our hogs, more than our nete: yea our common poultrie also if they may come vnto them. But as this abundance doth proue verie pernicious vnto the first, so these egs which these latter do bring forth (beside blackenesse in color and bitternesse of taste) haue not seldome beene found to breed diuerse diseases vnto such persons as haue eaten of the same. I might ad in like sort the profit insuing by the barke of this wood, whereof our tanners haue great vse in dressing of leather, and which they vse yearelie in Maie by the fadame, as I haue oft seene: but it shall not need at this time to enter into anie such discourse, onlie this I wish, that our sole and vpper leathering may haue their due time, and not be hasted on by extraordinarie slights, as with ash, barke, &c. Whereby as I grant that it seemeth outwardlie to be verie thicke & well done: so if you respect the sadnes thereof, it doth proue in the end to be verie hollow & not able to hold out water. Neuertheless we haue good lawes for redresse of this enormitie, but it cõmeth to passe in these as in the execution of most penall statutes. For the gaines to be gotten by the same being giuen to one or two hungrie and vnthriftie persons, they make a shew of great reformation at the first, & for a litle while, till they find that following of sute

The like haue I seene when hens do feed vpon the tender blades of garlike.

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in law againſt the offendors is somwhat too chargeable and tedious. This therefore perceiued, they giue ouer the law, and fall to the admiſſion of gifts and rewards to winke at things paſt, and when they haue once gone ouer their ground with this kind of tillage, then doo they tender licences, and offer large diſpenſations vnto him that ſhall aſke the ſame, thereby to doo what him liſteth in his trade for an yearelie penſion, whereby the byrbour now groweth to ſome certeine reuenues, & the tanner to ſo great libertie that his lether is much worſe than before. But is not this a mockerie of our lawes, & manifeſt illuſion of the good ſubiect whom they thus pill & poll? Of all oke growing in England the parke oke is the ſofteſt, and far more ſpalt and brickle than the hedge oke. And of all in Eſſex, that growing in Bardfield parke is the fineſt for ioiners craft: for oftentimes haue I ſeene of their workes made of that oke ſo fine and faire, as moſt of the waineſcot that is brought hither out of Danſke, for our waineſcot is not made in England. Yet diuerſe haue aſſaied to deale without okes to that end, but not with ſo good ſucceſſe as they haue hoped, becauſe the ab or iuice will not ſo ſone be remoued and cleane drawne out, which ſome attribute to want of time in the ſalt water. Neuertheleſſe in building, ſo well the hedge as the parke oke go all one waie, and neuer ſo much hath beene ſpent in a hundred yeares before, as is in ten yeare of our time; for euerie man almoſt is a builder, and he that hath bought any ſmall parcell of ground, be it neuer ſo little, will not be quiet till he haue pulled downe the old houſe (if anie were there ſtanding) and ſet vp a new after his owne deuiſe. But whereunto will this curioſitie come?

Of elme we haue great ſtore in euerie high waie and elſewhere, yet haue I not ſeene thereof anie together in woods or forreſts, but where they haue beene firſt planted and then ſuffered to ſpread at their owne willes. Yet haue I knowen great woods of beech and haſell in manie places, eſpeciallie in Barkeſhire, Oxfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire, where they are greatlie cheriſhed, & conuerted to ſundrie vſes by ſuch as dwell about them. Of all the elms that euer I ſaw, thoſe in the ſouth ſide of Douer court, in Eſſex neere Harwich are the moſt notable, for they grow (I meane) in crooked maner, that they are almoſt apt for nothing elſe but naute timber, great ordinance, and beetels: and ſuch thereto is their naturall qualitie, that being vſed in the ſaid behalfe, they continue longer, and more long than anie the like trees in whatſoeuer parcell elſe of this land, without cuphar, ſhaking, or cleauing, as I find.

Aſh commeth vp euerie where of it ſelfe, and with euerie kind of wood. And as we haue verie great plentie and no leſſe vſe of theſe in our huſbandrie, ſo are we not without the plane, the vgh, the ſorſe, the cheſtnut, the line, the blacke cherrie, and ſuch like. And although that we inioy them not in ſo great plentie now in moſt places, as in times paſt, or the other afore remembred: yet haue we ſufficient of them all for our neceſſarie turnes and vſes, eſpecialie of vgh; as may be ſeene betwixt Rotheram and Sheffield, and ſome ſeeds of Kent alſo, as I haue beene informed.

The firre, frankincenſe, and pine, we doo not altogither want, eſpeciallie the firre, whereof we haue ſome ſtore in Chatleie more in Darbiſhire, Shropſhire, Andernelle, and a moſſe neere Mancheſter, not far from Leiceſters houſe: although that in time paſt not onelie all Lancaſterſhire, but a great part of the coaſt betweene Cheſter and the Solme were well ſtored. As for the frankincenſe and pine, they haue beene planted onelie in colleges and cloiſters, by the cleargie and religious heretofore. Wherefore (in mine opinion) we may rather ſaie that we want them altogither; for except they grew naturallie, and not by force, I ſee no cauſe whie they ſhould be accounted for parcell of our commodities. We haue alſo the aſpe, whereof our fletchers make their arrowes. The ſeuerall kinds of poplars of our turners haue great vſe for bolles, treies, troughs, diſhes, &c. Alſo the alder, whoſe barke is not vnprofitable to die blacke withall, and therfore much vſed by our countrie wiues in colouring their knit hoſen. I might here take occaſion to ſpeake of the great ſales yerelie made of wood, whereby an infinit quantitie hath bin deſtroied within theſe few yeers: but I giue ouer to trauell in this behalfe. Howbeit thus much I dare affirme, that if woods go ſo faſt to decaie in the next hundred yere of Grace, as they haue done and are like to doo in this, ſometimes for increaſe of ſheepwalks, and ſome maintenance of prodigalitie and pompe (for I haue knowne a well burniſhed gentleman * that hath borne threeſcore at once in one paire of galigaſcons to ſhew his ſtrength and brauerie) it is to be feared that the fennie bote, browne, turffe, gall, heath, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, haſſacks, flags, ſtraw, ſedge, reed,ruſh, and alſo ſea cole will be good merchandize euen in the citie of London, whereunto ſome of them euen now haue gotten readie paſſage, and taken vp their innes in the greateſt merchants parlours. A man would thinke that our laws were able inough to make ſufficient prouiſion for the redreſſe of this error & enormitie likelie to inſue. But ſuch is the nature of our countriemen, that as manie laws are made, ſo they will keepe none; or if they be vrged to make anſwer, they will rather ſeeke ſome croked conſtruction of them to the increaſe of their priuat gaine, than yeeld themſelues to be guided by the ſame for a common wealth and profit to their countrie. So that in the end whatſoeuer the law ſaith we will haue our willes, whereby the wholeſome ordinances of the prince are contemned, the trauell of the nobilitie & councellors as it were derided, the common wealth impoueriſhed, & a few onelie inriched by this peruerſe dealing. Thus manie thouſand perſons doo ſuffer hinderance by this their leud behauior. Hereby the wholeſome lawes of the prince are oft defrauded, and the good meaning magiſtrate in conſultation about the common wealth vtterlie neglected. I would wiſh that I might liue no longer than to ſee foure things in this land reformed, that is: the want of diſcipline in the church: the couetous dealing of moſt of our merchants in the preferment of the commodities of other countries, and hinderance of their owne: the holding of faires and markets vpon the ſundaie to be aboliſhed and referred to the wednesdaies: and that euerie man, in whatſoeuer part of the champaine ſoile enioieth fortie acres of land, and vpwards, after that rate, either by free deed, copie hold, or fee farme, might plant one acre of wood, or ſowe the ſame with oke maſt, haſell, beech, and ſufficient prouiſion be made that it may be cheriſhed and kept. But I feare me that I ſhould then liue too long, and ſo long, that I ſhould either be wearie of the world, or the world of me; and yet they are not ſuch things but they may eaſilie be brought to paſſe.

Certes euerie ſmall occaſion in my time is enough to cut downe a great wood, and euerie trifle ſufficeth to laie infinit acres of corne ground vnto paſture. As for the taking downe of houſes, a ſmall fine will beare out a great manie. Would to God we might once take example of the Romans, who in reſtreint of ſuperfluous graſing, made an exact limitation, how manie head of cattell ech eſtate might keepe, and what numbers of acres ſhould ſuffice for that and other purpoſes. Neither was wood euer better

* This gentleman caught ſuch an heate with this ſore loade that he was faine to go to Rome for phyſicke, yet it could not ſaue his life, but he muſt needs die homewards.

better cherished or mansion houses maintained, than by their lawes and statutes. Such also was their care in the maintenance of nauigation, that it was a great part of the charge of their consuls, yearelie to view and looke vnto the hilles whereon great timber did growe, least their vnnecessarie faults for the satisfaction of the priuat owner, and his couetous mind might proue a preiudice vnto the common wealth, in the hinderance of sufficient stuffe for the furniture of their nauie. Certes the like hereof is yet obserued in Uenice. Read also I praie you what Suetonius writeth of the consulship of Bibulus and Cesar. As for the wood that Ancus Martius dedicated toward the maintenance of the common nauie, I passe it ouer, as hauing elsewhere remembred it vnto another end. But what do I meane to speake of these, sith my purpose is onlie to talke of our owne woods? Well, take this then for a finall conclusion in woods, that beside some countries are alreadie driuen to sell their wood by the pound, which is an hearie report: within these fortie yeares we shall haue little great timber growing aboue fortie yeares old; for it is commonlie seene that those yong staddles which we leaue standing at one & twentie yeares fall, are vsuallie at the next sale cut downe without any danger of the statute, and serue for fire bote, if it please the owner to burne them.

Marises and fennie bogges we haue many in England, though not now so many as some of the old Roman writers do specifie, but more in Wales, if you haue respect vnto the seuerall quantities of the countries. Howbeit as they are verie profitable in the summer halfe of the yeare, so are a number of them which lie lowe and neere to great riuers, to small commoditie in the winter part, as common experience doth teach. Yet this I find of manie moores, that in times past they haue beene harder ground, and sundrie of them well replenished with great woods, that now are void of bushes. And for example hereof, we may see the triall (beside the roots that are dailie found in the deeps of Monmouth, where turfe is digged, also in Wales, Aburgauennie, and Pertoneth) in sundrie parts of Lancashire, where great store of firre hath growen in times past, as I said, and the people go vnto this daie into their fens and marises with long spits, which they dash hers and there vp to the verie cronge into the ground. In which practise, (a thing commonlie done in winter) if they happen to smite vpon anie firre trées which lie there at their whole lengths, or other blocks, they note the place, and about haruest time, when the ground is at the driest, they come againe and get them vp, and afterward carieng them home, applie them to their vses. The like do they in Shropshire with the like, which hath beene felled in old time, within 7 miles of Salop. Some of them foolishlie suppose the same to haue lien there since Noies flood: and other more fond than the rest, imagine them to growe euen in the places where they find them, without all consideration that in times past, the most part, if not all Lhoegres and Cambria was generallie replenished with wood, which being felled or ouerthrowne vpon sundrie occasions, was left lieng in some places still on the ground, and in processe of time became to be quite ouergrowne with earth and moulds, which moulds wanting their due sadnesse, are now turned into moorie plots. Whereby it commeth to passe also, that great plentie of water commeth betweene the new lose swart and the old hard earth, that being drawen awaie by ditching and dreanes (a thing some done if our countrie-men were painfull in that behalfe) might some leaue a drie soile to the great lucre and aduantage of the owner. We find in our histories, that Lincolne was somtime builded by Lud brother to Cassibelan, who called it Cair Ludcoit, of the great store of woods that inuironed the same: but now the commoditie is vtterlie decaied there, so that if Lud were aliue againe, he would not call it his citie in the wood, but rather his towne in the plaines: for the wood (as I heare) is wasted altogither about the same. The hilles called the Peke were in like sort named Pennith and Orcoit, that is, the woodie hilles and forrests. But how much wood is now to be séene in those places, let him that hath béene there testifie, if he list; for I heare of no such store there as hath béene in time past by those that trauell that waie. And thus much of woods and marises, and so far as I can deale with the same.

Marises and fennes.

## Of baths and hot welles.

### Chap. 23.

AS almightie GOD hath in most plentifull maner bestowed infinit, and those verie notable benefits vpon this Ile of Britaine, whereby it is not a little inriched: so in hot and naturall baths (whereof we haue diuerse in sundrie places) it manifestlie appeareth that he hath not forgotten England. There are sundrie baths therefore to be found in this realme, of which the first is called saint Uincents, the second Hallie well; both being places (in my opinion) more obscure than the other two, and yet not seldome sought vnto by such as stand in need. For albeit the fame of their forces be not so generallie spread, yet in some cases they are thought to be nothing inferior to the other, as diuerse haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherein hot baths are to be found is neere vnto Burston, a towne in Darbishire, situat in the high Peke, not passing sixteene miles from Manchester, or Parkechesterford, and twentie from Darbie, where, about eight or nine seuerall welles are to be séene; of which three are counted to be most excellent: but of all, the greatest is the hotest, void of corruption, and compared (as Iones saith) with those of Summersetshire, so cold indeed, as a quart of boiling water would be made if fiue quartes of running water were added thereunto; whereas on the other side, those of Bath likened vnto these, haue such heat appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hot water hath when a quart of cold is mired with the same. Hereupon the effect of this bath worketh more temperatlie and pleasantlie (as he writeth) than the other. And albeit that it maketh not so great spéed in cure of such as resort vnto it for helpe: yet it dealeth more effectuallie and commodiouslie than those in Summersetshire, and infer withall lesse greeuous accidents in the restreining of naturall issues, strengthening the assembled members, assisting the liuelie forces, dispersing annoious opilations, and qualifieng of sundrie griefes, as his experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in such measure: and therefore their operation is not so spedilie perceiued. The fourth place where baths are, is kings Newnam, and within certeine miles of Couentrie, the water wherof (as it is thought) proceedeth from some rocke of allume, and this I vnderstand by diuerse glouers which haue beene there, and also by mine owne experience, that it hath a tast much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing vnpleasant nor vnsauorie in the drinking. There are three welles in all, but the chiefest and best of them riseth out of an hill, and runneth toward the south, & from thence infinit plentie of water without anie

any notable diminution of the spring is dailie caried into sundrie parties of the realme, & drunke by such as haue need to occupie the same. Of the other two, one is reserued for such as be comelie personages and void of lothsome diseases: the other is left common for tag and rag; but clensed dailie as the other is, whereby it becommeth the wholesomer. Manie diseases also are cured in the same, as the palsie, dimnesse of sight, dulnesse of hearing, but especiallie the collike and the stone, old sores and greene wounds; so that I suppose there was neuer anie compound medicine of greater and more spedie force in these behalfes, than the vse of this simple liquor is to such as do frequent it. The said water hath a naturall propertie also following it which is rare, for if a leafe, or sticke of ash, oke, &c: do fall into the same, within a short space, such store of fine sand (comming no doubt out of the earth with the water) will congeale and gather about it, that the forme being reserued, and the inner part not lightlie altered, it will seeme to become an hard stone, and much like vnto that which is ingendred in the kidneis of a man, as I haue seene by experience. At the first entrance it is verie cold, but after a season it warmeth the goer in, casting him into an indifferent heat. And this is furthermore remembred of it, that no man hath yet sustained anie manner of impeachment through the coldnesse of the same. The vertue thereof was found 1579 about Whitsuntide, by a man who had wounded himselfe, & comming by the same water, thought onelie to wash the blod from his hand therewith, and so to go home and seeke for helpe by surgerie: finallie finding the paine well asswaged, & the wound faire clensed, he departed, and misliking his vsuall medicins, he eftsones came againe, and so often indeed vnto the said water till his hand was healed outright without anie other practise. By this meanes also he became a counsellor to other being hurt or in paine, that they should trie the vertue of this spring, who finding ease also, gaue out such commendation of the said water, that now at this present their fame is fullie equall, and the resort vnto them nothing inferior to that of the old baths. Beside this, the cures of such diseases as their forces do extend vnto, is much more spedie than we may haue at the other; and this is one commoditie also not smallie to be considered of. The fift place of baths or medicinable welles is at an hamlet called Newton, a little from saint Neots, or (as we pronounce it) saint Neds, which is ten or twelue miles from Cambridge, where two springs are knowne to be, of which the one is verie swet and fresh, the other brackish & salt; this is good for scabs and leaperie (as it is said) the other for dimnesse of sight. Verie manie also do make their repaire vnto them for sundrie diseases, some returning whole, and some nothing at all amended, bicause their cure is without the reach and working of those waters. Neuer went people so fast from the church, either vnto a faire or market, as they go to these wels, and those neere Rugbie, both places being discouered in this 1579 of Grace. I heare of another well to be found also about Ratcliffe neere London, euen at the same season. But sith rumors are now spred almost of euerie spring, & vaine tales flie about in maner of euerie water, I surcease to speake at all of anie other, till further experience do trie whether they be medicinable or not: and yet I doubt not but most of these alredis mentioned haue heretofore bin knowne & remembred also, though confusedlie by the writers of old time; & yet in processe of time either neglected or forgotten, by meanes of sundrie troubles and turmoiles made in this realme by Danes, and other outward enimies, whereby their manifold benefit hath wonderfullie beene milled.

The last place of our baths, is a citie in Summersetshire, which taketh his name of the hot waters there to be seene and vsed. At the first it was called Cair Bledud, and not Cair Bledune, as some would haue it, for that is the old name of the ancient castell at Palmesburie, which the Saxons named Pngleburne. Ptolomie afterward called it Thermæ, other Aquæ solis, or Scamannia, or Acmancester, but now it hight generallie Bath in English, and vnder that name it is likelie to continue. The citie of it selfe is a verie ancient thing, no doubt, as may yet appeare by diuerse notable antiquities ingraued in stone, to be seene in the wals thereof; and first of all betweene the south gate and the west, and betwixt the west gate and the north.

The first is the antike head of a man, made all flat, with great locks of haire, much like to the coine that I haue seene of Antius the Romane. The second betweene the south and the north gate is an image, as I take it, of Hercules, for he held in each hand a serpent, and so doth this. Thirdlie there standeth a man on foot with a sword in his one hand, and a buckler stretched out in the other. There is also a branch that lieth folded and wreathed into circles, like to the wreath of Alcimedon. There are moreouer two naked images, whereof the one imbraceth the other, beside sundrie antike heads, with ruffeled haire, a greihound running, and at his taile certeine Romane letters, but so defaced that no man liuing can read them at this present. There is moreouer the image of Lacaon, inuironed with two serpents, and an other inscription, and all these betweene the south and the west gates, as I haue said before.

Now, betweene the west and north gate are two inscriptions, of which some words are euident to be read, the residue are cleane defaced. There is also the image of a naked man, and a stone in like sort, which hath *Cupidines & labruscas intercurrentes*, and a table hauing at each hand an image vined and finelie florished both aboue and beneath. Finallie (sauing that I saw afterward the image of a naked man grasping a serpent in each hand) there was an inscription of a tome or buriall, wherein these words did plainelie appeare, *vixit annos xxx*: but so defusedlie written, that letters stod for whole words, and two or three letters combined into one. Certes I will not sais whether these were set into the places where they now stand by the gentiles, or brought thither from other ruines of the towne it selfe, and placed afterward in those wals, in their necessarie reparations. But howsoeuer the matter standeth, this is to be gathered by our histories, that Bladud first builded that citie there, and peraduenture might also kindle the sulphurous veines, of purpose to burne continuallie there in the honour of Minerua: by which occasion the springs thereabout did in processe of time become hot & not vnprofitable, for sundrie kinds of diseases. Indeed the later pagans dreamed, that Minerua was the chefe goddesse and gouernesse of these waters, bicause of the nereneesse of hir temple vnto the same. Solinus addeth furthermore, how that in hir said temple, the fire which was continuallie kept, did neuer consume into dead sparkles; but so sone as the embers thereof were cold, they congealed into clots of hard stone: all which I take to be nothing else than the effect of the aforesaid fire, of the sulphurous veine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters do come. That these baths or waters are derived from such, the marchasites, which the Grecians call *Pyritis, per antonomasiam* (for being smit with the iron, it yeeldeth more sparkes than anie flint or calcedonie, and therefore seemeth to deserue the name aboue the rest) and besides these other stones mired with some copper, and dailie found vpon the mounteins

Chap. 25.

The Pyritis is found almost in euerie veine of mettall in great plentie, diuersities and colour, and sometimes mixed with that mettall of whose excrements it consisteth.

teins thereabouts will beare sufficient witnesse, though I would write the contrarie. Doctor Turner also the father of English physicke, and an excellent diuine, supposeth that these springs dow draw their forces from sulphur: or if there be anie other thing mingled withall, he gesseth that it should be salt peter, bicause he found an obscure likelihood of the same, euen in the crosse bath. But that they participate with anie allume at all, he could neuer till his dieng daie be induced to beléeue. I might here (if I thought it necessarie) intreat of the notable situation of the citie, which standeth in a pleasant bottome, inuironed on euerie side with great hils, out of the which come so manie springs of pure water by sundrie waies vnto the citie, and in such abundance, as that euerie house is serued with the same by pipes of lead, the said mettall being the more plentious and lesse of value vnto them, bicause it is not had far off from those quarters. It should not be amisse also to speake of the foure gates, number of parish churches, bridges, religious houses dissolued, and their founders, if place did serue therefore: but for so much as my purpose is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of these things, and go in hand with the baths themselues, wherof in the title of this chapiter I protested to intreat.

Crosse bath. There are two springs of water (as Leland saith) in the west south west part of the towne, whereof the biggest is called the crosse bath, of a certeine crosse that was erected sometime in the middest thereof. This bath is much frequented by such as are diseased with leprie, pockes, scabs, and great aches: yet of it selfe it is verie temperate and pleasant, hauing eleuen or twelue arches of stone in the sides thereof, for men to stand vnder, when raine doth ought annoie them.

Common bath. The common bath, or as some call it, the hot bath, is two hundred fot, or thereabout from the crosse bath, lesse in compasse within the wall than the other, and with onelie seauen arches, wrought out of the maine inclosure. It is worthilie called the hot bath, for at the first comming into it, men thinke that it would scald their flesh, and lose it from the bone: but after a season, and that the bodies of the commers thereto be warmed throughlie in the same, it is more tollerable and easie to be borne. Both these baths be in the middle of a little street, and ioine to S. Thomas hospitall, so that it may be thought that Reginald bishop of Bath made his house néere vnto these common baths, onelie to succour such poore people as should resort vnto them.

Kings bath. The kings bath is verie faire and large, standing almost in the middle of the towne, at the west end of the cathedrall church. It is compassed about with a verie high stone wall, and the brims thereof are mured round about, where in be two and thirtie arches for men and women to stand in separatlie, who being of the gentrie for the most part, dow resort thither indifferentlie, but not in such lasciuious sort as vnto other baths and hot houses of the maine, whereof some write more a great deale than modestie should reueale, and honestie performe. There went a sluce out of this bath, which serued in times past the priorie with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlie vsed for baths, but now I dow not thinke that they remaine in vsage.

Hot houses in some countries little better than brodels.

Colour of the water of the baths.

Taste of the water. As for the colour of the water of all the bathes, it is most like to a déepe blew, and réeketh much after the maner of a séething pot, commonlie yéelding somwhat a sulpherous taste, and verie vnpleasant sauour. The water also that runneth from the two small baths, goeth by a dike into the Auon by west, and beneath the bridge: but the same that goeth from the kings bath turneth a mill, and after goeth into Auon aboue Bath bridge, where it loseth both force and taste, and is like vnto the rest. In all the three baths a man maie euidentlie see how the water bubbleth vp from the springs. This is also to be noted, that at certeine times all entrances into them is vtterlie prohibited, that is to saie, at high noone, and midnight: for at those two seasons, and a while before and after, they boile verie feruentlie, and become so hot that no man is able to indure their heat, or anie while susteine their force and vehement working. They purge themselues furthermore from all such filth as the diseased dow leaue in each of them, wherfore we dow forbeare the rash entrance into them at that time: and so much the rather, for that we would not by contraction of anie new diseases, depart more grieuouslie affected than we came vnto the citie, which is in déed a thing that each one should regard. For these causes therefore they are commonlie shut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenoone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternoone, and likewise at midnight: at which times the keeper of them resorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth (or should leaue) free passage vnto such as come vnto them. Hitherto Leland.

Fall or ebbe of the water.

Not good to enter into baths at all seasons.

What cost of late hath béene bestowed vpon these baths by diuerse of the nobilitie, gentrie, communaltie, and cleargie, it lieth not in me to declare: yet as I heare, they are not onelie verie much repared and garnished with sundrie curious péeces of workemanship, partlie touching their commendation, and partlie for the ease and benefit of such as resort vnto them; but also better ordered, clenlier kept, & more friendlie prouision made for such pouertie as dailie repaireth thither. But notwithstanding all this, such is the generall estate of things in Bath, that the rich men maie spend while they will, and the poore beg whilest they list for their maintenance and diet so long as they remaine there: and yet I denie not but that there is verie good order in that citie for all degrées. But where shall a man find anie equall regard of poore and rich, though God doth giue these his good gifts frælie, & vnto both alike? I would here intreat further of the customs vsed in these baths, what number of physicians dailie attend vpon those waters, for no man (especiallie such as be able to interteine them) doth enter into these baths before he consult with the physician; also, what diet is to be obserued, what particular diseases are healed there, and to what end the commers thither dow drinke oftimes of that medicinable liquor: but then I should exceed the limits of a description. Wherefore I passe it ouer to others, hoping that some man yet long will vouchsafe to performe that at large, which the famous clearke Doctor Turner hath brieflie yet happilie begun, touching the effects & working of the same. For hitherto I dow not know of manie that haue trauelled in the natures of those baths of our countrie, with anie great commendation; much lesse of anie that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefit of our nation, or commoditie of strangers that resort vnto the same.

## Of antiquities found.

### Chap. 24.

HAuing taken some occasion to speake here and there in this treatise of antiquities, it shall not be amis to deale yet more in this chapter, with some of them apart, & by themselues, whereby the secure authoritie of the Romans ouer this Iland

land maie in ſome caſes moꝛe manifeſtlie appeare. Foꝛ ſuch was their poſſeſſion of this Iland on this ſide of the Tine, that they held not one oꝛ two, oꝛ a few places onelie vnder their ſubiection, but all the whole countrie from eaſt to weſt, from the Tine to the Britiſh ſea, ſo that there was no regi-on void of their gouernance: notwithſtanding that vntill the death of Lucius, and extinction of his iſſue, they did permit the ſucceſſoꝛs of Lud and Cimbaline to reigne and rule amongeſt them, though vnder a certeine tribute, as elſe-where I haue declared. The chiefe cauſe that vꝛgeth me to ſpeake of antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them togither, intending (if euer my Chꝛonologie ſhall happen to come abꝛoad) to ſet downe the liuelie poꝛtraitures of euerie emperour ingrauen in the ſame: alſo the faces of Pompeie, Craſſus, the ſeuen kings of the Romans, Cicero, and diuerſe other, which I haue pꝛouided readie foꝛ the purpoſe, beſide the monuments and liuelie images of ſundꝛie philoſophers, and kings of this Iland ſince the time of Edward the Confeſſoꝛ. Wherof although pꝛeſentlie I want a few, yet I doo not doubt but to obteine them all, if friendſhip at the leaſt wiſe pꝛocu-red foꝛ monie ſhall be able to pꝛeuaile. But as it hath doone hitherto, ſo the charges to be emploied vpon theſe bꝛaſen oꝛ copper images, will hereafter put by the impꝛeſſion of that treatiſe: whereby it maie come to paſſe, that long trauell ſhall ſone pꝛoue to be ſpent in vaine, and much coſt come to verie ſmall ſucceſſe. Whereof yet I foꝛce not greatlie, ſith by this means I haue reaped ſome commoditie vnto my ſelfe, by ſearching of the hiſtoꝛies, which often miniſter ſtoꝛe of examples readie to be vſed in my function, as oc-caſion ſhall moue me. But to pꝛocéed with my pur-poſe.

Befoꝛe the comming of the Romans, there was a kind of copper monie currant here in Bꝛitaine, as Cæſar confeſſeth in the fift booke of his Commenta-ries, but I find not of what maner it was. Hereto he addeth a repoꝛt of certeine rings, of a pꝛopoꝛtionate weight, which they vſed in his time, in ſtead likewiſe of monie. But as hitherto it hath not bene my lucke (I ſaie) to haue the certeine view of anie of theſe, ſo after the comming of the Romans, they infoꝛced vs to abandon our owne, and receiue ſuch imperiall mo-nies oꝛ coines, as foꝛ the paiment of their legions was dailie bꝛought ouer vnto them. What coines the Romans had, it is eaſie to be knowne, and from time to time much of it is found in manie places of this Iland, as well of gold and ſiluer, as of copper, bꝛaſſe, and other mettall, much like ſteele, almoſt of e-uerie emperour. So that I account it no rare thing to haue of the Roman coine, albeit that it ſtill repꝛe-ſent an image of our captiuitie, and maie be a good admonition foꝛ vs, to take hæd how we yéeld our ſelues to the regiment of ſtrangers. Of the ſtoꝛe of theſe monies, found vpon the Kentiſh coaſt, I haue alreadie made mention in the deſcription of Richbo-row, and chapter of Iles adiacent vnto the Britiſh Albion, and there ſhewed alſo how ſimple fiſhermen haue had plentie of them, and that the conies in ma-king pꝛofers and holes to bꝛéed in, haue ſcraped them out of the ground in verie great abundance. In ſpeaking alſo of S. Albans, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plentie of theſe coines haue bene gathered there: wherfoꝛe I ſhall not néed here to repeat the ſame againe. How-beit this is certeine, that the moſt part of all theſe an-tiquities, to be found within the land, & diſtant from the ſhoꝛe, are to be gotten either in the ruines of an-cient cities and townes decaied, oꝛ in incloſed bur-rowes, where their legions accuſtomed ſometime to winter, as by experience is dailie confirmed. What ſtoꝛe hath bëene ſëene of them in the citie of London, which they called Auguſta, of the legion that ſoiour-ned there, & likewiſe in Yoꝛke named alſo Victrix, of the legion Victoria, oꝛ Altera Roma (becauſe of the beautie and fine building of the ſame) I my ſelfe can partlie witneſſe, that haue ſëene, & often had of them, if better teſtimonie were wanting. The like I maie affirme of Colcheſter, where thoſe of Clau-dius, Adrian, Traian, Veſpaſian, and other, are often-times plowed vp, oꝛ found by other means: alſo of Cantoꝛburie, Andꝛedeſcheſter (now decaied) Roche-ſter, then called Durobꝛeuum, Wincheſter, and di-uerſe other beyond the Thames, which foꝛ bꝛeuitie ſake I doo paſſe ouer in ſilence. Onlie the chiefe of all and where moſt are found in deed, is nëere vnto Car-leon and Cairgwent in Southwales, about Kenche-ſter, thꝛée miles aboue Hereford, Aldboꝛow, Anca-ſter, Bꝛamdon, Dodington, where a ſpurre and pëece of a chaine of gold were found in king Henrie the eight his daies, beſides much of the ſaid Roman coine, Binchéſter, Camalet, Lacocke vpon A-uon, and Lincolne, Doꝛcheſter, Warwike, and Che-ſter, where they are often had in verie great abun-dance. It ſëemeth that Ancaſter hath bëene a great thing, foꝛ manie ſquare & coloꝛed pauements, vaults, and arches are yet found, and often laid open by ſuch as dig and plow in the fields about the ſame. And a-mongſt theſe, one Vreſbie oꝛ Roſebie, a plowman, did ere vp not long ſince a ſtone like a trough, coue-red with another ſtone, wherein was great foiſon of the afoꝛeſaid coines. The like alſo was ſëene not yet foꝛtie yeares agone about Grantham. But in king Henrie the eight his daies, an huſbandman had far better lucke at Harleſton, two miles from the afoꝛe-ſaid place, where he found not onelie great plentie of this coine, but alſo an huge bꝛaſſe pot, and therein a large helmet of pure gold, richlie fretted with pearle, and ſet with all kind of coſtlie ſtones: he tooke vp al-ſo chaines much like vnto beads of ſiluer, all which, as being (if a man might gheſſe anie certeintie by their beautie) not likelie to be long hidden, he pꝛeſen-ted to quëene Katharine then lieng at Peterboꝛow, and therewithall a few ancient rolles of parchment wꝛitten long agone, though ſo defaced with mouldi-neſſe, and rotten foꝛ age, that no man could well hold them in his hand without falling into pëeces, much leſſe read them by reaſon of their blindneſſe.

In the beginning of the ſame kings daies alſo at Killeie a man found as he eared, an arming girdle, harneſſed with pure gold, and a great maſſie pomell with a croſſe hilt foꝛ a ſwoꝛd of the ſame mettall, be-ſide ſtuds and harneſſe foꝛ ſpurs, and the huge long ſpurs of like ſtuffe, whereof one doctoꝛ Ruthall got a part into his hands. The boꝛoughs oꝛ buries, wher-of I ſpake beforе, were certeine plots of ground, wherin the Romane ſouldiers did vſe to lie when they kept in the open fields as choſen places, from whence they might haue eaſie acceſſe vnto their aduerſa-ries, if anie outrage were wꝛought oꝛ rebellion mo-ued againſt them. And as theſe were the vſuall a-boads foꝛ thoſe able legions that ſerued dailie in the wars, ſo had they other certeine habitations foꝛ the old and foꝛwoꝛne ſouldiers, whereby diuerſe cities grew in time to be repleniſhed with Romane colo-nies, as Cairleon, Colcheſter, Cheſter, and ſuch o-ther, of which, Colcheſter bare the name of Colonia long time, and wherein A. Plautius builded a temple vnto the goddeſſe of Victoꝛie (after the departure of Claudius) which Tacitus calleth *Aram ſempiternæ do-minationis*, a perpetuall monument of that our Bꝛi-tiſh ſeruitude. But to returne vnto our boꝛowes, they were generallie walled about with ſtone wals, and ſo large in compaſſe that ſome did conteine thir-tie, fourtie, thꝛée ſcoꝛe, oꝛ eightie acres of ground within

within their limits: they had also diuerse gates or ports vnto each of them, and of these not a few remaine to be seene in our time, as one for example not far from great Chesterford in Esser, neere to the limits of Cambridgshire, which I haue often viewed, and wherein the compasse of the verie wall with the places where the gates stood is easie to be discerned: the like also is to be seene at a place within two miles south of Burton, called the Borow hils. In these therefore and such like, and likewise at Euolsburg, now S. Neots, or S. Needs, and sundrie other places, especiallie vpon the shore and coasts of Kent, as Douer, Rie, Romnete, Lid, &c: is much of their coine also to be found, and some peeces or other are dailie taken vp, which they call Borow pence, Dwarfs monie, Negs pence, Feirie groats, Iewes monie, & by other foolish names not worthie to be remembred. At the comming of the Saxons, the Britons vsed these holds as rescues for their cattell in the daie and night, when their enimies were abroad; the like also did the Saxons against the Danes, by which occasions (and now and then by carieng of their stones to helpe forward other buildings neere at hand) manie of them were throwne downe and defaced, which otherwise might haue continued for a longer time, and so your honour would saie, if you should happen to peruse the thickenesse and maner of building of those said wals and borowes. It is not long since a siluer saucer of verie ancient making was found neere to Saffron Walden, in the open field among the Hyerbirie hils, and cared vp by a plough, but of such massie greatnesse, that it weighed better than twentie ounces, as I haue heard reported. But if I should stand in these things vntill I had said all that might be spoken of them, both by experience and testimonie of Leland in his Commentaries of Britaine, and the report of diuerse yet liuing, I might make a greater chapter than would be either conuenient or profitable to the reader: wherefore so much onelie shall serue the turne for this time as I haue said alreadie of antiquities found within our Iland, especiallie of coine, whereof I purposed chiefelie to intreat.

Hyerbirie a place where an armie hath lien.

## Of the coines of England.

### Chap. 25.

THe Saxon coine before the conquest is in maner vtterlie vnknowne to me: howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing, I suppose that one shilling of siluer in those daies did counterpeise our common ounce, though afterward it came to passe that it arose to twentie pence, and so continued vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, who first brought it to three shillings and foure pence, & afterward our siluer coine vnto brasse & copper monies, by reason of those inestimable charges, which diuerse waies oppressed him. And as I gather such obscure notice of the shilling which is called in Latine *solidus*, so I read more manifestlie of another which is the 48 part of a pound, and this also currant among the Saxons of our Ile, so well in gold as in siluer, at such time as 240 of their pennies made vp a iust pound, fiue pence went to the shilling, and foure shillings to the ounce. But to proceed with my purpose. After the death of K. Henrie, Edward his sonne began to restore the aforesaid coine againe vnto fine siluer: so quéene Marie his successour did continue his good purpose, notwithstanding that in hir time the Spanish monie was verie cõmon in England, by reason of hir marriage with Philip king of Spaine.

Copper monie.

After hir decease the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, and now our most gratious quéene, souereigne and princesse, did finish the matter wholie, vtterlie abolishing the vse of copper and brasen coine, and conuerting the same into guns and great ordinance, she restored sundrie coines of fine siluer, as péeces of halfepenie farding, of a penie, of three halfe pence, péeces of two pence, of three pence, of foure pence (called the groat) of six pence vsuallie named the testone, and shilling of twelue pence, whereon she hath imprinted hir owne image, and emphaticall superscription. Our gold is either old or new. The old is that which hath remained since the time of king Edward the third, or béene coined by such other princes as haue reigned since his decease, without anie abasing or diminution of the finesse of that mettall. Therof also we haue yet remaining, the riall, the George noble, the Henrie riall, the salut, the angell, and their smaller péeces, as halfes or quarters, though these in my time are not so common to be seene. I haue also beheld the souereigne of twentie shillings, and the péece of thirtie shillings, I haue heard likewise of péeces of fortie shillings, three pounds, fiue pounds, and ten pounds. But sith there were few of them coined, and those onelie at the commandement of kings, yearelie to bestow where their maiesties thought good in lieu of new yeares gifts and rewards: it is not requisit that I should remember them here amongst our currant monies.

Siluer restored.

Old gold.

The new gold is taken for such as began to be coined in the latter daies of king Henrie the eight, at which time the finesse of the mettall began to be verie much alaied, & is not likelie to be restored for ought that I can see: and yet is it such as hath béene coined since by his successors princes of this realme, in value and goodnesse equall and not inferiour to the coine and currant gold of other nations, where each one doth couet chiefelie to gather vp our old finer gold: so that the angels, rials, and nobles, are more plentifullie seene in France, Italie, and Flanders, than they be by a great deale within the realme of England, if you regard the paiments which they dailie make in those kinds of our coine. Our péeces now currant are of ten shillings, fiue shillings, and two shillings and six pence onelie: and those of sundrie stamps and names, as halfe souereigns (equall in weight with our currant shilling, whereby that gold is valued at ten times so much siluer) quarters of souereigns (otherwise called crownes) and halfe crownes: likewise angels, halfe angels, and quarters of angels, or if there be anie other, in good sooth I know them not, as one scarselie acquainted with anie siluer at all, much lesse then (God it wot) with anie store of gold.

New gold.

The first currant shilling or siluer péeces of twelue pence stamped within memorie, were coined by K. Henrie the eight in the twentith yeare of his reigne, & those of fiue shillings, and of two shillings and six pence, & the halfe shilling by king Edward the first: but the od péeces aboue remembred vnder the groat by our high and mightie princesse quéene Elizabeth, the name of the groat, penie, two pence, halfe penie, and farding, in old time the greatest siluer monies if you respect their denominations onelie, being more ancient than that I can well discusse of the time of their beginnings. Yet thus much I read, that king Edward the first in the eight yeare of his reigne, did first coine the penie and smallest péeces of siluer roundwise, which before were square, and wont to beare a double crosse with a creek, in such sort that the penie might easilie be broken, either into halfes or quarters: by which shift onelie the people came

came by small monies, as halfe pence and fardings, that otherwise were not stamped nor coined of set purpose.

Of forren coines we haue all the ducats, the single, double, and the double double, the crusadoes, with the long crosse and the short: the portigue, a pece verie solemnelie kept of diuerse, & yet oft times abased with washing, or absolutelie counterfeited: and finallie the French and Flemish crownes, onlie current among vs, so long as they hold weight. But of siluer coines, as the soules turnois, whereof ten make a shilling, as the franke doth two shillings, and three franks the French crowne, &c: we haue none at all: yet are the dalders, and such often times brought ouer, but neuertheless exchanged as bullion, according to their fineness and weight, and afterward conuerted into coine, by such as haue authoritie.

In old time we had sundrie mints in England, and those commonlie kept in abbaies and religious houses before the conquest, where true dealing was commonlie supposed most of all to dwell: as at Ramseie, S. Edmundsburie, Canturburie, Glassenburie, Peterborow, and such like, sundrie exemplificats of the grants whereof are yet to be seene in writing, especiallie that of Peterborow vnder the confirmation of pope Eugenius: whereunto it appeareth further by a charter of king Edgar (which I haue) that they either held it or had another in Stanford. But after the Normans had once gotten the kingdome into their fingers, they trusted themselues best with the ouersight of their mints, and therefore erected diuerse of their owne, although they afterward permitted some for small peces of siluer vnto sundrie of the houses aforesaid. In my time diuerse mints are suppressed, as Southwarke, Bristow, &c: and all coinage is brought into one place, that is to saie, the Tower of London, where it is continuallie holden and perused, but not without great gaine to such as deale withall. There is also coinage of tin holden yearelie at two seuerall times, that is to saie, Midsummer and Michaelmas in the west countrie; which at the first hearing I supposed to haue bene of monie of the said mettall, and granted by priuilege from some prince vnto the towns of Hailestone, Trorie, and Lostwithiell. Howbeit, vpon further examination of the matter, I find it to be nothing so, but an office onlie erected for the prince, wherin he is allowed the ordinarie customes of that mettall: and such blocks of tin as haue passed the hands of his officers, are marked with an especiall stampe, whereby it is knowne that the custome due for the same hath ordinarilie beene answered. It should seeme (and in my opinion is verie likelie to be true) that while the Romans reigned here, Kingstone vpon Thames (sometime a right noble citie and place where the Saxon kings were vsuallie crowned) was the chiefe place of their coinage for this prouince. For in caring of the ground about that towne in times past, and now of late (besides the curious foundation of manie goodlie buildings that haue bene riped vp by plowes, and diuerse coines of brasse, siluer, and gold, with Romane letters in painted pots found there) in the daies of cardinall Wolsele, one such huge pot was discouered full as it were of new siluer latelie coined; another with plates of siluer readie to be coined; and the third with chaines of siluer and such broken stuffe redie (as it should appeere) to be melted into coinage, whereof let this suffice to countenance out my conjecture. Of coins current before the comming of the Romans I haue elsewhere declared, that there were none at all in Britaine: but as the Islanders of Scythia, the old Romans, Armenians, Scythians, Seritans, Sarmatians, Indians, and Essences did barter ware for ware, so the Britons vsed brasse or rings of iron, brought vnto a certeine proportion, in steed of monie, as the Lacedemonians & Bisantines also did, & the Achiui (as Homer writeth) who had (saith he) rough peces of brasse and iron in steed of coine, wherewith they purchased their wines.

Siluer re-stored.

Old gold.

New gold.

## The contents of the third booke.


1 Of cattell kept for profit.
2 Of wild and tame foules.
3 Of fish vsuallie taken vp on our coasts.
4 Of sauage beasts and vermines.
5 Of hawkes and rauenous foules.
6 Of venemous beasts.
7 Of our English dogs and their qualities.
8 Of our saffron, and the dressing thereof.
9 Of quarries of stone for building.
10 Of sundrie minerals.
11 Of mettals to be had in our land.
12 Of pretious stones.
13 Of salt made in England.
14 Of our accompt of time and hir parts.
15 Of principall faires and markets.
16 Of our innes and thorowfaires.


## Of cattell kept for profit.

### Chap. 1.

There is no kind of tame cattell vsually to be seene in these parts of the world, whereof we haue not some, and that great store in England; as horsses, oxen, sheepe, goats, swine, and far surmounting the like in other countries, as may be proued with ease. For where are oxen commonlie more large of bone, horsses more decent and pleasant in pase, kine more commodious for the pale, sheepe more profitable for woll, swine more wholesome of flesh, and goates more gainefull to their keepers, than here with vs in England? But to speke of them peculiarlie, I suppose that our kine are so abundant in yeeld of milke, wherof we make our butter & cheese, as the like anie where else, and so apt for the plough in diuerse places as either our horsses or oxen. And albeit they now and then twin, yet herein they seeme to come short of that commoditie which is looked for

in other countries, to wit, in that they bring forth most commonlie but one calfe at once. The gaines also gotten by a cow (all charges borne) hath beene valued at twentie shillings yearelie: but now as land is inhanced, this proportion of gaine is much abated, and likelie to decaie more and more, if ground arise to be yet déerer, which God forbid, if it be his will and pleasure. I heard of late of a cow in Warwikshire, belonging to Thomas Bruer of Studleie, which in sir yéeres had sirtéene calfes, that is, foure at once in three caluings and twise twins, which vnto manie may séeme a thing incredible. In like maner our oxen are such as the like are not to be found in anie countrie of Europe, both for greatnesse of bodie and sweetnesse of flesh: or else would not the Romane writers haue preferred them before those of Liguria. In most places our graziers are now growen to be so cunning, that if they dw but sée an ox or bullocke, and come to the feeling of him, they will giue a gheese at his weight, and how manie score or stone of flesh and tallow he beareth, how the butcher may liue by the sale, and what he may haue for the skin and tallow; which is a point of skill not commonlie practised heretofore. Some such graziers also are reported to ride with veluet coats, and chaines of gold about them: and in their absence their wiues will not let to supplie those turnes with no lesse skill than their husbands: which is an hard worke for the poore butcher, sith he through this means can seldome be rich or wealthie by his trade. In like sort the flesh of our oxen and kine is sold both by hand and by weight as the buier will: but in yong ware rather by weight, especiallie for the steere and heighfer, sith the finer beefe is the lightest, whereas the flesh of buls and old kine, &c: is of sadder substance and therefore much heauier as it lieth in the scale. Their hornes also are knowne to be more faire and large in England than in anie other places, except those which are to be séene among the Pæones, which quantitie albeit that it be giuen to our breed generallie by nature, yet it is now and then helped also by art. For when they be verie yong, manie graziers will oftentimes annoint their budding hornes, or tender tips with honie, which mollifieth the naturall hardnesse of that substance, and thereby maketh them to grow vnto a notable greatnesse. Certes, it is not strange in England, to sée oxen whose hornes haue the length of a yard or three foot betweene the tips, and they themselues thereto so tall, as the heigth of a man of meane and indifferent stature is scarse equall vnto them. Neuertheless it is much to be lamented that our generall breed of cattell is not better looked vnto: for the greatest occupiers weane least store, because they can buie them (as they saie) far better cheape than to raise and bring them vp. In my time a cow hath risen from foure nobles to foure marks by this means, which notwithstanding were no great price if they did yearelie bring forth more than one calfe a peece, as I heare they dw in other countries.

Oxen.

Athenæus lib. 10. cap. 8.

Horses. Our horses moreouer are high, and although not commonlie of such huge greatnesse as in other places of the maine: yet if you respect the easinesse of their pase, it is hard to saie where their like are to be had. Our land doth yéeld no asses, and therefore we want the generation also of mules and sumers; and therefore the most part of our cariage is made by these, which remaining stoned, are either reserued for the cart, or appointed to beare such burdens as are conuenient for them. Our cart or plough horses (for we vse them indifferentlie) are commonlie so strong that fiue or six of them (at the most) will draw three thousand weight of the greatest tale with ease for a long iourneie, although it be not a load of common vsage, which consisteth onelie of two thousand, or fiftie fot of timber, fortie bushels of white salt, or six and thirtie of baie, or fiue quarters of wheat, experience dailie teacheth, and I haue elsewhere remembred. Such as are kept also for burden, will carie foure hundred weight commonlie, without anie hurt or hinderance. This furthermore is to be noted, that our princes and the nobilitie haue their cariage commonlie made by carts, wherby it commeth to passe, that when the quéenes maiestie doth remoue from anie one place to another, there are vsuallie 400 carewarcs, which amount to the summe of 2400 horsses, appointed out of the countries adioining, whereby hir cariage is conueied safelie vnto the appointed place. Herby also the ancient vse of somers and sumpter horses is in maner vtterlie relinquished, which causeth the traines of our princes in their progresses to shew far lesse than those of the kings of other nations.

Such as serue for the saddle are commonlie gelded, and now growne to be verie déere among vs, especiallie if they be well coloured, iustlie limmed, and haue thereto an easie ambling pase. For our countriemen, séeking their ease in euerie corner where it is to be had, delight verie much in these qualities, but chieflie in their excellent pases, which besides that it is in maner peculiar vnto horses of our soile, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner sitting on their backes: it is moreouer verie pleasant and delectable in his eares, in that the noise of their well proportioned pase doth yéeld comfortable sound as he trauelleth by the waie. Yet is there no greater deceipt vsed anie where than among our horsekéepers, horsecorsers, and hostelers: for such is the subtill knauerie of a great sort of them (without exception of anie of them be it spoken which deale for priuat gaine) that an honest meaning man shall haue verie good lucke among them, if he be not deceiued by some false tricke or other. There are certeine notable markets, wherein great plentie of horses and colts is bought and sold, and wherevnto such as haue néed resort yearelie to buie and make their necessarie prouision of them, as Ripon, Newport pond, Wolfpit, Harborow, and diuerse other. But as most drouers are verie diligent to bring great store of these vnto those places; so manie of them are too too lewd in abusing such as buie them. For they haue a custome to make them looke faire to the eie, when they come within two daies iourneie of the market, to driue them till they sweat, & for the space of eight or twelue houres, which being doone they turne them all ouer the backs into some water, where they stand for a season, and then go forward with them to the place appointed, where they make sale of their infected ware, and such as by this meanes dw fall into manie diseases and maladies. Of such outlandish horsses as are dailie brought ouer vnto vs I speake not, as the genet of Spaine, the courser of Naples, the hobbie of Ireland, the Flemish roile, and Scotish nag, because that further speech of them commeth not within the compasse of this treatise, and for whose breed and maintenance (especiallie of the greatest sort) king Henrie the eight erected a noble studderie and for a time had verie good successe with them, till the officers waxing wearie, procured a mixed brood of bastard races, whereby his good purpose came to little effect. Sir Nicholas Arnold of late hath bred the best horsses in England, and written of the maner of their production: would to God his compasse of ground were like to that of Pella in Syria, wherin the king of that nation had vsuallie a studderie of 30000 mares and 300 stallions, as Strabo doth remember *Lib.* 16. But to leaue this, let vs sée what may be said of sheepe.

Geldings.

Sheepe. Our sheepe are verie excellent, sith for sweetnesse of

of fleſh they paſſe all other. And ſo much are our woolles to be preferred before thoſe of Meſia and other places, that if Iaſon had knowne the value of them that are bred, and to be had in Britaine, he would neuer haue gone to Colchis, to looke for anie there. For as Dionyſius Alexandrinus ſaith in his *De ſitu orbis*, it may by ſpinning be made comparable to the ſpiders web. What fooles then are our countrimen, in that they ſeeke to bereue themſelues of this commoditie, by practiſing dailie how to tranſfer the ſame to other nations, in carieng ouer their rams & ewes to breed & increaſe among them? The firſt example hereof was giuen vnder Edward the fourth, who not vnderſtanding the bottome of the ſute of ſundrie traitorous merchants, that ſought a preſent gaine with the perpetuall hinderance of their countrie, licenced them to carie ouer certeine numbers of them into Spaine, who hauing licence but for a few ſhipped verie manie: a thing commonlie practiſed in other commodities alſo, whereby the prince and his land are not ſeldome times defrauded. But ſuch is our nature, and ſo blind are we in deed, that we ſee no inconuenience before we feele it: and for a preſent gaine we regard not what damage may inſue to our poſteritie. Hereto ſome other man would ad alſo the deſire that we haue to benefit other countries, and to impech our owne. And it is ſo ſure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the ſea, though it be not worth three pence, is more eſteemed than a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far exceedeth that value. In time paſt the vſe of this commoditie conſiſted (for the moſt part) in cloth and woollèds: but now by meanes of ſtrangers ſuccoured here from domeſticall perſecution, the ſame hath béene imploied vnto ſundrie other vſes, as mockados, baies, vellures, grograines, &c: whereby the makers haue reaped no ſmall commoditie. It is furthermore to be noted, for the low countries of Belgie know it, and dailie experience (notwithſtanding the ſharpeneſſe of our lawes to the contrarie) doth yet confirme it: that although our rams & weathers do go thither from vs neuer ſo well headed according to their kind: yet after they haue remained there a while, they caſt there their heads, and from thenceforth they remaine polled without any hornes at all. Certes this kind of cattell is more cheriſhed in England, than ſtandeth well with the commoditie of the commons, or proſperitie of diuerſe townes, whereof ſome are wholie conuerted to their féeding: yet ſuch a profitable ſweetneſſe is their fleece, ſuch neceſſitie in their fleſh, and ſo great a benefit in the manuring of barren ſoile with their dung and piſſe, that their ſuperfluous numbers are the better borne withall. And there is neuer an husbandman (for now I ſpeake not of our great ſhéepemaſters of whom ſome one man hath 20000) but hath more or leſſe of this cattell féeding on his fallowes and ſhort grounds, which yéeld the finer fleece, as Virgil (following Varro) well eſpied Georg. 3. where he ſaith:

*Si tibi lanicium curæ, primùm aſpera ſylua,*
*Lappæque tribulíque abſint, fuge pabula læta.*

Neuertheleſſe the ſhéepe of our countrie are often troubled with the rot (as are our ſwine with the meaſels though neuer ſo generallie) and manie men are now and then great loſers by the ſame: but after the calamitie is ouer, if they can recouer and kéepe their new ſtocks ſound for ſeauen yeares togither, the former loſſe will eaſilie be recompenſed with double commoditie. Cardan writeth that our waters are hurtfull to our ſhéepe, howbeit this is but his coniecture: for we know that our ſhéepe are infected by going to the water, and take the ſame as a ſure and certeine token that a rot hath gotten hold of them, their liuers and lights being alredie diſtempered through

Shéepe without hornes.

exceſſiue heat, which inforceth them the rather to ſéeke vnto the water. Certes there is no parcell of the maine, wherin a man ſhall generallie find more fine and wholeſome water than in England; and therfore it is impoſſible that our ſhéepe ſhould decaie by taſting of the ſame. Wherfore the hinderance by rot is rather to be aſcribed to the vnſeaſonablenes & moiſture of the weather in ſummer, alſo their licking in of mildewes, goſſamire, rowie fogs, & ranke graſſe, full of ſuperfluous iuice: but ſpeciallie (I ſaie) to ouer moiſt wether, whereby the continuall raine pearſing into their hollow felles, ſoketh forthwith into their fleſh, which bringeth them to their baines. Being alſo infected their firſt ſhew of ſickeneſſe is their deſire to drinke, ſo that our waters are not vnto them *Cauſa ægritudinis*, but *Signum morbi*, what ſo euer Cardan do mainteine to the contrarie. There are (& peraduenture no ſmall babes) which are growne to be ſo good huſbands, that they can make account of euerie ten kine to be clérelie worth twentie pounds in cómon and indifferent yeares, if the milke of fiue ſhéepe be dailie added to the ſame. But as I wote not how true this ſurmiſe is, becauſe it is no part of my trade, ſo I am ſure hereof, that ſome houſewiues can and do ad dailie a leſſe proportion of ewes milke vnto the chéeſe of ſo manie kine, whereby their cheeſe doth the longer abide moiſt, and eateth more brickle and mellow than otherwiſe it would.

Goats we haue plentie, and of ſundrie colours in the weſt parts of England; eſpeciallie in and towards Wales, and amongſt the rockie hilles, by whome the owners do reape no ſmall aduantage: ſome alſo are cheriſhed elſewhere in diuerſe ſtéeds for the benefit of ſuch as are diſeaſed with ſundrie maladies, vnto whom (as I heare) their milke, chéeſe, and bodies of their yong kids are iudged verie profitable, and therefore inquired for of manie farre and néere. Certes I find among the writers, that the milke of a goat is next in eſtimation to that of the woman; for that it helpeth the ſtomach, remoueth oppilations and ſtoppings of the liuer, and looſeth the belly. Some place alſo next vnto it the milke of the ewe: and thirdlie that of the cow. But hereof I can ſhew no reaſon; onelie this I know, that ewes milke is fulſome, ſweet, and ſuch in taſt, as except ſuch as are vſed vnto it no man will gladlie yéeld to liue and féed withall.

Goats.

As for ſwine, there is no place that hath greater ſtore, nor more wholeſome in eating, than are theſe here in England, which neuertheleſſe do neuer anie good till they come to the table. Of theſe ſome we eat greene for porke, and other dried vp into bakon to haue it of more continuance. Lard we make ſome though verie little, becauſe it is chargeable: neither haue we ſuch vſe thereof as is to be ſéene in France and other countries, ſith we do rather bake our meat with ſweet ſuet of beefe or mutton, and baſt all our meat with ſweet or ſalt butter, or ſuffer the fatteſt to baſt it ſelfe by leiſure. In champaine countries they are kept by herds, and an hogherd appointed to attend and wait vpon them, who commonlie gathereth them togither by his noiſe and crie, and leadeth them forth to féed abroad in the fields. In ſome places alſo women do ſcowre and wet their cloths with their dung, as other do with hemlocks and netles: but ſuch is the fauor of the cloths touched withall, that I cannot abide to weare them on my bodie, more than ſuch as are ſcowred with the refuſe ſope, than the which (in mine opinion) there is none more vnkindlie fauor.

Swine.

Of our tame bores we make brawne, which is a kind of meat not vſuallie knowne to ſtrangers (as I take it) otherwiſe would not the ſwart Kutters and French cookes, at the loſſe of Calis (where they

Bores.

found great store of this prouision almost in euerie house) haue attempted with ridiculous successe to rost, bake, broile, & frie the same for their maisters, till they were better informed. I haue heard moreouer, how a noble man of England, not long since, did send ouer an hogshead of brawne readie sowsed to a catholike gentleman of France, who supposing it to be fish, reserued it till Lent, at which time he did eat thereof with verie great frugalitie. Thereto he so well liked of the prouision it selfe, that he wrote ouer verie earnestlie & with offer of great recompense for more of the same fish against the yeare insuing: whereas if he had knowne it to haue beene flesh, he would not haue touched it (I dare saie) for a thousand crownes without the popes dispensation. A frend of mine also dwelling sometime in Spaine, hauing certeine Iewes at his table, did set brawne before them, whereof they did eat verie earnestlie, supposing it to be a kind of fish not common in those parties: but when the goodman of the house brought in the head in pastime among them, to shew what they had eaten, they rose from the table, hied them home in hast, ech of them procuring himselfe to vomit, some by otle, and some by other meanes, till (as they supposed) they had clensed their stomachs of that prohibited food. With vs it is accounted a great peece of seruice at the table, from November vntill Februarie be ended; but chiefelie in the Christmasse time. With the same also we begin our dinners ech daie after other: and because it is somewhat hard of digestion, a draught of malueseie, bastard, or muscadell, is vsuallie dronke after it, where either of them are conuenientlie to be had: otherwise the meaner sort content themselues with their owne drinke, which at that season is generallie verie strong, and stronger indeed than in all the yeare beside. It is made commonlie of the fore part of a tame bore, set vp for the purpose by the space of a whole yere or two, especiallie in gentlemens houses (for the husbandmen and farmers neuer franke them for their owne vse aboue three or foure moneths, or halfe a yeere at the most) in which time he is dieted with otes and pease, and lodged on the bare planks of an vneasie coat, till his fat be hardened sufficientlie for their purpose: afterward he is killed, scalded, and cut out, and then of his former parts is our brawne made, the rest is nothing so fat, and therefore it beareth the name of sowse onelie, and is commonlie reserued for the seruing man and hind, except it please the owner to haue anie part thereof baked, which are then handled of custome after this manner. The hinder parts being cut off, they are first drawne with lard, and then sodden; being sodden they are sowsed in claret wine and vineger a certeine space, and afterward baked in pasties, and eaten of manie in steed of the wild bore, and trulie it is verie good meat: the pestles may be hanged vp a while to drie before they be drawne with lard if you will, and thereby proue the better. But hereof inough, and therefore to come againe vnto our brawne. The necke peeces being cut off round, are called collars of brawne, the shoulders are named shilds, onelie the ribs reteine the former denomination, so that these aforesaid peeces deserue the name of brawne: the bowels of the beast are commmonlie cast awaie because of their rankenesse, and so were likewise his stones; till a foolish fantasie got hold of late amongst some delicate dames, who haue now found the meanes to dresse them also with great cost for a deintie dish, and bring them to the bord as a seruice among other of like sort, though not without note of their desire to the prouocation of fleshlie lust, which by this their fond curiositie is not a little reuealed. When the bore is thus cut out, ech peece is wrapped vp, either with bulrushes, ozier

Brawne of the bore.

Baked hog.

pæles, tape, inkle, or such like, and then sodden in a lead or caldron togither, till they be so tender that a man may thrust a bruised rush or soft straw cleane through the fat: which being done, they take it vp, and laie it abroad to cole: afterward putting it into close vessels, they powre either good small ale or beere mingled with verinice and salt thereto till it be couered, and so let it lie (now and then altering and changing the sowsing drinke least it should war sowre) till occasion serue to spend it out of the waie. Some vse to make brawne of great barrow hogs, and seeth them, and sowse the whole, as they do that of the bore; and in my iudgement it is the better of both, and more easie of digestion. But of brawne thus much; and so much may seeme sufficient.

## Of wild and tame foules.

### Chap. 2.

ORder requireth that I speake somewhat of the foules also of England, which I may easilie diuide into the wild & tame: but alas such is my small skill in foules, that to say the truth, I can neither recite their numbers, nor well distinguish one kind of them from another. Yet this I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation vnder the sunne, which hath alreadie in the time of the yere more plentie of wild foule than we, for so manie kinds as our Iland doth bring forth, and much more would haue, if those of the higher soile might be spared but one yeare or two, from the greedie engins of couetous foulers, which set onlie for the pot & purse. Certes this enormitie bred great trouble in K. Johns daies, insomuch that going in progresse about the tenth of his reigne, he found little or no game wherewith to solace himself, or exercise his falcons. Wherfore being at Bristow in the Christmas insuing, he restreined all maner of hawking or taking of wild foule throughout England for a season, whereby the land within few yeares was throughlie replenished againe. But what stand I vpon this impertinent discourse? Of such therefore as are bred in our land, we haue the crane, the bitter, the wild & tame swan, the bustard, the herron, curlew, snite, wildgose, wind or doterell, brant, larke, plouer of both sorts, lapwing, teale, wigeon, mallard, sheldrake, shoueler, pewet, seamew, barnacle, quaile (who onelie with man are subiect to the falling sickenesse) the notte, the oliet or olike, the dunbird, woodcocke, partrich and feasant, besides diuerse other, whose names to me are vtterlie vnknowne, and much more the taste of their flesh; wherewith I was neuer acquainted. But as these serue not at all seasons, so in their seuerall turnes there is no plentie of them wanting, whereby the tables of the nobilitie and gentrie should seeme at anie time furnisht. But of all these the production of none is more maruellous in my mind, than that of the barnacle, whose place of generation we haue sought oft times so farre as the Orchades, whereas peraduenture we might haue found the same nearer home, and not onelie vpon the coasts of Ireland, but euen in our owne riuers. If I should say how either these or some such other foule not much vnlike vnto them haue bred of late times (for their place of generation is not perpetuall, but as opportunitie serueth, and the circumstances do minister occasion) in the Thames mouth, I do not thinke that manie will beleeue me: yet such a thing hath there beene seene, where a kind of foule had his beginning vpon a short tender shrub standing neere vnto the shore, from whence when their

their time came, they fell downe, either into the ſalt water and liued, or vpon the drie land and periſhed, as Pena the French herbarian hath alſo noted in the verie end of his herball. What I for mine owne part haue ſéene here by experience, I haue alreadie ſo touched in the chapter of Ilands, that it ſhould be but time ſpent in vaine to repeat it here againe. Looke therefore in the deſcription of Man or Manaw for more of theſe barnacles, as alſo in the eleuenth chapter of the deſcription of Scotland, & I do not doubt but you ſhall in ſome reſpect be ſatiſfied in the generation of theſe foules. As for egrets, pawpers, and ſuch like, they are dailie brought vnto vs from beyond the ſea, as if all the foule of our countris could not ſuffice to ſatiſfie our delicate appetites.

Our tame foule are ſuch (for the moſt part) as are common both to vs and to other countries, as cocks, hens, géeſe, duckes, peacocks of Inde, pigeons, now an hurtfull foule by reaſon of their multitudes, and number of houſes dailie erected for their increaſe (which the bowres of the countrie call in ſcorne almes houſes, and dens of thæues, and ſuchlike) wherof there is great plentie in euerie farmers yard. They are kept there alſo to be ſold either for readie monie in the open markets, or elſe to be ſpent at home in good companie amongſt their neighbors without reprehenſion or fines. Neither are we ſo miſerable in England (a thing onelie granted vnto vs by the eſpeciall grace of God, and libertie of our princes) as to dine or ſup with a quarter of a hen, or to make ſo great a repaſt with a cocks combe, as they do in ſome other countries: but if occaſion ſerue, the whole carcaſſes of manie capons, hens, pigeons, and ſuch like do oft go to wracke, beſide béefe, mutton, veale, and lambe: all which at euerie feaſt are taken for neceſſarie diſhes amongeſt the communaltie of England.

The gelding of cocks, whereby capons are made, is an ancient practiſe brought in of old time by the Romans when they dwelt here in this land: but the gelding of turkies or Indiſh peacocks is a newer deuiſe: and certeinlie not vſed amiſſe, ſith the rankeneſſe of that bird is verie much abated thereby, and the ſtrong taſte of the fleſh in ſundrie wiſe amended. If I ſhould ſay that ganders grow alſo to be gelded, I ſuppoſe that ſome will laugh me to ſcorne, neither haue I taſted at anie time of ſuch a foule ſo ſerued, yet haue I heard it more than once to be vſed in the countrie, where their géeſe are driuen to the field like heards of cattell by a goſeheard, a toie alſo no leſſe to be maruelled at than the other. For as it is rare to heare of a gelded gander, ſo is it ſtrange to me to ſée or heare of géeſe to be led to the field like ſhéepe: yet ſo it is, & their goſeheard carieth a rattle of paper or parchment with him, when he goeth about in the morning to gather his goſlings togither, the noiſe whereof commeth no ſooner to their eares, than they fall to gagling, and haſten to go with him. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the houſe be ſtirring, it is ridiculous to ſée how they will pepe vnder the doores, and neuer leaue creaking and gagling till they be let out vnto him to ouertake their fellowes. With vs where I dwell they are not kept in this ſort, nor in manie other places, neither are they kept ſo much for their bodies as their feathers. Some hold furthermore an opinion, that in ouer ranke ſoiles their dung doth ſo qualifie the batableneſſe of the ſoile, that their cattell is thereby kept from the garget, and ſundrie other diſeaſes, although ſome of them come to their ends now and then, by licking vp of their feathers. I might here make mention of other foules produced by the induſtrie of man, as betwéene the feſant cocke and dunghill hen, or betwéene the feſant and the ringdoue, the peacocke and the turkie hen, the partrich and the pigeon: but ſith I haue no more knowledge of theſe, than what I haue gotten by mine eare, I will not meddle with them. Yet Cardan ſpeaking of the ſecond ſort, doth affirme it to be a foule of excellent beautie. I would likewiſe intreat of other foules which we repute vncleane, as rauens, crowes, pies, choughs, rookes, kites, faies, ringtailes, ſtarlings, woodſpikes, woodnawes, rauens, &c: but ſith they abound in all countries, though peradnenture moſt of all in England (by reaſon of our negligence) I ſhall not need to ſpend anie time in the rehearſall of them. Neither are our crowes and choughs cheriſhed of purpoſe to catch vp the wormes that bréed in our ſoiles (as Polydor ſuppoſeth) ſith there are no vplandiſh townes but haue (or ſhould haue) nets of their owne in ſtore to catch them withall. Sundrie acts of parlement are likewiſe made for their vtter deſtruction, as alſo the ſpoile of other rauenous fouls hurtfull to pultrie, conies, lambs, and kids, whoſe valuation of reward to him that killeth them is after the head: a deuiſe brought from the Goths, who had the like ordinance for the deſtruction of their white crowes, and tale made by the becke, which killed both lambs and pigs. The like order is taken with vs for our vermines, as with them alſo for the rotage out of their wild beaſts, ſauing that they ſpared their greateſt beares, eſpeciallie the white, whoſe ſkins are by cuſtome & priuilege reſerued to couer thoſe planchers whereupon their prieſts do ſtand at Maſſe, leaſt he ſhould take ſome vnkind cold in ſuch a long pace of worke: and happie is the man that may prouide them for him, for he ſhall haue pardon inough for that ſo religious an act, to laſt if he will till domes day do approch; and manie thouſands after. Nothing therefore can be more vnlikelie to be true, than that theſe noiſome creatures are nouriſhed amongſt vs to deuoure our wormes, which do not abound much more in England than elſewhere in other countries of the maine. It may be that ſome looke for a diſcourſe alſo of our other foules in this place at my hand, as nightingales, thruſhes, blackebirds, mauiſes, ruddocks, redſtarts or dunocks, larkes, tiuits, kingsfiſhers, buntings, turtles white or graie, linets, bulfinches, goldfinches, waſhtailes, cheriecrackers, yellowhamers, felfares, &c: but I ſhould then ſpend more time vpon them than is conuenient. Neither will I ſpeake of our coſtlie and curious anſaries dailie made for the better hearing of their melodie, and obſeruation of their natures: but I ceaſe alſo to go anie further in theſe things, hauing (as I thinke) ſaid inough alreadie of theſe that I haue named.

## Of fiſh vſuallie taken vpon *our coaſts.*

### Cap. 3.

I Haue in my deſcription of waters, as occaſion hath ſerued, intreated of the names of ſome of the ſeuerall fiſhes which are commonlie to bée found in our riuers. Neuertheleſſe as euerie water hath a ſundrie mixture, and therefore is not ſtored with euerie kind: ſo there is almoſt no houſe, euen of the meaneſt bowres, which haue not one or mo ponds or holes made for reſeruation of water vnſtored with ſome of them, as with tench, carpe, breame, roch, dace, éles, or ſuch like as will liue and bréed togither. Certes it is not poſſible for me to deliuer the names of all ſuch kinds of fiſhes

as our riuers are found to beare: yet least I should seeme iniurious to the reader, in not deliuering so manie of them as haue béene brought to my knowledge, I will not let to set them downe as they doo come to mind. Besides the salmons therefore, which are not to be taken from the middest of September to the middest of Nouember, and are verie plentifull in our greatest riuers, as their yong store are not to be touched from mid Aprill vnto Midsummer, we haue the trout, barbell, graile, powt, cheuin, pike, gwdgeon, smelt, perch, menan, shrimpes, creuises, lamprеies, and such like, whose preseruation is prouided for by verie sharpe lawes, not onelie in our riuers, but also in plashes or lakes and ponds, which otherwise would bring small profit to the owners, and doo much harme by continuall maintenance of idle persons, who would spend their whole times vpon their bankes, not coueting to labour with their hands, nor follow anie good trade. Of all these there are none more prеiudiciall to their neighbours that dwell in the same water, than the pike and éele, which commonlie deuoure such fish or frie and spawne as they may get and come by. Neuertheless, the pike is frеend vnto the tench, as to his leach & surgeon. For when the fishmonger hath opened his side and laid out his riuet and fat vnto the buier, for the better vtterance of his ware, and can not make him away at that prеsent, he laieth the same againe into the proper place, and solwing vp the wound, he restoreth him to the pond where tenches are, who neuer cease to sucke and licke his grœued place, till they haue restored him to health, and made him readie to come againe to the stall, when his turne shall come about. I might here make report how the pike, carpe, and some other of our riuer fishes are sold by inches of cleane fish, from the eies or gilles to the crotch of the tailes, but it is needlesse: also how the pike as he ageth, receiueth diuerse names, as from a frie to a gilthed, from a gilthed to a pod, from a pod to a tacke, from a tacke to a pickerell, from a pickerell to a pike, and last of all to a luce; also that a salmon is the first yeare a grauellin, and commonlie so big as an herring, the second a salmon peale, the third a pug, and the fourth a salmon: but this is in like sort vnnecessarie.

I might finallie tell you, how that in fennie riuers sides if you cut a turfe, and laie it with the grasse downewards, vpon the earth, in such sort as the water may touch it as it passeth by, you shall haue a brood of éeles, it would seeme a wonder; and yet it is beléeued with no lesse assurance of some, than that an horse haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in short time stirre and become a liuing creature. But sith the certeintie of these things is rather prooued by few than the certeintie of them knowne vnto manie, I let it passe at this time. Neuertheless this is generallie obserued in the maintenance of frie so well in riuers as in ponds, that in the time of spawne we vse to throw in faggots made of willow and sallow, and now and then of bushes for want of the other, whereby such spawne as falleth into the same is preserued and kept from the pike, perch, éele and other fish, of which the carpe also will feed vpon his owne, and thereby hinder the store and increase of proper kind. Some vse in euerie fift or seauenth yeere to laie their great ponds drie for all the summer time, to the end they may gather grasse, and a thin swart for the fish to feed vpon; and afterwards store them with brёeders, after the water be let of new againe into them: finallie, when they haue spawned, they draw out the brёeders, leauing not aboue foure or fiue behind, euen in the greatest ponds, by meanes whereof the rest doo prosper the better: and this obseruation is most vsed in carpe and breame; as for perch (a delicate fish) it prospereth euerie where, I meane so well in ponds as riuers, and also in motes and pittes, as I doo know by experience, though their bottoms be but claie. More would I write of our fresh fish, if anie more were nedfull; wherefore I will now turne ouer vnto such of the salt water as are taken vpon our coasts. As our foules therefore haue their seasons, so likewise haue all our sorts of sea fish: whereby it commeth to passe that none, or at the least wise verie few of them are to be had at all times. Neuertheless, the seas that inuiron our coasts, are of all other most plentifull: for as by reason of their depth they are a great succour, so our low shores minister great plentie of food vnto the fish that come thereto, no place being void or barren, either through want of food for them, or the falles of filthie riuers, which naturallie annoie them. In December therefore and Januarie we commonlie abound in herring and red fish, as rochet, and gurnard. In Februarie and March we fed on plaice, trowts, turbut, muskles, &c. In Aprill and Maie, with makrell, and cockles. In June and Julie, with conger. In August and September, with haddocke and herring: and the two moneths insuing with the same, as also thornbacke and reigh of all sorts; all which are the most vsuall, and wherewith our common sort are best of all refreshed.

For mine owne part I am greatlie acquainted neither with the seasons, nor yet with the fish it selfe: and therefore if I should take vpon me to describe or speake of either of them absolutelie, I should enterprise more than I am able to performe, and go in hand with a greater matter than I can well bring about. It shall suffice therefore to declare what sorts of fishes I haue most often séene, to the end I may not altogither passe ouer this chapter without the rehersall of something, although the whole summe of that which I haue to saie be nothing indeed, if the performance of a full discourse hereof be anie thing hardlie required.

Of fishes therefore as I find fiue sorts, the flat, the round, the long, the legged and shelled: so the flat are diuided into the smooth, scaled and tailed. Of the first are the plaice, the but, the turbut, birt, floke or sea flounder, dorrie, dab, &c. Of the second the soles, &c. Of the third, our thaits, maidens, kingsons, flath and thornbacke, whereof the greater be for the most part either dried and carried into other countries, or sodden, sowsed, & eaten here at home, whilest the lesser be fried or buttered; some after they be taken as prouision not to be kept long for feare of putrifaction. Flat fish.

Under the round kinds are commonlie comprehended lumps, an vglie fish to sight, and yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindlie dressed: the whiting (an old waiter or seruitor in the court) the rochet, sea breame, pirle, hake, sea trowt, gurnard, haddocke, cod, herring, pilchard, sprat, and such like. And these are they whereof I haue best knowledge, and be commonlie to be had in their times vpon our coasts. Round fish.

Under this kind also are all the great fish conteined, as the seale, the dolphin, the porpoise, the thirlepole, whale, and whatsoeuer is round of bodie be it neuer so great and huge. Of the long sort are congers, éeles, garefish, and such other of that forme. Long fish.

Finallie, of the legged kind we haue not manie, neither haue I seene anie more of this sort than the Polypus called in English the lobstar, crafish or creuis, and the crab. As for the little crafishes they are not taken in the sea, but plentifullie in our fresh riuers in banks, and vnder stones, where they kéepe themselues in most secret maner, and oft by likenesse of colour with the stones among which they lie, deceiue euen the skilfull takers of them, except they vse great diligence. Carolus Stephanus in his maison rustique, Legged fish.

ruſtique, doubted whether theſe lobſtars be fiſh or not; and in the end concludeth them to grow of the purgation of the water as doth the frog, and theſe alſo not to be eaten, for that they be ſtrong and verie hard of digeſtion. But hereof let other determine further.

I might here ſpeake of ſundrie other fiſhes now and then taken alſo vpon our coaſts: but ſith my mind is onelie to touch either all ſuch as are vſuallie gotten, or ſo manie of them onelie as I can well rehearſe vpon certeine knowledge, I thinke it good at this time to forbeare the further intreatie of them. As touching the ſhellie ſort, we haue plentie of oiſters, whoſe valure in old time for their ſweetneſſe was not vnknowne in Rome (although Mutianus as Plinie noteth lib. 32, cap. 6. preferre the Tyrrheene before them) and theſe we haue in like maner of diuerſe quantities, and no leſſe varietie alſo of our muſkles and cockles. We haue in like ſort no ſmall ſtore of great whelkes, ſcalops and perewinkles, and each of them brought farre into the land from the ſea coaſt in their ſeuerall ſeaſons. And albeit our oiſters are generallie forborne in the foure hot moneths of the yeare, that is to ſaie, Maie, June, Julie, and Auguſt, which are void of the letter R: yet in ſome places they be continuallie eaten, where they be kept in pits as I haue knowne by experience. And thus much of our ſea fiſh, as a man in maner vtterlie vnacquainted with their diuerſitie of kinds: yet ſo much haue I yelded to doo, hoping hereafter to ſaie ſomewhat more, and more orderlie of them, if it ſhall pleaſe God that I may liue and haue leaſure once againe to peruſe this treatiſe, and ſo make vp a perfect peece of worke, of that which as you now ſee is verie ſlenderlie attempted and begun.

## Of ſauage beaſts and vermines.

### Chap. 4.

IT is none of the leaſt bleſſings wherewith God hath indued this Iland, that it is void of noiſome beaſts, as lions, beares, tigers, pardes, wolfes, & ſuch like, by means whereof our countrimen may trauell in ſafetie, & our herds and flocks remaine for the moſt part abroad in the field without anie herdman or keeper.

This is cheefelie ſpoken of the ſouth and ſouthweſt parts of the Iland. For whereas we that dwell on this ſide of the Twed, may ſafelie boaſt of our ſecuritie in this behalfe: yet cannot the Scots doo the like in euerie point within their kingdome, ſith they haue greeuous wolfes and cruell fores, beſide ſome other of like diſpoſition continuallie conuerſant among them, to the generall hinderance of their husbandmen, and no ſmall damage vnto the inhabiters of thoſe quarters. The happie and fortunate want of theſe beaſts in England is vniuerſallie aſcribed to the politike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole countrie might once be cleanſed and clearelie rid of them, charged the conquered Welſhmen (who were then peſtered with theſe rauenous creatures aboue meaſure) to paie him a yearelie tribute of wolfes ſkinnes, to be gathered within the land. He appointed them thereto a certeine number of three hundred, with free libertie for their prince to hunt & purſue them ouer all quarters of the realme; as our chronicles doo report. Some there be which write how Ludwall prince of Wales paid yearelie to king Edgar this tribute of three hundred wolfes, whoſe carcaſes being brought into Lhoegres, were buried at Wolfpit in Cambridgeſhire, and that by means thereof within the compaſſe and terme of foure yeares, none of thoſe noiſome creatures were left to be heard of within Wales and England. Since this time alſo we read not that anie wolfe hath beene ſeene here that hath beene bred within the bounds and limits of our countrie: howbeit there haue beene diuerſe brought ouer from beyond the ſeas for greedineſſe of gaine, and to make monie onlie by the gaſing and gaping of our people vpon them, who couet oft to ſee them being ſtrange beaſts in their eies, and ſildome knowne (as I haue ſaid) in England.

Lions we haue had verie manie in the north parts of Scotland, and thoſe with maines of no leſſe force than they of Mauritania were ſometimes reported to be; but how and when they were deſtroied as yet I doo not read. They had in like ſort no leſſe plentie of wild and cruell buls, which the princes and their nobilitie in the frugall time of the land did hunt, and follow for the triall of their manhood, and by purſute either on horſſebacke or foot in armor; notwithſtanding that manie times they were dangerouſlie aſſailed by them. But both theſe ſauage creatures are now not heard of, or at the leaſt wiſe the later ſcarſelie known in the ſouth parts. Howbeit this I gather by their being here, that our Iland was not cut from the maine by the great deluge or flood of Noah: but long after, otherwiſe the generation of thoſe & other like creatures could not haue extended into our Ilands. For, that anie man would of ſet purpoſe repleniſh the countrie with them for his pleaſure and paſtime in hunting, I can in no wiſe beleeue.

Of fores we haue ſome but no great ſtore, and alſo badgers in our ſandie & light grounds, where woods, firzes, brome, and plentie of ſhrubs are to ſhrowd them in, when they be from their borrowes, and thereto warrens of conies at hand to feed vpon at will. Otherwiſe in claie, which we call the cledgie mould, we ſildom heare of anie, becauſe the moiſture and toughneſſe of the ſoile is ſuch, as will not ſuffer them to draw and make their borrowes deepe. Certes if I may freelie ſaie what I thinke, I ſuppoſe that theſe two kinds (I meane fores and badgers) are rather preſerued by gentlemen to hunt and haue paſtime withall at their owne pleaſures, than otherwiſe ſuffered to liue, as not able to be deſtroied becauſe of their great numbers. For ſuch is the ſcantitie of them here in England, in compariſon of the plentie that is to be ſeene in other countries, and ſo earneſtlie are the inhabitants bent to root them out, that except it had beene to beare thus with the recreations of their ſuperiors in this behalfe, it could not otherwiſe haue beene choſen, but that they ſhould haue beene vtterlie deſtroied by manie yeares agone.

I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polcat, the miniuer, the weaſell, ſtote, fulmart, ſquirrill, fitchew, and ſuch like, which Cardan includeth vnder the word *Muſtela*: alſo of the otter, and likewiſe of the beuer, whoſe hinder feet and taile onlie are ſuppoſed to be fiſh. Certes the taile of this beaſt is like vnto a thin whetſtone, as the bodie vnto a monſterous rat: the beaſt alſo it ſelfe is of ſuch force in the teeth, that it will gnaw an hole through a thicke planke, or there thorough a dubble billet in a night; it loueth alſo the ſtilleſt riuers: & it is giuen to them by nature, to go by flockes vnto the woods at hand, where they gather ſticks wherewith to build their neſts, wherein their bodies lie drie aboue the water, although they ſo prouide moſt commonlie, that their tailes may hang within the ſame. It is alſo reported that their ſaid tailes are a delicate diſh, and their ſtones of ſuch medicinable force, that (as

Verro-

Flat fiſh. Round fiſh. Long fiſh. Legged fiſh. Wolfes. Tribute of wolfes ſkins. Fores. Badgers. Beuers.

Vertomannus saith) foure men smelling vnto them each after other did bleed at the nose through their attractiue force, proceeding from a vehement sauour wherewith they are induced: there is greatest plentie of them in Persia, chéefelie about Balascham, from whence they and their dried cods are brought into all quarters of the world, though not without some forgerie by such as prouide them. And of all these here remembred, as the first sorts are plentifull in euerie wood and hedgerow: so these latter, especiallie the otter (for to saie the truth we haue not manie beuers, but onelie in the Teifie in Wales) is not wanting or to séeke in manie, but most streams and riuers of this Ile: but it shall suffice in this sort to haue named them as I doo finallie the marterne, a beast of the chase, although for number I worthilie doubt whether that of our beuers or marterns may be thought to be the lesse.

Marterns.

Other pernicious beasts we haue not, except you repute the great plentie of red & fallow déere, whose colours are oft garled white and blacke, all white or all blacke, and store of conies amongst the hurtfull sort. Which although that of themselues they are not offensiue at all, yet their great numbers are thought to be verie preiudiciall, and therfore iustlie reproued of many; as are in like sort our huge flocks of shéepe, whereon the greatest part of our soile is employed almost in euerie place, and yet our mutton, woll, and felles neuer the better cheape. The yong males which our fallow déere do bring forth, are commonlie named according to their seuerall ages: for the first yéere it is a fawne, the second a puckot, the third a sorell, the fourth a soare, the fift a bucke of the first head; not bearing the name of a bucke till he be fiue yéers old: and from henceforth his age is commonlie knowne by his head or horns. Howbeit this notice of his yéers is not so certeine, but that the best woodman may now and then be deceiued in that account: for in some grounds a bucke of the first head will be so well headed as another in a high rowtie soile will be in the fourth. It is also much to be maruelled at, that whereas they do yéerelie mew and cast their horns: yet in fighting they neuer breake off where they do grise or mew. Furthermore, in examining the condition of our red déere, I find that the yong male is called in the first yéere a calfe, in the second a broket, the third a spaie, the fourth a stagon or stag, the fift a great stag, the sixt an hart, and so forth vnto his death. And with him in degrée of venerie are accounted the hare, bore, and woolfe. The fallow déere as bucks and does, are nourished in parkes, and conies in warrens and burrowes. As for hares, they run at their owne aduenture, except some gentleman or other (for his pleasure) do make an inclosure for them. Of these also the stag is accounted for the most noble game, the fallow déere is the next, then the roe, whereof we haue indifferent store; and last of all the hare, not the least in estimation, because the hunting of that seelie beast is mother to all the terms, blasts, and artificiall deuises that hunters do vse. All which (notwithstanding our custome) are passtimes more meet for ladies and gentlewomen to exercise (whatsoeuer Franciscus Patritius saith to the contrarie in his institution of a prince) than for men of courage to follow, whose hunting should practise their armes in tasting of their manhood, and dealing with such beasts as eftsoones will turne againe, and offer them the hardest rather than their horses feet, which manie times may carrie them with dishonour from the field. Surelie this noble kind of hunting onelie did great princes frequent in times past, as it may yet appéere by the histories of their times, especiallie of Alexander, who at vacant times hunted the tiger, the pard, the bore, and the beare, but most willinglie lions, because of the honorable estimation of that beast; insomuch that at one time he caused an odd or chosen lion (for force and beautie) to be let forth vnto him hand to hand, with whome he had much businesse, albeit that in the end he ouerthrew and killed the beast. Hereunto beside that which we read of the vsuall hunting of the princes and kings of Scotland, of the wild bull, woolfe, &c: the example of king Henrie the first of England, who disdaining (as he termed them) to follow or pursue cowards, cherished of set purpose sundrie kinds of wild beasts, as bears, libards, ounces, lions at Woodstocke, & one or two other places in England, which he walled about with hard stone, An. 1120, and where he would often fight with some one of them hand to hand, when they did turne againe and make anie raise vpon him: but chéeflie he loued to hunt the lion and the bore, which are both verie dangerous exercises, especiallie that with the lion, except some policie be found wherwith to trouble his eiesight in anie manner of wise. For though the bore be fierce, and hath learned by nature to harden his flesh and skin against the trées, to sharpen his téeth, and defile himselfe with earth, thereby to prohibit the entrance of the weapons: yet is the sport somewhat more easie, especiallie where two stand so neere together, that the one (if need be) may helpe and be a succour to the other. Neither would he cease for all this to follow his pastime, either on horsseback or on foot, as occasion serued, much like the yonger Cyrus. I haue read of wild bores and bulles to haue béene about Blackleie néere Manchester, whither the said prince would now and then resort also for his solace in that behalfe, as also to come by those excellent falcons then bred thereabouts; but now they are gone, especiallie the bulles, as I haue said alreadie.

King Henrie the fift in his beginning thought it a méere scotterie to pursue anie fallow déere with hounds or greihounds, but supposed himselfe alwaies to haue done a sufficient act when he had tired them by his owne trauell on foot, and so killed them with his hands in the vpshot of that exercise and end of his recreation. Certes herein he resembled Polymnestor Milesius, of whome it is written, how he ran so swiftlie, that he would and did verie often ouertake hares for his pleasure, which I can hardlie beléeue: and therefore much lesse that one Lidas did run so lightlie and swiftlie after like game, that as he passed ouer the sand, he left not so much as the prints of his feet behind him. And thus did verie manie in like sort with the hart (as I do read) but this I thinke was verie long agone, when men were farre higher and swifter than they are now: and yet I denie not, but rather grant willinglie that the hunting of the red déere is a right princelie pastime. In diuerse forren countries they cause their red and fallow déere to draw the plough, as we do our oxen and horsses. In some places also they milke their hinds as we do here our kine and goats. And the experience of this latter is noted by Giraldus Cambrensis to haue béene séene and vsed in Wales, where he did eat chéese made of hinds milke, at such time as Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie preached the croisad there, when they were both lodged in a gentlemans house, whose wife of purpose kept a deirie of the same. As for the plowing with oxes (which I suppose to be vnlikelie) because they are (in mine opinion) vntameable and alkes a thing commonlie vsed in the east countries; here is no place to speake of it, since we want these kind of beasts, neither is it my purpose to intreat at large of other things than are to be séene in England. Wherfore I will omit to saie anie more of wild and sauage beasts at this time, thinking my selfe to haue spoken alreadie sufficientlie

Stags.

Hinds haue béene milked

ſufficientlie of this matter, if not too much in the iudgement of the curious.

## Of hawkes and rauenous foules.

Chap. 5.

I Can not make (as yet) anie iuſt report how manie ſorts of hawkes are bred within this realme. Howbeit which of thoſe that are vſuallie had among vs are diſcloſed within this land, I thinke it more eaſie and leſſe difficult to ſet downe. Firſt of all therefore that we haue the egle, common experience doth euidentlie confirme, and diuerſe of our rockes whereon they breed, if ſpeach did ſerue, could well declare the ſame. But the moſt excellent aierie of all is not much from Cheſter, at a caſtell called Dinas Bren, ſometime builded by Brennus, as our writers do remember. Certes this caſtell is no great thing, but yet a pile ſometime verie ſtrong and inacceſſible for enimies, though now all ruinous as manie other are. It ſtandeth vpon an hard rocke, in the ſide whereof an eagle breedeth euerie yeare. This alſo is notable in the ouerthrow of hir neſt (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither muſt be ſure of two large baſkets, and ſo prouide to be let downe thereto, that he may ſit in the one and be couered with the other: for otherwiſe the eagle would kill him, and teare the fleſh from his bones with hir ſharpe talons though his apparell were neuer ſo good. The common people call this foule an erne, but as I am ignorant whither the word eagle and erne do ſhew anie difference of ſere, I meane betweene the male and female, ſo we haue great ſtore of them. And neere to the places where they breed, the commons complaine of great harme to be done by them in their fields: for they are able to beare a yong lambe or kid vnto their neaſts, therwith to feed their yong and come againe for more. I was once of the opinion that there was a diuerſitie of kind betweene the eagle and the erne, till I perceiued that our nation vſed the word erne in moſt places for the eagle. We haue alſo the lanner and the lanneret: the terſell and the goſehawke: the muſket and the ſparhawke: the iacke and the hobbie: and finallie ſome (though verie few) marlions. And theſe are all the hawkes that I do heare as yet to be bred within this Iland. Howbeit as theſe are not wanting with vs, ſo are they not verie plentifull: wherefore ſuch as delite in hawking do make their chiefe puruiance & prouiſion for the ſame out of Danſke, Germanie, and the Eaſtcountries, from whence we haue them in great abundance, and at exceſſiue prices, whereas at home and where they be bred they are ſold for almoſt right naught, and vſuallie brought to the markets as chickins, pullets and pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we do the aforeſaid foules) almoſt of euerie man. It is ſaid that the ſparhawke preieth not vpon the foule in the morning that ſhe taketh ouer euen, but as loth to haue double benefit by one ſælie foule, doth let it go to make ſome ſhift for it ſelfe. But hereof as I ſtand in ſome doubt, ſo this I find among the writers worthie the noting, that the ſparhawke is enimie to yong children, as is alſo the ape; but of the pecocke ſhe is maruellouſlie afraid & ſo appalled, that all courage & ſtomach for a time is taken from hir vpon the ſight thereof. But to proceed with the reſt. Of other rauenous birds we haue alſo verie great plentie, as the buſſard, the kite, the ringtaile, dunkite, & ſuch as often annoie our countrie dames by ſpoiling of their yong breeds of chickens, ducks and goſlings, whereunto our verie rauens and crowes haue learned alſo the waie: and ſo much are our rauens giuen to this kind of ſpoile, that ſome idle and curious heads of ſet purpoſe haue manned, reclaimed, and vſed them in ſtéed of hawkes, when other could not be had. Some do imagine that the rauen ſhould be the vulture, and I was almoſt perſuaded in times paſt to beleeue the ſame: but finding of late a deſcription of the vulture, which better agreeth with the forme of a ſecond kind of eagle, I freelie surceaſe to be longer of that opinion: for as it hath after a ſort the ſhape, colour, and quantitie of an eagle, ſo are the legs and feet more hairie and rough, their ſides vnder their wings better couered with thicke downe (wherewith alſo their gorge or a part of their breſt vnder their throtes is armed, and not with fethers) than are the like parts of the eagle, and vnto which portraiture there is no member of the rauen (who is alſo verie blacke of colour) that can haue anie reſemblance: we haue none of them in England to my knowledge, if we haue, they go generallie vnder the name of eagle or erne. Neither haue we the pygargus or gripe, wherefore I haue no occaſion to intreat further. I haue ſéene the carren crowes ſo cunning alſo by their owne induſtrie of late, that they haue vſed to ſoare ouer great riuers (as the Thames for example) & ſuddenlie comming downe haue caught a ſmall fiſh in their feet & gone awaie withall without wetting of their wings. And euen at this preſent the aforeſaid riuer is not without ſome of them, a thing (in my opinion) not a little to be wondered at. We haue alſo oſprais which bréed with vs in parks and woods, whereby the keepers of the ſame do reape in bréeding time no ſmall commoditie: for ſo ſoone almoſt as the yong are hatched, they tie them to the but ends or ground ends of ſundrie træs, where the old ones finding them, do neuer ceaſe to bring fiſh vnto them, which the keepers take & eat from them, and commonlie is ſuch as is well fed, or not of the worſt ſort. It hath not béene my hap hitherto to ſee anie of theſe foules, & partlie through mine owne negligence: but I heare that it hath one foot like an hawke to catch hold withall, and another reſembling a goſe therewith to ſwim; but whether it be ſo or not ſo, I refer the further ſearch and triall thereof vnto ſome other. This neuertheles is certeine that both aliue and dead, yea euen hir verie oile is a deadlie terrour to ſuch fiſh as come within the wind of it. There is no cauſe wherefore I ſhould deſcribe the cormorant amongſt hawkes, of which ſome be blacke and manie pied chiefelie about the Ile of Elie, where they are taken for the night rauen, except I ſhould call him a water hawke. But ſith ſuch dealing is not conuenient, let vs now ſée what may be ſaid of our venemous wormes, and how manie kinds we haue of them within our realme and countrie.

## Of venemous beaſts.

Chap. 6.

IF I ſhould go about to make anie long diſcourſe of venemous beaſts or wormes bred in England, I ſhould attempt more than occaſion it ſelfe would readilie offer, ſith we haue verie few worms, but no beaſts at all, that are thought by their naturall qualities to be either venemous or hurtfull. Firſt of all therefore we haue the adder (in our old Saxon tong called an atter) which

some men dō not rashlie take to be the viper. Certes if it be so, then is it not the viper author of the death of hir * parents, as some histories affirme; and thereto Encelius a late writer in his *De re metallica, lib. 3. cap. 38.* where he maketh mention of a she adder which he saw in Sala, whose wombe (as he saith) was eaten out after a like fashion, hir yong ones lieng by hir in the sunne shine, as if they had bene earth worms. Neuertheles as he nameth them *viperas*, so he calleth the male Echis, and the female Echidna, concluding in the end that Echis is the same serpent which his countrimen to this daie call Ein atter, as I haue also noted before out of a Saxon dictionarie. For my part I am persuaded that the slaughter of their parents is either not true at all, or not alwaies (although I doubt not but that nature hath right well prouided to inhibit their superfluous increase by some meanes or other) and so much the rather am I led hereunto, for that I gather by Nicander, that of all venemous worms the viper onelie bringeth out hir yong aliue, and therefore is called in Latine *vipera quasi viuipara*: but of hir owne death he doth not (to my remembrance) saie any thing. It is testified also by other in other words, & to the like sense, that *Echis id est vipera sola ex serpentibus non ouased animalia parit*. And it may well be, for I remember that I haue read in Philostratus *De vita Appollonij*, how he saw a viper licking hir yong. I did see an adder once my selfe that laie (as I thought) sleeping on a moule hill, out of whose mouth came eleuen yong adders of twelue or thirteene inches in length a peece, which plaied to and fro in the grasse one with another, till some of them espied me. So sone therefore as they saw my face, they ran againe into the mouth of their dam, whome I killed, and then found each of them shrowded in a distinct cell or pannicle in hir bellie, much like vnto a soft white iellie, which maketh me to be of the opinion that our adder is the viper indeed. The colour of their skin is for the most part like rustie iron or iron graie: but such as be verie old resemble a ruddie blew, & as once in the yeare, to wit, in Aprill or about the beginning of Maie they cast their old skins (whereby as it is thought their age reneweth) so their stinging bringeth death without present remedie be at hand, the wounded neuer ceasing to swell, neither the venem to worke till the skin of the one breake, and the other ascend vpward to the hart, where it finisheth the naturall effect, except the iuice of dragons (in Latine called *Dracunculus minor*) be speedilie ministred and dronke in strong ale, or else some other medicine taken of like force, that may counteruaile and ouercome the venem of the same. The length of them is most commonlie two foot and somwhat more, but seldome doth it extend vnto two foot six inches, except it be in some rare and monstrous one: whereas our snakes are much longer, and seene sometimes to surmount a yard, or three foot, although their poison be nothing so grieuous and deadlie as the others. Our adders lie in winter vnder stones, as Aristotle also saith of the viper Lib. 8. cap. 15. and in holes of the earth, rotten stubs of trees, and amongst the dead leaues: but in the heat of the summer they come abroad, and lie either round on heapes, or at length vpon some hillocke, or elsewhere in the grasse. They are found onelie in our woodland countries and highest grounds, where sometimes (though seldome) a speckled stone called Echites, in dutch Ein atter stein, is gotten out of their dried carcases, which diuers report to be good against their poison. As for our snakes, which in Latine are properlie named *Angues*, they commonlie are seene in moores, fens, lomie wals, and low bottoms.

And as we haue great store of todes where adders commonlie are found, so do frogs abound where snakes do keepe their residence. We haue also the slowworme, which is blacke and grateth of colour, and somewhat shorter than an adder. I was at the killing once of one of them, and thereby perceiued that she was not so called of anie want of nimble motion, but rather of the contrarie. Neuertheless we haue a blind worme to be found vnder logs in woods, and timber that hath lien long in a place, which some also do call (and vpon better ground) by the name of slow worms, and they are knowen easilie by their more or lesse varietie of striped colours, drawen long waies from their heads, their whole bodies little exceeding a foot in length, & yet is there venem deadlie. This also is not to be omitted, that now and then in our fennie countries, other kinds of serpents are found of greater quantitie than either our adder or our snake: but as these are not ordinarie and oft to be seene, so I meane not to intreat of them among our common annoiances. Neither haue we the scorpion, a plague of God sent not long since into Italie, and whose poison (as Apollodorus saith) is white, neither the tarantula or Neopolitane spider, whose poison bringeth death, except musike be at hand. Wherefore I suppose our countrie to be the more happie (I meane in part) for that it is void of these two grieuous annoiances, wherewith other nations are plagued.

We haue also efts, both of the land and water, and likewise the noisome swifts, whereof to sais anie more it should be but losse of time, sith they are well knowne; and no region to my knowledge found to be void of manie of them. As for flies (sith it shall not be amisse a little to touch them also) we haue none that can do hurt or hinderance naturallie vnto anie: for whether they be cut wasted, or whole bodied, they are void of poison and all venemous inclination. The cut or girt wasted (for so I English the word Insecta) are the hornets, waspes, bees, and such like, whereof we haue great store, and of which an opinion is conceiued, that the first do breed of the corruption of dead horses, the second of peares and apples corrupted, and the last of kine and oxen: which may be true, especiallie the first and latter in some parts of the beast, and not their whole substances, as also in the second, sith we haue neuer waspes, but when our fruit beginneth to warripe. In deed Virgil and others speake of a generation of bees, by killing or smothering of a bruised bullocke or calfe, and laieng his bowels or his flesh wrapped vp in his hide in a close house for a certeine season; but how true it is hitherto I haue not tried. Yet sure I am of this, that no one liuing creature corrupteth without the production of another; as we may see by our selues, whose flesh doth alter into lice; and also in sheepe for excessiue numbers of flesh flies, if they be suffered to lie vnburied or vneaten by the dogs and swine, who often and happilie preuent such needlesse generations.

As concerning bees, I thinke it good to remember, that whereas some ancient writers affirme it to be a commoditie wanting in our Iland, it is now found to be nothing so. In old time peraduenture we had none in deed; but in my daies there is such plentie of them in maner euerie where, that in some vplandish townes, there are one hundred, or two hundred hiues of them, although the said hiues are not so huge as those of the east countrie, but far lesse, as not able to conteine aboue one bushell of corne, or fiue pecks at the most. Plinie (a man that of set purpose deliteth to write of wonders) speaking of honie noteth that in the north regions the hiues in his time were of such quantitie, that some one combe conteined eight foot in length, & yet (as it should seeme) he speketh not of the greatest. For in Podolia, which is now subiect to the king of Poland, their hiues are so great,

*Galenus de Theriaca ad Pisonem.
*Plin. lib. 10. cap. 62.

Adder or viper.

See Aristotle, Animalium lib. 5. cap. vltimo, & Theophrast lib. 7. cap. 13.

Snakes.

Sol. cap. 40. Plin. lib. 37. cap. 11.

Todes. Frogs.

Slowworm.

Efts. Swifts.

Flies.

Cutwasted. Wholebodied. Hornets. Waspes.

great and combes ſo abundant, that huge boꝛes ouerturning and falling into them, are dꝛowned in the honie, beforе they can recouer & find the meanes to come out.

Our honie alſo is taken and reputed to be the beſt, bicauſe it is harder, better wꝛought, and cleanlier beſſelled vp, than that which commeth from beyond the ſea, where they ſtampe and ſtreine their combs, bées, and yong blowings altogither into the ſtuffe, as I haue béene informed. In vſe alſo of medicine our phyſicians and apothecaries eſchew the foꝛren, eſpeciallie that of Spaine and Pontus, by reaſon of a venemous qualitie naturallie planted in the ſame, as ſome wꝛite, and chooſe the home made: not onelie by reaſon of our ſoile, which hath no leſſe plentie of wild thime growing therein than in Sicilia, & about Athens, and maketh the beſt ſtuffe; as alſo foꝛ that it bꝛeedeth (being gotten in haruеſt time) leſſe choler, and which is oftentimes (as I haue ſéene by experience) ſo white as ſugar, and coꝛned as if it were ſalt. Our hiues are made commonlie of rie ſtraw, and wadled about with bꝛamble quarters: but ſome make the ſame of wicker, and caſt them ouer with claie. Wée cheriſh none in trées, but ſet our hiues ſomewhere on the warmeſt ſide of the houſe, pꝛouiding that they may ſtand dꝛie and without danger both of the mouſe and moth. This furthermoꝛe is to be noted, that wheras in veſſels of oile, that which is néereſt the top is counted the fineſt, and of wine that in the middeſt: ſo of honie the beſt which is heavieſt and moiſteſt is alwaies nеꝛt the bottome, and euermoꝛe caſteth and dꝛiueth his dꝛegs vpward toward the verie top, contrarie to the nature of other liquid ſubſtances, whoſe grounds and léeze doo generallie ſettle downewards. And thus much as by the waie of our bées and Engliſh honie.

As foꝛ the whole bodied, as the cantharides, and ſuch venemous creatures of the ſame kind, to be abundantlie found in other countries, we heare not of them: yet haue we béetles, boꝛſeflies, turdbugs oꝛ doꝛres (called in Latine *Scarabei*) the locuſt oꝛ the graſhopper (which to me doo ſéeme to be one thing, as I will anon declare) and ſuch like, whereof let other intreat that make an exerciſe in catching of flies, but a far greater ſpoꝛt in offering them to ſpiders. As did Domitian ſometime, and an other pꝛince yet liuing, who delited ſo much to ſée the iollie combats betwixt a ſtout flie and an old ſpider, that diuerſe men haue had great rewards giuen them foꝛ their painfull pꝛouiſion of flies made onelie foꝛ this purpoſe. Some paraſites alſo in the time of the afoꝛeſaid emperour, (when they were diſpoſed to laugh at his follie, and yet would ſeeme in appearance to gratifie his fantaſticall head with ſome ſhew of dutifull demenour) could deuiſe to ſet their loꝛd on woꝛke, by letting a fleſh flie pꝛiuilie into his chamber, which he foꝛthwith would egerlie haue hunted (all other buſineſſe ſet apart) and neuer ceaſed till he had caught hir into his fingers: whereupon aroſe the pꝛouerbe, *Ne muſca quidem*, vttered firſt by Vibius Priſcus, who being aſked whether anie bodie was with Domitian, anſwered, *Ne muſca quidem*, whereby he noted his follie. There are ſome cockeſcombs here and there in England, learning it abꝛoad as men tranſregionate, which make account alſo of this paſtime, as of a notable matter, telling what a fight is ſéene betweene them, if either of them be luſtie and couragious in his kind. One alſo hath made a booke of the ſpider and the flie, wherein he dealeth ſo pꝛofoundlie, and beyond all meaſure of ſkill, that neither he himſelfe that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach vnto the meaning therof. But if thoſe follie fellows in ſtéed of the ſtraw that they thruſt into the flies tale (a great iniurie no doubt to ſuch a noble champion) would beſtow the coſt to ſet a fooles cap vpon their owne heads: then might they with moꝛe ſecuritie and leſſe repꝛehenſion behold theſe notable battels.

Now as concerning the locuſt, I am led by diuerſe of my countrie, who (as they ſay) were either in Germanie, Italie, oꝛ Pannonia, 1542, when thoſe nations were greatly annoied with that kind of flie, and affirme verie conſtantlie, that they ſaw none other creature than the graſhopper, during the time of that annoiance, which was ſaid to come to them from the Meotides. In moſt of our tranſlations alſo of the bible, the woꝛd *Locuſta* is Engliſhed a graſhopper, and thereunto Leuit. 11. it is reputed among the cleane food, otherwiſe Iohn the Baptiſt would neuer haue liued with them in the wilderneſſe. In Barbarie, Numidia, and ſundꝛie other places of Affrica, as they haue bæne, ſo are they eaten to this daie powdꝛed in barels, and therefoꝛe the people of thoſe parts are called Acedophagi: neuertheles they ſhoꝛten the life of the eaters by the pꝛoduction at the laſt of an irkeſome and filthie diſeaſe. In India they are thꝛée foot long, in Ethiopia much ſhoꝛter, but in England ſeldome aboue an inch. As foꝛ the cricket called in Latin *Cicada*, he hath ſome likelihood, but not verie great, with the graſhopper, and therefoꝛe he is not to be bꝛought in as an vmpier in this caſe. Finallie Matthiolus, and ſo manie as deſcribe the locuſt, doo ſet downe none other foꝛme than that of our graſhopper, which maketh me ſo much the moꝛe to reſt vpon my foꝛmer imagination, which is, that the locuſt and graſhopper are one.

Hée Diodor Siculus.

## Of our Engliſh dogs and *their qualities.*

### Chap. 7.

THere is no countrie that maie (as I take it) compare with ours, in number, excellencie, and diuerſitie of dogs. And therefoꝛe if Polycrates of Samia were now aliue, he would not ſend to Epꝛoo foꝛ ſuch merchandize: but to his further coſt pꝛouide them out of Bꝛitaine, as an oꝛnament to his countrie, and péece of huſbandꝛie foꝛ his common wealth, which he furniſhed of ſet purpoſe with Molоſſian and Lacaonian dogs, as he did the ſame alſo with ſhéepe out of Attica and Miletum, gotes from Scyꝛo and Parus, ſwine out of Sicilia, and artificers out of other places. Howbeit the learned doctoꝛ Caius in his Latine treatiſe vnto Geſner *De canibus Anglicis*, bꝛingeth them all into thꝛée ſoꝛts: that is, the gentle kind ſeruing foꝛ game: the homelie kind apt foꝛ ſundꝛie vſes: and the curriſh kind méet foꝛ many toies. Foꝛ my part I can ſay no moꝛe of them than he hath done alredie. Wherefoꝛe I will here ſet downe onelie a ſumme of that which he hath wꝛitten of their names and natures, with the addition of an example oꝛ two now latelie had in experience, whereby the courages of our maſtiffes ſhall yet moꝛe largelie appeare. As foꝛ thoſe of other countries I haue not to deale with them: neither care I to repoꝛt out of Plinie, that dogs were ſometime killed in ſacrifice, and ſometime their whelps eaten as a delicate diſh, Lib. 29. cap. 4. Wherefoꝛe if anie man be diſpoſed to read of them, let him reſoꝛt to Plinie lib. 8. cap. 40. who (among other wonders) telleth of an armie of two hundꝛed dogs, which fetched a king of the Garamantes out of captiuitie, maugre the reſiſtance of his aduerſaries: alſo to Cardan, lib. 10. *De animalibus*, Ariſtotle, &c: who wꝛite maruels of them, but none further from credit than Cardan, who

who is not afraid to compare some of them for greatnesse with oxen, and some also for smalnesse vnto the little field mouse. Neither doo I find anie far writer of great antiquitie, that maketh mention of our dogs, Strabo excepted, who saith that the Galles did somtime buy vp all our mastiffes, to serue in the forewards of their battels, wherein they resembled the Colophonians, Castabalenses of Calicute and Phenicia, of whom Plinie also speaketh, but they had them not from vs.

The first sort therefore he diuideth either into such as rowse the beast, and continue the chase, or springeth the bird, and bewraieth hir flight by pursute. And as these are commonlie called spaniels, so the other are named hounds, whereof he maketh eight sorts, of which the formost excelleth in perfect smelling, the second in quicke espieng, the third in swiftnesse and quickenesse, the fourth in smelling and nimblenesse, &c: and the last in subtiltie and deceitfulnesse. These (saith Strabo) are most apt for game, and called *Sagaces* by a generall name, not onelie bicause of their skill in hunting, but also for that they know their owne and the names of their fellowes most exactlie. For if the hunter see anie one to follow skilfullie, and with likelihood of good successe, he biddeth the rest to barke and follow such a dog, and they eftsones obeie so soone as they heare his name. The first kind of these are also commonlie called hariers, whose game is the fox, the hare, the woolfe (if we had anie) hart, bucke, badger, otter, polcat, lopshart, wesell, conie, &c. the second hight a terrer, and it hunteth the badger and graie onelie: the third a bloudhound, whose office is to follow the fierce, and hold and then to pursue a theefe or beast by his drie foot: the fourth hight a gasehound, who hunteth by the eie: the fift a greihound, cherished for his strength, swiftnes, and stature, commended by Bratius in his *De venatione*, and not vnremembred by Hercules Stroza in a like treatise, but aboue all other those of Britaine, where he saith:

*——& magna spectandi mole Britanni,*

also by Nemesianus, libro Cynegeticon, where he saith:

*Diuisa Britannia mittit*
*Veloces nostrique orbis venatibus aptos,*

of which sort also some be smoth, of sundrie colours, and some shake haired: the sirt a liemer, that excelleth in smelling and swift running: the seuenth a tumbler: and the eight a theefe, whose offices (I meane of the latter two) incline onelie to deceit, wherein they are oft so skilfull, that few men would thinke so mischeefous a wit to remaine in such sillie creatures. Hauing made this enumeration of dogs, which are apt for the chase and hunting, he commeth next to such as serue the falcons in their times, whereof he maketh also two sorts. One that findeth his game on the land, an other that putteth vp such foule as keepeth in the water: and of these this is commonlie most vsuall for the net or traine, the other for the hawke, as he doth shew at large. Of the first he saith, that they haue no peculiar names assigned to them seuerallie, but each of them is called after the bird which by naturall appointment he is allotted to hunt or seruc, for which consideration some be named dogs for the feasant, some for the falcon, and some for the partrich. Howbeit, the common name for all is spaniell (saith he) and therevpon alludeth, as if these kinds of dogs had bin brought hither out of Spaine. In like sort we haue of water spaniels in their kind. The third sort of dogs of the gentle kind, is the spaniell gentle, or comforter, or (as the common terme is) the fistinghound, and those are called *Melitei*, of the Iland Malta, from whence they were brought hither. These are little and prettie, proper and fine, and sought out far and neere to satisfie the nice delicacie of daintie dames, and wanton womens willes; instruments of follie to plaie and dallie withall, in trifling away the treasure of time, to withdraw their minds from more commendable exercises, and to content their corrupt concupiscences with vaine disport, a sillie poore shift to shun their irksome idlenes. These Sybariticall puppies, the smaller they be (and thereto if they haue an hole in the foreparts of their heads) the better they are accepted, the more pleasure also they prouoke, as meet plaiefellowes for minsing mistresses to beare in their bosoms, to keepe companie withall in their chambers, to succour with kéepe in bed, and nourish with meat at bord, to lie in their laps, and licke their lips as they lie (like yong Dianaes) in their wagons and coches. And good reason it should be so, for coursenesse with finenesse hath no fellowship, but featnesse with neatnesse hath neighbourhead inough. That plausible prouerbe therefore verefied sometime vpon a tyrant, namelie that he loued his sow better than his sonne, may well be applied to some of this kind of people, who delight more in their dogs, that are depriued of all possibilitie of reason, than they doo in children that are capable of wisedome & iudgement. Yea, they oft kéed them of the best, where the poore mans child at their doores can hardlie come by the worst. But the former abuse peraduenture reigneth where there hath beene long want of issue, elsewhere barrennesse is the best blossome of beautie: or finallie, where poore mens children for want of their owne issue are not readie to be had. It is thought of some that it is verie wholesome for a weake stomach to beare such a dog in the bosome, as it is for him that hath the palsie to feele the dailie smell and sauour of a fox. But how truelie this is affirmed let the learned iudge: onelie it shall suffice for Doctor Caius to haue said thus much of spaniels and dogs of the gentle kind.

Homelie kind of dogs.

Dogs of the homelie kind, are either shepheards curs, or mastiffes. The first are so common, that it néedeth me not to speake of them. Their vse also is so well knowne in keeping the heard togither (either when they grase or go before the shæpheard) that it should be but in vaine to spend anie time about them. Wherefore I will leaue this curre vnto his owne kind, and go in hand with the mastiffe, tie dog, or banddog, so called bicause manie of them are tied vp in chaines and strong bonds, in the daie time, for doing hurt abroad, which is an huge dog, stubborne, ouglie, eager, burthenous of bodie (& therefore but of little swiftnesse) terrible and fearfull to behold, and oftentimes more fierce and fell than anie Archadian or Corsican cur. Our Englishmen to the intent that these dogs may be more cruell and fierce, assist nature with some art, vse and custome. For although this kind of dog be capable of courage, violent, valiant, stout and bold: yet will they increase these their stomachs by teaching them to bait the beare, the bull, the lion, and other such like cruell and bloudie beasts, (either brought ouer or kept vp at home, for the same purpose) without anie collar to defend their throats, and oftentimes thereto they traine them vp in fighting and wrestling with a man (hauing for the safegard of his life either a pike staffe, club, sword, pruie coate) whereby they become the more fierce and cruell vnto strangers. The Caspians made so much account sometime of such great dogs, that euerie able man would nourish sundrie of them in his house of set purpose, to the end they should deuoure their carcases after their deaths, thinking the dogs bellies to be the most honourable sepulchers. The common people also followed the same rate, and therfore there were tie dogs kept vp by publike ordinance, to deuoure them after their deaths: by means whereof these beasts became the more eger, and with great

Tie dogs.

difficultie

difficultie after a while reſtreined from falling vpon the liuing. But whither am I digreſſed? In returning therefore to our owne, I ſaie that of maſtiffes, ſome barke onelie with fierce and open mouth but will not bite, ſome doo both barke and bite, but the cruelleſt doo either not barke at all, or bite before they barke, and therefore are more to be feared than anie of the other. They take alſo their name of the word maſe and théefe (or maſter théefe if you will) bicauſe they often ſtound and put ſuch perſons to their ſhifts in townes and villages, and are the principall cauſes of their apprehenſion and taking. The force which is in them ſurmounteth all beleefe, and the faſt hold which they take with their téeth exceédeth all credit: for thrée of them againſt a beare, foure againſt a lion are ſufficient to trie maſtries with them. King Henrie the ſeauenth, as the report goeth, commanded all ſuch curres to be hanged, bicauſe they durſt preſume to fight againſt the lion, who is their king and ſouereigne. The like he did with an excellent falcon, as ſome ſaie, bicauſe he feared not hand to hand to match with an eagle, willing his falconers in his owne preſence to pluck off his head after he was taken downe, ſaieng that it was not méet for anie ſubiect to offer ſuch wrong vnto his lord and ſuperiour, wherein he had a further meaning. But if king Henrie the ſeauenth had liued in our time, what would he haue doone to one Engliſh maſtiffe, which alone and without anie helpe at all pulled downe firſt an huge beare, then a pard, and laſt of all a lion, each after other before the French king in one date, when the lord Buckhurſt was ambaſſador vnto him, and whereof if I ſhould write the circumſtances, that is, how he toke his aduantage being let loſe vnto them, and finallie draue them into ſuch exceéding feare, that they were all glad to run awaie when he was taken from them, I ſhould take much paines, and yet reape but ſmall credit: wherefore it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaid thus much thereof. Some of our maſtiffes will rage onelie in the night, ſome are to be tied vp both daie and night. Such alſo as are ſuffered to go loſe about the houſe and yard, are ſo gentle in the daie time, that children may ride on their backs, & plaie with them at their pleaſures. Diuerſe of them likewiſe are of ſuch gelouſie ouer their maiſter and whoſoeuer of his houſhold, that if a ſtranger doo imbrace or touch anie of them, they will fall fiercelie vpon them, vnto their extreame miſchéefe if their furie be not preuented. Such an one was the dog of Nichomedes king ſometime of Bithinia, who ſéeing Conſigne the quéene to imbrace and kiſſe hir huſband as they walked togither in a garden, did teare hir all to pæces, mauger his reſiſtance, and the preſent aid of ſuch as attended on them. Some of them moreouer will ſuffer a ſtranger to come in and walke about the houſe or yard where him liſteth, without giuing ouer to follow him: but if he put forth his hand to touch anie thing, then will they flie vpon him and kill him if they may. I had one my ſelfe once, which would not ſuffer anie man to bring in his weapon further than my gate: neither thoſe that were of my houſe to be touched in his preſence. Or if I had beaten anie of my children, he would gentlie haue aſſaied to catch the rod in his teeth and take it out of my hand, or elſe pluck downe their clothes to ſaue them from the ſtripes: which in my opinion is not vnworthie to be noted. And thus much of our maſtiffes, creatures of no leſſe faith and loue towards their maiſters than horſſes; as may appeare euen by the confidence that Maſiniſſa repoſed in them, in ſo much that miſtruſting his houſhold ſeruants he made him a gard of dogs, which manie a time deliuered him from their treaſons and conſpiracies, euen by their barking and biting, nor of leſſe force than the Moloſſian race, brought from Epiro into ſome countries, which the poets feigne to haue originall from the braſen dog that Vulcan made, and gaue to Iupiter, who alſo deliuered the ſame to Europa, ſhe to Procris, and Procris to Cephalus, as Iulius Pollux noteth, lib. 5. cap. 5: neither vnequall in carefulneſſe to the maſtiffe of Alexander Phereus, who by his onelie courage and attendance kept his maiſter long time from ſlaughter, till at the laſt he was remoued by policie, and the tyrant killed ſléeping: the ſtorie goeth thus. Thebe the wife of the ſaid Phereus and hir thrée brethren conſpired the death of hir huſband, who fearing the dog onelie, ſhe found the means to allure him from his chamber doore by faire means, vnto another houſe hard by, whileſt they ſhould execute their purpoſe. Neuertheleſſe, when they came to the bed where he laie ſléeping, they wared faint harted, till ſhe did put them in choiſe, either that they ſhould diſpatch him at once, or elſe that ſhe hir ſelfe would wake hir huſband, and giue him warning of his enimies, or at the leaſt wiſe bring in the dog vpon them, which they feared moſt of all: and therefore quicklie diſpatched him.

The laſt ſort of dogs conſiſteth of the curriſh kind méet for manie toies: of which the whappet or prickeard curre is one. Some men call them warners, bicauſe they are good for nothing elſe but to barke and giue warning when anie bodie doth ſtirre or lie in wait about the houſe in the night ſeaſon. Certes it is vnpoſſible to deſcribe theſe curs in anie order, bicauſe they haue no anie one kind proper vnto themſelues, but are a confuſed companie mixt of all the reſt. The ſecond ſort of them are called turne ſpits, whoſe office is not vnknowne to anie. And as theſe are onelie reſerued for this purpoſe, ſo in manie places our maſtiffes (beſide the vſe which tinkers haue of them in carieng their heauie budgets) are made to draw water in great wheéles out of déepe wels, going much like vnto thoſe which are framed for our turne ſpits, as is to be ſéene at Roiſton, where this feat is often practiſed. Beſides theſe alſo we haue ſholts or curs dailie brought out of Iſeland, and much made of among vs, bicauſe of their ſawcineſſe and quarrelling. Moreouer they bite verie ſore, and loue candles exceédinglie, as doo the men and women of their countrie: but I may ſaie no more of them, bicauſe they are not bred with vs. Yet this will I make report of by the waie, for paſtimes ſake, that when a great man of thoſe parts came of late into one of our ſhips which went thither for fiſh, to ſée the forme and faſhion of the ſame, his wife apparelled in fine ſables, abiding on the decke whileſt hir huſband was vnder the hatches with the mariners, eſpied a pound or two of candles hanging at the maſt, and being loth to ſtand there idle alone, ſhe fell to and eat them vp euerie one, ſuppoſing hir ſelfe to haue béene at a follie banket, and ſhewing verie pleſant geſture when hir huſband came vp againe vnto hir.

The laſt kind of toieſh curs are named danſers, and thoſe being of a mongrell ſort alſo, are taught & exerciſed to danſe in meaſure at the muſicall ſound of an inſtrument, as at the iuſt ſtroke of a drum, ſweet accent of the citharne, and pleaſant harmonie of the harpe, ſhewing manie trickes by the geſture of their bodies: as to ſtand bolt vpright, to lie flat vpon the ground, to turne round as a ring, holding their tailes in their teeth, to ſaw and beg for meat, to take a mans cap from his head, and ſundrie ſuch properties, which they learne of their idle rogiſh maſters whoſe inſtruments they are to gather gaine, as old apes clothed in motleie, and coloured ſhort waſted iackets are for the like vagabunds, who ſéeke no bet-

ter liuing, than that which they may get by fond passime and idlenesse. I might here intreat of other dogs, as of those which are bred betweene a bitch and a woolfe, and called *Lycisci*: a thing verie often seene in France saith Franciscus Patricius in his common wealth, as procured of set purpose, and learned as I thinke of the Indians, who tie these sault bitches often in woods, that they might be loined by tigers: also betweene a bitch and a fox, or a beare and a mastiffe. But as we heerein want the first sort, except they be brought vnto vs: so it happeneth sometime, that the other two are ingendered and seene at home amongst vs. But all the rest heretofore remembred in this chapter, there is none more ouglie and odious in sight, cruell and fierce in deed, nor vntractable in hand, than that which is begotten betweene the beare and the bandog. For what soeuer he catcheth hold of, he taketh it so fast, that a man may sooner teare and rend his bodie in sunder, than get open his mouth to separate his chaps. Certes he regardeth neither woolfe, beare, nor lion, and therefore may well be compared with those two dogs which were sent to Alexander out of India (ypocreated as it is thought betweene a mastiffe and male tiger, as be those also of Hircania) or to them that are bred in Archadia, where copulation is oft seene betweene lions and bitches, as the like is in France (as I said) betweene shee woolfes and dogs, whereof let this suffice; sith the further tractation of them doth not concerne my purpose, more than the confutation of Cardans talke, *De subt. lib.* 10. who saith, that after manie generations, dogs do become woolfes, and contrariwise; which if it were true, than could not England be without manie woolfes: but nature hath set a difference betweene them, not onelie in outward forme, but also in inward disposition of their bones, wherefore it is impossible that his assertion can be sound.

## Of our saffron, and the dressing thereof.

Chap. 8.

AS the saffron of England, which Platina reckneth among spices, is the most excellent of all other: for it giueth place neither to that of Cilicia, whereof Solinus speaketh, neither to anie that commeth from Cilicia, where it groweth vpon the mount Taurus, Tmolus, Italie, Ætolia, Sicilia, or Licia, in sweetnesse, tincture, and continuance; so of that which is to be had amongst vs, the same that grows about Saffron Walden, somtime called Waldenburg, in the edge of Essex, first of all planted there in the time of Edward the third, and that of Glocester shire and those westerlie parts, which some thinke to be better than that of Walden, surmounteth all the rest, and therefore beareth worthilie the higher price, by six pence or twelue pence most commonlie in the pound. The root of the herbe that beareth this commoditie is round, much like vnto an indifferent chestnut, & yet it is not cloued as the lillie, nor flaked as the scallion, but hath a sad substance *Inter bulbosa*, as *Orchis*, *hyacinthus orientalis*, and *Statyrion*. The colour of the rind is not much differing from the innermost shell of a chestnut, although it be not altogither so brickie as is the pill of an onion. So long as the leafe flourisheth the root is litle & small; but when the grasse is withered, the head increaseth and multiplieth, the fillets also or small roots die, so that when the time doth come to take them vp, they haue no roots at all, but so continue vntill September that they do grow againe: and before the chiue be grounded the smallest heads are also most esteemed; but whether they be great or small, if sheepe or neat may come to the sit on the heape, as they lie in the field, they will deuoure them as if they were haie or stuble, some also will wot for them in verie eger maner. The leafe or rather the blade theereof is long and narrow as grasse, which come vp alwaies in October after the floures be gathered and gone, pointed on a little tuft much like vnto our lines. Sometimes our carroll will feed vpon the faine; neuertheless, if it be bitten whilest it is greene, the head dieth, and therefore our crokers are carefull to keepe it from such annoiance vntill it begin to wither, and then also will the cattell loue it: for vntill that time the iuice thereof is bitter. In euerie floure we find commonlie three chiues, and three yellowes, and double the number of leaues. Of twisted floures I speake not; yet is it found, that two floures grow together, which bring forth fiue chiues, so that alwaies there is an od chiue and od yellow, though three or foure floures should come out of one root. The whole herbe is named in Greeke Crocos, but of some (as Dioscorides saith) Castor, Cynomorphos, or Hercules blood: yet in the Arabian speech, (from whence we borow the name which we giue thervnto) I find that it is called Zahafaran, as Rembert doth beare witnesse. The cause wherefore it was called Crocus was this (as the poets feigne) specialle those from whome Galen hath borowed the historie, which he noteth in his ninth booke *De medicamentis secundum locа*, where he writeth after this maner (although I take Crocus to be the first that vsed this commoditie.) A certeine yong gentleman called Crocus went to plaie at coits in the field with Mercurie, and being heedlesse of himselfe, Mercuries coit happened by mishap to hit him on the head, whereby he receiued a wound that yer long killed him altogither, to the great discomfort of his frends. Finallie, in the place where he bled, saffron was after found to grow, whereupon the people seeing the colour of the chiue as it stood (although I doubt not but it grew there long before) adiudged it to come of the blood of Crocus, and therefore they gaue it his name. And thus farre Rembert, who with Galen, &c: differ verie much from Ouids Metamorphos. 4. who writeth also thereof. Indeed the chiue, while it remaineth whole & vnbruised, resembleth a darke red, but being broken and conuerted into vse, it yeeldeth a yellow tincture. But what haue we to do with fables?

Occasion of the name.

The heads of saffron are raised in Julie, either with plough, raising, or tined hooke; and being scoured from their rosse or filth, and seuered from such heads as are ingendred of them since the last setting, they are interred againe in Julie and August by ranks or rowes, and being couered with moulds, they rest in the earth, where they cast forth litle fillets and small rots like vnto a scallion, vntill September, in the beginning of which moneth the ground is pared, and all weeds and grasse that groweth vpon the same remoued, to the intent that nothing may annoie the floure when as his time doth come to rise.

Paring.

These things being thus ordered in the latter end of the aforesaid moneth of September, the floure beginneth to appeare of a whitish blew, fesse or skie colour, and in the end shewing it selfe in the owne kind, it resembleth almost the Leucotion of Theophrast, sauing that it is longer, and hath in the middest thereof three chiues verie red and pleasant to behold. These floures are gathered in the morning before the rising of the sunne, which otherwise would cause them to welke or flitter. And the chiues being picked from the floures, these are throwne into the

Gathering.

See Rembert.

dunghill,

dwrghill; the other dried vpon little kells couered with sreined canualles vpon a soft fire: wherby, and by the weight that is laied vpon them, they are dried and pressed into cakes, and then bagged vp for the beneat of their owners. In good yeeres we gather foure score or an hundred pounds of wet saffron of an acre, which being dried doth yeeld twentie pounds of drie and more. Whereby, and sith the price of saffron is commonlie about twentie shillings in monie, or not so little, it is easie to see what benefit is reaped by an acre of this commoditie, towards the charges of the setter, which indeed are great, but yet not so great as he shall be thereby a loser, if he be anie thing diligent. For admit that the triple tillage of an acre doth cost 13 shillings foure pence before the saffron be set, the clodding sirteene pence, the taking of euerie load of stones from the same foure pence, the raising of euerie quarter of heads six pence, and so much for clensing of them, besides the rent of ten shillings for euerie acre, thirtie load of dung which is worth six pence the load to be laid on the first yeere, for the setting three and twentie shillings and foure pence, for the paring fiue shillings, six pence for the picking of a pound wet, &c: yea though he hire it readie set, and paie ten pounds for the same, yet shall he susteine no damage, if warme weather and open season do happen at the gathering. This also is to be noted, that euerie acre asketh twentie quarters of heads, placed in ranks two inches one from an other in long beds, which conteine eight or ten foot in breadth. And after three yeeres that ground will serue well; and without compest for barleie by the space of eightéene or twentie yéeres togither, as experience doth confirme. The heads also of euerie acre at the raising will store an acre and an halfe of new ground, which is a great aduantage, and it will floure eight or ten daies togither. But the best saffron is gathered at the first; at which time foure pounds of wet saffron will go verie neere to make one of drie; but in the middest fiue pounds of the one will make but one of the other, because the chiue wareth smaller, as six at the last will do no more but yéeld one of the dried, by reason of the chiue which is now verie leane and hungrie. After twentie yeeres also the same ground may be set with saffron againe. And in lieu of a conclusion, take this for a perpetuall rule, that heads comming out of a good ground will prosper best in a lighter soile; and contrariwise: which is one note that our crokers do carefullie obserue.

Occasion of the name.

Raising.

The heads are raised euerie third yeare about vs, to wit, after Midsummer, when the rosse commeth drie from the heads; and commonlie in the first yéere after they be set they yéeld verie little increase: yet that which then commeth is counted the finest and greatest chiue, & best for medicine, and called saffron Du hort. The next crop is much greater; but the third exceedeth, and then they raise againe about Walden and in Cambridge shire. In this period of time also the heads are said to child, that is, to yéeld out of some parts of them diuerse other headlets, whereby it hath béene séene, that some one head hath béene increased (though with his owne detriment) to three, or foure, or fiue, or six, which augmentation is the onlie cause wherby they are sold so good cheape. For to my remembrance I haue not knowne foure bushels or a come of them to be valued much aboue two shillings eight pence, except in some od yeeres that they arise to eight or ten shillings the quarter, and that is when ouer great store of winters water hath rotted the most of them as they stood within the ground, or heat in summer parched and burnt them vp.

Paring.

Gathering.

Sée Rember.

In Norfolke and Suffolke they raise but once in seuen yeeres: but as their saffron is not so fine as that of Cambridgeshire and about Walden, so it will not take, ting, nor hold colour withall, wherein lieth a great part of the value of this stuffe. Some craftie iackes vse to mix it with scraped brazell or with the floure of Sonchus, which commeth somewhat neere indeed to the hue of our good saffron (if it be late gathered) but it is soone bewraied both by the depth of the colour and hardnesse. Such also was the plentie of saffron about twentie yeeres passed, that some of the townesmen of Walden gaue the one halfe of the floures for picking of the other, and sent them ten or twelue miles abroad into the countrie, whilest the rest, not thankfull for the abundance of Gods blessing bestowed vpon them (as wishing rather more scarsitie thereof because of the keeping vp of the price) in most contemptuous maner murmured against him, saieng that he did shite saffron therewith to choake the market. But as they shewed themselues no lesse than ingrat infidels in this behalfe, so the Lord considered their vnthankfulnesse, & gaue them euer since such scarsitie, as the greatest murmurers haue now the least store; and most of them are either worne out of occupieng, or remaine scarse able to mainteine their grounds without the helpe of other men. Certes it hath generallie decaied about Saffron Walden since the said time, vntill now of late within these two yeares, that men began againe to plant and renew the same, because of the great commoditie. But to proceed. When the heads be raised and taken vp, they will remaine sirteene or twentie daies out of the earth or more: yea peraduenture a full moneth. Howbeit they are commonlie in the earth againe by saint Iames tide, or verie shortlie after. For as if they be taken vp before Midsummer, or beginning of Julie, the heads will shrinke like a rosted warden: so after August they will war drie, become vnfruitfull, and decaie. And I know it by experience, in that I haue carried some of them to London with me; and notwithstanding that they haue remained there vnset by the space of fortie dais and more: yet some of them haue brought forth two or three floures a peece, and some floures three or fiue chiues, to the greeat admiration of such as haue gathered the same, and not béene acquainted with their nature and countrie where they grew. The crokers or saffron men do vse an obseruation a litle before the comming vp of the floure, and sometime in the taking vp at Midsummer tide, by opening of the heads to iudge of plentie and scarsitie of this commoditie to come. For if they sée as it were many small hairie veines of saffron to be in the middest of the bulbe, they pronounce a fruitfull yeare. And to saie truth, at the cleauing of ech head, a man shall discerne the saffron by the colour, and sée where about the chiue will issue out of the rot. Warme darke nights, swéet dews, fat grounds (chéeflie the chalkie) and miskie mornings are verie good for saffron; but frost and cold do kill and keepe backe the floure, or else shrinke vp the chiue. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of English saffron, which is hot in the second and drie in the first degrée, and most plentifull as our crokers hold, in that yeere wherein ewes twin most. But as I can make no warrantize hereof, so I am otherwise sure, that there is no more deceit vsed in anie trade than in saffron. For in the making they will grease the papers on the kell with a little candle grease, to make the worst saffron haue so good a colour as the best: afterwards also they will sprinkle butter thereon to make the weight better. But both these are bewraied, either by a quantitie thereof holden ouer the fire in a siluer spoone, or by the softnesse thereof betweene the fore finger and the thumbe; or thirdlie, by

the colour thereof in age: for if you laie it by farre worse saffron of other countries, the colour will bewraie the forgerie by the swartnesse of the chiue, which otherwise would excell it, and thereunto being sound, remaine crispe, brickle, and drie: and finallie, if it be holden neere the face, will strike a certeine biting heat vpon the skin and eies, whereby it is adiudged good and merchant ware indeed among the skilfull crokers.

Now if it please you to heare of anie of the vertues thereof, I will note these insuing at the request of one, who required me to touch a few of them with whatsoeuer breuitie I liked. Therefore our saffron (beside the manifold vse that it hath in the kitchin and pastrie, also in our cakes at bridals, and thanksgiuings of women) is verie profitably mingled with those medicins which we take for the diseases of the breast, of the lungs, of the liuer, and of the bladder: it is good also for the stomach if you take it in meat, for it comforteth the same and maketh good digestion: being sodden also in wine, it not onelie keepeth a man from drunkennesse, but incorageth also vnto procreation of issue. If you drinke it in sweet wine, it inlargeth the breath, and is good for those that are troubled with the tisike and shortnesse of the wind: mingled with the milke of a woman, and laied vpon the eies, it staieth such humors as descend into the same, and taketh awaie the red wheales and pearles that oft grow about them: it killeth moths if it be sowed in paper bags verie thin, and laid vp in presses amongst tapistrie or apparell: also it is verie profitablie laid vnto all inflammations, painefull aposthumes, and the shingles; and doth no small ease vnto deafnes, if it be mingled with such medicins as are beneficiall vnto the eares: it is of great vse also in ripening of botches and all swellings proceeding of raw humors. Or if it shall please you to drinke the rot thereof with maluesie, it will marueilouslie prouoke vrine, dissolue and expell grauell, and yeeld no small ease to them that make their water by dropmeales. Finallie, three drams thereof taken at once, which is about the weight of one shilling nine pence halfepenie, is deadlie poison; as Dioscorides doth affirme: and drunke in wine (saith Platina) lib. 3. cap. 13. *De honesta voluptate*, doth hast on drunkennesse, which is verie true. And I haue knowne some, that by eating onelie of bread more than of custome streined with saffron, haue become like drunken men, & yet otherwise well knowen to be but competent drinkers. For further confirmation of this also, if a man do but open and ransake a bag of one hundred or two hundred weight, as merchants do when they buie it of the crokers, it will strike such an aire into their heads which deale withall, that for a time they shall be giddie and sicke (I meane for two or three houres space) their noses and eies in like sort will yeeld such plentie of rheumatike water, that they shall be the better for it long after, especiallie their eiesight, which is wonderfullie clarified by this meanes: howbeit some merchants not liking of this physike, muffle themselues as women do when they ride, and put on spectacles set in leather, which doth in some measure (but not for altogither) put by the force thereof. There groweth some saffron in manie places of Almaine, and also about Vienna in Austria, which later is taken for the best that springeth in those quarters. In steed of this some do vse the Carthamus, called amongst vs bastard saffron, but neither is this of anie value, nor the other in anywise comparable vnto ours. Whereof let this suffice as of a commoditie brought into this Iland in the time of Edward 3. and not commonlie planted till Richard 2. did reigne. It would grow verie well (as I take it) about the Chiltern hils, & in all the vale of the White horse so well as in Walden and Cambridgeshire, if they were carefull of it. I heare of some also to be cherished alreadie in Glocestershire, and certeine other places westward. But of the fineuesse and tincture of the chiue, I heare not as yet of anie triall. Would to God that my countriemen had beene heretofore (or were now) more carefull of this commoditie! then would it no doubt haue proued more beneficiall to our Iland than our cloth or woll. But alas! so idle are we, and heretofore so much giuen to ease, by reason of the smalnesse of our rents, that few men regard to search out which are their best commodities. But if landlords hold on to raise the rents of their farms as they begin, they will inforce their tenants to looke better vnto their gains, and scratch out their rent from vnder euerie clod that may be turned aside. The greatest mart for saffron is at Aquila in Abruzo, where they haue an especiall weight for the same of ten pounds lesse in the hundred than that of Florens and Lyke: but how it agreeth with ours it shall appeare hereafter.

## Of quarries of stone for building.

Chap. 9.

Quarries with vs are pits or mines, out of which we dig our stone to build withall, & of these as we haue great plentie in England, so are they of diuerse sorts, and those verie profitable for sundrie necessarie vses. In times past the vse of stone was in maner dedicated to the building of churches, religious houses, princelie palaces, bishops manours, and holds onlie: but now that scrupulous obseruation is altogither infringed, and building with stone so commonlie taken vp, that amongst noble men & gentlemen, the timber frames are supposed to be not much better than paper worke, of little continuance, and least continuance of all. It farre passeth my cunning to set downe how manie sorts of stone for building are to be found in England, but much further to call each of them by their proper names. Howbeit, such is the curiositie of our countrimen, that notwithstanding almightie God hath so blessed our realme in most plentifull maner, with such and so manie quarries apt and meet for piles of longest continuance, yet we as lothsome of this abundance, or not liking of the plentie, do commonlie leaue these natural gifts to mould and cinder in the ground, and take vp an artificiall bricke, in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this land is dailie consumed and spent, to the no small decaie of that commoditie, and hinderance of the poore that perish oft for cold.

Our elders haue from time to time, following our naturall vice in misliking of our owne commodities at home, and desiring those of other countries abroad, most esteemed the cane stone that is brought hither out of Normandie: and manie euen in these our daies following the same veine, do couet in their works almost to vse none other. Howbeit experience on the one side, and our skilfull masons on the other (whose iudgement is nothing inferiour to those of other countries) do affirme, that in the north and south parts of England, and certeine other places, there are some quarries, which for hardnesse and beautie are equall to the outlandish greet. This maie also be confirmed by the kings chappell at Cambridge, the greatest part of the square stone wherof was brought thither out of the north. Some commend the veine of white free stone, slate, and meere stone, which is betweene

twéene Pentowen, and the blacke head in Cornewall, for verie fine stuffe. Other doo speake much of the quarries at Hamden, nine miles from Milberie, and paning stone of Barbecke. For toph stone, not a few allow of the quarrie that is at Dressleie, diuerse mislike not of the veines of hard stone that are at Orford, and Burford. One praiseth the frée stone at Manchester, & Prestburie in Glocestershire; another the quarries of the like in Richmont. The third liketh well of the hard stone in Clee hill in Shropshire; the fourth of that of Thorowbridge, Welden, and Terrinton. Whereby it appeareth that we haue quarries inow, and good inough in England, sufficient for vs to build withall, if the peruish contempt of our owne commodities, and delectations to inrich other countries, did not catch such foolish hold vpon vs. It is also verified (as anie other waie) that all nations haue rather need of England, than England of anie other. And this I thinke may suffice for the substance of our works. Now if you haue regard to their ornature, how manie mines of sundrie kinds of course & fine marble are there to be had in England? But chiefelie one in Staffordshire, an other neere to the Peke, the third at Mauldrie, the fourth at Snothill (longing to the lord Chaindois) the fift at Eglestone, which is of blacke marble, spotted with graie or white spots, the first not farre from Durham. Of white marble also we haue store, and so faire as the Parpelian of Paris Ile. But what meane I to go about to recite all, or the most excellent? sith these which I haue named alredie are not altogither of the best, nor scarselie of anie value in comparison of those, whose places of growth are vtterlie vnknowne vnto me, and whereof the blacke marble spotted with greene is none of the vilest sort, as maie appeare by parcell of the pauement of the lower part of the quire of Paules in London, and also in Westminster, where some pées thereof are yet to be séene and marked, if anie will loke for them. If marble will not serue, then haue we the finest alabaster that maie elsewhere bée had, as about saint Dauids of Wales; also neere to Beau manour, which is about foure or fiue miles from Leicester, & taken to be the best, although there are diuerse other quarries hereof beyond the Trent, as in Yorkeshire, &c: and fullie so good as that, whose names at this time are out of my remembrance. What should I talke of the plaister of Arholme (for of that which they dig out of the earth in sundrie places of Lincolne and Darbishires, wherewith they blanch their houses in stead of lime, I speake not) certes it is a fine kind of alabaster. But sith it is sold commonlie but after twelue pence the load, we iudge it to be but vile and course. For my part I cannot skill of stone, yet in my opinion it is not without great vse for plaister of paris, and such is the nature of it, that the stones thereof lie in flakes one vpon an other like plankes or tables, and vnder the same is an exceeding hard stone verie profitable for building, as hath often times béene proued. This is also to be marked further of our plaister white and graie, that not contented with the same, as God by the quarrie doth send and yéeld it forth, we haue now deuised to cast it in moulds for windowes and pillers of what forme and fashion we list, euen as alabaster it selfe: and with such stuffe sundrie houses in Yorkshire are furnished of late. But of what continuance this deuise is like to proue, the time to come shall easilie bewraie. In the meane time sir Rafe Burcher knight hath put the deuise in practise, and affirmeth that six men in six moneths shall trauell in that trade to sée greater profit to the owner, than twelue men in six yeares could before this tricke was inuented.

If neither alabaster nor marble doth suffice, we haue the touchstone, called in Latine *Lydius lapis*, shining as glasse, either to match in sockets with our pillers of alabaster, or contrariwise: or if it please the workeman to ioine pillers of alabaster or touch with sockets of brasse, pewter, or copper, we want not also these mettals. So that I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuersitie of stuffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our selues could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that not our own but other mens do most of all delite vs; & for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth, corne, tin, and woolles, for halfe penie cockhorses for children, dogs of war or of chéese, two pennie tabers, leaden swords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for diuards, hawkeswhoods, and such like trumperie, whereby we reape iust mockage and reproch in other countries. I might remember here our pits for millstones, that are to be had in diuerse places of our countrie, as in Angleseie, Kent, also at Queene hope of blew greet, of no lesse value than the Colaine, yea than the French stones: our grindstones for hardware men. Our whetstones are no lesse laudable than those of Creta & Lacedemonia, albeit we vse no oile with them, as they did in those parties, but onelie water, as the Italians and Parians doo with theirs: whereas they that grow in Cilicia must haue both oile and water laid vpon them, or else they make no edge. These also are diuided either into the hard greet, as the common that shoomakers vse, or the soft greet called hones, to be had among the barbars, and those either blacke or white, and the rub or brickle stone which husbandmen doo occupie in the whetting of their sithes.

In like maner slate of sundrie colours is euerie where in maner to be had, as is the flint and chalke, the shalder and the peble. Howbeit for all this we must fetch them still from farre, as did the Hull men their stones out of Iseland, wherewith they paued their towne for want of the like in England: or as sir Thomas Gresham did, when he bought the stones in Flanders, wherwith he paued the Burse. But as he will answer peraduenture, that he bargained for the whole mould and substance of his workemanship in Flanders: so the Hullanders or Hull men will saie, how that stockefish is light loding, and therfore they did balaste their vessels with these Iseland stones, to keepe them from turning ouer in their so tedious a voiage. And thus much briefelie of our quarries of stone for building, wherein oftentimes the workemen haue found strange things inclosed, I meane liuelie creatures shut vp in the hard stones, and liuing there without respiration or breathing, as frogs, todes, &c: whereof you shall read more in the chronologie following: also in Caius Langius, William of Newburie, Agricola, Cornelius of Amsterdam, Bellogius de aquatilibus, Albert the great, lib. 19. cap. 9. *De rebus metallicis*, and Goropius in Niloscopio, pag. 237, &c. Sometime also they find pretious stones (though seldome) and some of them perfectlie squared by nature, and much like vnto the diamond, found of late in a quarrie of marble at Naples, which was so perfectlie pointed, as if all the workemen in the world had cõsulted about the performance of that workemanship. I know that these reports vnto some will séeme incredible, and therefore I stand the longer vpon them; neuertheless omitting to speake particularlie of such things as happen amongst vs, and rather séeking to confirme the same by the like in other countries, I will deliuer a few more examples, whereby the truth hereof shall so much the better appeare. For in the middest of a stone not long since found at Chius, vpon the breaking vp thereof, there was séene *Caput paniſci* inclosed therin, very perfectlie formed as the beholders doo remember. How come the grains of gold to be so fast inclosed in the stones

that are & haue bëene found in the Spanish Batis: But this is most maruellous, that a most delectable and sweet oile, comparable to the finest balme, or oile of spike in smell, was found naturallie included in a stone, which could not otherwise be broken but with a smiths hammer. Goropius doth tell of a pearch perfectlie formed to be found in Britaine: but as then committed into hard stone, vpon the top of a crag. Aristotle and Theophrast speake of fishes digged out of the earth, farre from the sea in Greece, which Seneca also confirmeth, but with addition that they are perillous to be eaten. In pope Martins time, a serpent was found fast inclosed in a rocke, as the kernell is within the nut, so that no aire could come to it: and in my time another in a coffin of stone at Auignion, wherein a man had bëene buried, which so filled the roome, and laie so close from aire, that all men wondered how it was possible for the same to liue and continue so long time there. Finallie I my selfe haue sëens stones opened, and within them the substances of corrupted wormes like vnto adders (but far shorter) whose creests and wrinkles of bodie appeared also therein, as if they had bene ingraued in the stones by art and industrie of man. Wherefore to affirme; that as well liuing creatures, as pretious stones, gold, &c: are now and then found in our quarries, shall not hereafter be a thing so incredible as manie talking philosophers, void of all experience, dow affirme, and wilfullie mainteine against such as hold the contrarie.

## Of sundrie minerals.

### Chap. 10.

WIth how great benefits this Iland of ours hath bëene indued from the beginning, I hope there is no godlie man but will readilie confesse, and yëeld vnto the Lord God his due honour for the same. For we are blessed euerie waie, & there is no temporall commoditie necessarie to be had or craued by anie nation at Gods hand, that he hath not in most aboundant maner bestowed vpon vs Englishmen, if we could sëe to vse it, & be thankefull for the same. But alas (as I said in the chapter precedent) we loue to inrich them that care not for vs, but for our great commodities: and one trifling toie not worth the cariage, cõming (as the prouerbe saith) in thrëe ships from beyond the sea is more worth with vs, than a right good iewell, easie to be had at home. They haue also the cast to teach vs to neglect our owne things, for if they sëe that we begin to make anie account of our commodities (if it be so that they haue also the like in their owne countries) they will suddenlie abase the same to so low a price, that our gaine not being worthie our trauell, and the same commoditie with lesse cost readie to be had at home from other countries (though but for a while) it causeth vs to giue ouer our indeuours, and as it were by and by to forget the matter wherabout we went before, to obteine them at their hands. And this is the onelie cause wherefore our commodities are oft so little estëemed of. Some of them can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case of a fox of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once war wiser, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and dressed abroad, while our clothworkers here dw starue and beg their bread, and for lacke of dailie practise vtterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science! But to my purpose.

We haue in England great plentie of quicke siluer, antimonie, sulphur, blacke lead, and orpiment red and yellow. We haue also the finest alume (wherein the diligence of one of the greatest fauourers of the common-wealth of England of a subiect hath bëene of late egregiouslie abused, and euen almost with barbarous inciuilitie) & of no lesse force against fire, if it were vsed in our parietings than that of Lipara, which onlie was in vse somtime amongst the Assians & Romans, & wherof Sylla had such triall that when he meant to haue burned a tower of wood erected by Archelaus the lieutenant of Mithridates, he could by no meanes set it on fire in a long time, because it was washed ouer with alume, as were also the gates of the temple of Jerusalem with like effect, and perceiued when Titus commanded fire to be put vnto the same. Beside this we haue also the naturall cinnabarum or vermilion, the sulphurous glebe called bitumen in old time for morter, and yet burned in lamps where oile is scant and geason: the chrysocolla, coperis, and minerall stone, whereof petriolum is made, and that which is most strange the minerall pearle, which as they are for greatnesse and colour most excellent of all other, so are they digged out of the maine land, and in sundrie places far distant from the shore. Certes the westerne part of the land hath in times past greatlie abounded with these and manie other rare and excellent commodities, but now they are washed awaie by the violence of the sea, which hath deuoured the greatest part of Cornewall and Deuonshire on either side: and it doth appëere yet by good record, that whereas now there is a great distance betweene the Syllan Iles and point of the lands end, there was of late yeares to speke of scarselie a broke or draine of one fadam water betweene them, if so much, as by those euidences appeereth, and are yet to be sëene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of those Iles. But to proceed.

Of colemines we haue such plentie in the north and westerne parts of our Iland, as may suffice for all the realme of England: and so must they dw hereafter in deed, if wood be not better cherrished than it is at this present. And to saie the truth, notwithstanding that verie manie of them are caried into other countries of the maine, yet their greatest trade beginneth now to grow from the forge into the kitchin and hall, as may appëere alreadie in most cities and townes that lie about the coast, where they haue but little other fewell, except it be turffe and hallocke. I maruell not a little that there is no trade of these into Suffer and Southhampton shire, for want whereof the smiths dw worke their iron with charcoale. I thinke that far carriage be the onelie cause, which is but a slender excuse to inforce vs to carrie them vnto the maine from hence.

Gold. Siluer.

Beside our colemines we haue pits in like sort of white plaster, and of fat and white and other coloured marle, wherewith in manie places the inhabitors dw compest their soile, and which doth benefit their land in ample maner for manie yeares to come. We haue saltpeter for our ordinance, and salt soda for our glasse, & thereto in one place a kind of earth (in Southerie as I wëene hard by Codington, and somtime in the tenure of one Crorton of London) which is so fine to make moulds for goldsmiths and casters of mettall, that a load of it was worth fiue shillings thirtie yeares agone: none such againe they saie in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vnthankefull to God for these and other his benefits bestowed

bestowed vpon vs, wherby he sheweth himselfe a louing and mercifull father vnto vs, which contrariewise returne vnto him in lieu of humilitie and obedience, nothing but wickednesse, auarice, mere contempt of his will, pride, excesse, atheisme, and no lesse than Iewish ingratitude.

## Of mettals to be had in our land.

### Chap. 11.

ALl mettals receiue their beginning of quicksiluer and sulphur, which are as mother and father to them. And such is the purpose of nature in their generations: that she tendeth alwaies to the procreation of gold, neuertheless she seldome reacheth vnto that hir end, because of the vnequall mixture and proportion of these two in the substance ingendered, whereby impediment and corruption is induced, which as it is more or lesse, doth shew it selfe in the mettall that is produced. First of all therefore the substance of sulphur and quicksiluer being mixed in due proportion, after long and temperate decoction in the bowels of the earth, orderlie ingrossed and fired, becommeth gold, which Encelius doth call the sunne and right heire of nature: but if it swarue but a little (saith he) in the commixtion and other circumstances, then doth it product siluer the daughter, not so noble a child as gold hir brother, which among mettall is worthilie called the chæse. Contrariwise, the substances of the aforesaid parents mixed without proportion, and lesse digested and fired in the entrailes of the earth, whereby the radicall moisture becommeth combustible and not of force to indure heat and hammer, doth either turne into tin, lead, copper, or iron, which were the first mettals knowne in time past vnto antiquitie, although that in these daies there are diuerse other, whereof neither they nor our alchumists had euer anie knowledge. Of these therfore which are reputed among the third sort, we here in England haue our parts, and as I call them to mind, so will I intreat of them, and with such breuitie as may serue the turne, and yet not altogither omit to saie somewhat of gold and siluer also, because I find by good experience how it was not said of old time without great reason, that all countries haue need of Britaine, and Britaine it selfe of none. For truelie if a man regard such necessities as nature onelie requireth, there is no nation vnder the sunne, that can saie so much as ours: sith we do want none that are conuenient for vs. Wherefore if it be a benefit to haue anie gold at all, we are not void of some, neither likewise of siluer: whatsoeuer Cicero affirmeth to the contrarie, *Lib. 4. ad Atticum epi. 16.* in whose time they were not found, *Britannici belli exitus* (saith he) *expectatur, constat enim aditus insulæ esse munitos mirificis molibus: etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse vllum in illa insula, neque vllam spem prædæ nisi ex mancipijs, ex quibus nullos puto te litteris aut musicis eruditos expectare.* And albeit that we haue no such abundance of these (as some other countries do yeeld) yet haue my rich countrimen store inough of both in their purses, where in time past they were wont to haue least, because the garnishing of our churches, tabernacles, images, shrines and apparell of the præsts consumed the greatest part, as experience hath confirmed.

Gold. Siluer.

Of late my countriemen haue found out I wot not what voiage into the west Indies, from whence they haue brought some gold, whereby our countrie is inriched: but of all that euer aduentured into those parts, none haue sped better than sir Francis Drake whose successe 1582 hath far passed euen his owne expectation. One Iohn Frobisher in like maner attempting to seeke out a shorter cut by the northerlie regions into the peaceable sea and kingdome of Cathaie, happened 1577 vpon certeine Ilands by the waie, wherein great plentie of much gold appeared, and so much that some letted not to giue out for certeintie, that Salomon had his gold from thence, wherewith he builded the temple. This golden shew made him so desirous also of like successe, that he left off his former voiage, & returned home to bring newes of such things as he had seene. But when after another voiage it was found to be but drosse, he gaue ouer both the enterprises, and now keepeth home without anie desire at all to seeke into farre countries. In truth, such was the plentie of ore there seene and to be had, that if it had holden perfect, might haue furnished all the world with abundance of that mettall; the iorneie also was short and performed in foure or fiue moneths, which was a notable incouragement. But to proceed.

Tin. Lead.

Tin and lead, mettals which Strabo noteth in his time to be carried vnto Marsilis from hence, as Diodorus also confirmeth, are verie plentifull with vs, the one in Cornewall, Deuonshire (& else-where in in the north) the other in Darbishire, Wieredale, and sundrie places of this Iland; whereby my countriemen do reape no small commoditie, but especiallie our pewterers, who in time past imploied the vse of pewter onelie vpon dishes, pots, and a few other trifles for seruice here at home, whereas now they are growne vnto such exquisit cunning, that they can in maner imitate by infusion anie forme or fashion of cup, dish, salt, bowle, or goblet, which is made by goldsmiths craft, though they be neuer so curious, exquisite, and artificiallie forged. Such furniture of houshold of this mettall, as we commonlie call by the name of vessell, is sold vsuallie by the garnish, which doth conteine twelue platters, twelue dishes, twelue saucers, and those are either of siluer fashion, or else with brode or narrow brims, and bought by the pound, which is now valued at six or seuen pence, or peraduenture at eight pence. Of porringers, pots, and other like I speake not, albeit that in the making of all these things there is such exquisite diligence vsed, I meane for the mixture of the mettall and true making of this commoditie (by reason of sharpe lawes prouided in that behalfe) as the like is not to be found in any other trade. I haue beene also informed that it consisteth of a composition, which hath thirtie pounds of kettle brasse to a thousand pounds of tin, whervnto they ad three or foure pounds of tinglasse: but as too much of this doth make the stuffe brickle, so the more the brasse be, the better is the pewter, and more profitable vnto him that doth buie and purchase the same. But to proceed.

In some places beyond the sea a garnish of good flat English pewter of an ordinarie making (I saie flat, because dishes and platters in my time begin to be made deepe like basons, and are indeed more conuenient both for sawce, broth, and keeping the meat warme) is esteemed almost so pretious, as the like number of vessels that are made of fine siluer, and in maner no lesse desired amongst the great estates, whose workmen are nothing so skilfull in that trade as ours, neither their mettall so good, nor plentie so great, as we haue here in England. The Romans made excellent looking glasses of our English tin, howbeit our workemen were not then so exquisite in that feat as the Brunduſiens: wherefore the wrought mettall was carried ouer vnto them by waie of merchandize, and verie highlie were those glasses

esteemed

eſtéemed of till ſiluer came generallie in place, which in the end brought the tin into ſuch contempt, that in manner euerie diſhwaſher refuſed to looke in other than ſiluer glaſſes for the attiring of hir head. Howbeit the making of ſiluer glaſſes had béene in vſe before Britaine was knowne vnto the Romans, for I read that one Praxiteles deuiſed them in the yoong time of Pompeie, which was before the comming of Cæſar into this Iland.

There were mines of lead ſometimes alſo in Wales, which indured ſo long till the people had conſumed all their wood by melting of the ſame (as they did alſo at Comcriſt with ſir miles from Stradfleur) and I ſuppoſe that in Plinies time the abundance of lead (whereof he ſpeaketh) was to be found in thoſe parts, in the ſeauentéenth of his thirtie fourth booke: alſo he affirmeth that it laie in the verie ſwart of the earth, and dailie gotten in ſuch plentie, that the Romans made a reſtraint of the cariage thereof to Rome, limiting how much ſhould yearelie be wrought and tranſported ouer the ſea. And here by the waie it is worthie to be noted, of a crow which a miner of tin, dwelling néere Comeriſt with (as Leland ſaith) had made ſo tame, that it would dailie flie and follow him to his worke and other places where ſoeuer he happened to trauell. This labourer working on a time in the bottome or vallie, where the firſt mine was knowne to be, did laie his purſe and girdle by him, as men commonlie do that addreſſe themſelues to applie their buſineſſe earneſtlie, and he himſelfe alſo had vſed from time to time before. The crow likewiſe was verie buſie flittering about him, and ſo much moleſted him, that he waxed angrie with the bird, & in his furie threatened to wring off his necke, if he might once get him into his hands; to be ſhort, in the end the crow haſtilie caught vp his girdle and purſe, and made awaie withall ſo faſt as hir wings could carrie hir. Héere vpon the poore man falling into great agonie (for he feared to loſe peraduenture all his monie) threw downe his mattocke at aduenture and ran after the bird, curſſing and menacing that he ſhould loſe his life if euer he got him againe: but as it fell out, the crow was the meanes whereby his life was ſaued, for he had not béene long out of the mine, yet it fell downe and killed all his fellowes. If I ſhould take vpon me to diſcourſe and ſearch out the cauſe of the thus dealing of this bird at large, I ſhould peraduenture ſet my ſelfe further into the briers than well find which waie to come out againe: yet am I perſuaded, that the crow was Gods inſtrument herein, whereby the life of this poore labourer was preſerued. It was done alſo in an other order than that which I read of another tame crow, kept vp by a ſhoomaker of Dutch land in his ſhop or ſtoue: who ſéeing the ſame to ſit vpon the pearch among his ſhoone, verie beautlie and drouſie, ſaid vnto the bird: What aileth my iacke, whie art thou ſad and penſiue? The crow hearing his maiſter ſpeake after this ſort vnto him, anſwered (or elſe the diuell within him) out of the pſalter: *Cogitaui dies antiquos & æternos in mente habui*. But whither am I digreſſed, from lead vnto crowes, & from crowes vnto diuels? Certes it is now high time to returne vnto our mettals, and reſume the tractation of ſuch things as I had earſt in hand.

Iron. Iron is found in manie places, as in Suſſex, Kent, Weredale, Mendip, Walſhall, as alſo in Shropſhire, but chéeflie in the woods betwixt Belnos and Willocke or Wicberie néere Manchéſter, and elſewhere in Wales. Of which mines diuerſe do bring forth ſo fine and good ſtuffe, as anie that commeth from beyond the ſea, beſide the infinit gaines to the owners, if we would ſo accept it, or beſtow a little more coſt in the refining of it. It is alſo of ſuch toughneſſe, that it yéeldeth to the making of clarichord wire in ſome places of the realme. Neuertheleſſe, it was better cheape with vs when ſtrangers onelie brought it hither: for it is our qualitie when we get anie commoditie, to vſe it with extremitie towards our owne nation, after we haue once found the meanes to ſhut out forreners from the bringing in of the like. It breedeth in like manner great expenſe and waſte of wood, as doth the making of our pots and table veſſell of glaſſe, wherein is much loſſe ſith it is ſo quicklie broken; and yet (as I thinke) eaſie to be made tougher, if our alchumiſts could once find the true birth or production of the red man, whoſe mixture would induce a metallicall toughneſſe vnto it, whereby it ſhould abide the hammer.

Copper. Copper is latelie not found, but rather reſtored againe to light. For I haue read of copper to haue béene heretofore gotten in our Iland; howbeit as ſtrangers haue moſt commonly the gouernance of our mines, ſo they hitherto make ſmall gains of this in hand in the north parts: for (as I am informed) the profit doth verie hardlie counteruaile the charges; whereat wiſe men do not a little marueil, conſidering the abundance which that mine doth ſéeme to offer, and as it were at hand. Leland our countrieman noteth ſundrie great likelihoods of naturall copper mines to be eaſtwards, as betwéene Dudman and Trewardth in the ſea cliffes, beſide other places, whereof diuerſe are noted here and there in ſundrie places of this booke alreadie, and therefore it ſhall be but in vaine to repeat them here againe: as for that which is gotten out of the marchaſite, I ſpeake not of it, ſith it is not incident to my purpoſe. In Dorſetſhire alſo a copper mine latelie found is brought to good perfection.

Steele. As for our ſteele, it is not ſo good for edge-tooles as that of Colaine, and yet the one is often ſold for the other, and like tale vſed in both, that is to ſaie, thirtie gads to the ſheffe, and twelue ſheffes to the burden. Our alchumie is artificiall, and thereof our ſpoones and ſome ſalts are commonlie made, and preferred before our pewter with ſome, albeit in truth it be much ſubiect to corruption, putrifaction, more beauie and foule to handle than our pewter; yet ſome ignorant perſons affirme it to be a mettall more naturall, and the verie ſame which Encelius calleth *Plumbum cinereum*, the Germans, wiſemute, mithan, & counterfeie, adding, that where it groweth, ſiluer can not be farre off. Neuertheleſſe it is knowne to be a mixture of braſſe, lead, and tin (of which this latter occupieth the one halfe) but after another proportion than is vſed in pewter. But alas I am perſuaded that neither the old Arabians, nor new alchumiſts of our time did euer heare of it, albeit that the name thereof do ſéeme to come out of their forge. For the common ſort indeed do call it alchumie, an vnwholſome mettall (God wot) and worthie to be baniſhed and driuen out of the land. And thus I conclude with this diſcourſe, as hauing no more to ſaie of the mettals of my countrie, except I ſhould talke of braſſe, bell mettall, and ſuch as are brought ouer for merchandize from other countries: and yet I can not but ſaie that there is ſome braſſe found alſo in England, but ſo ſmall is the quantitie, that it is not greatlie to be eſtéemed or accounted of.

Laon. Chalchondile.

Of

## Of pretious stones.

### Chap. 12.

THe old writers remember few other stones of estimation to be found in this Iland than that which we call geat, and they in Latine *Gagates:* whereunto furthermore they ascribe sundrie properties, as vsuallie practised here in times past, whereof none of our writers do make anie mention at all. Howbeit what soeuer it hath pleased a number of strangers (vpon false surmise) to write of the vsages of this our countrie, about the triall of the virginitie of our maidens by drinking the powder hereof against the time of their bestowing in marriage: certeine it is that euen to this daie there is some plentie to be had of this commoditie in Darbishire and about Warwike, whereof rings, salts, small cups, and sundrie trifling toies are made, although that in manie mens opinions nothing so fine as that which is brought ouer by merchants dailie from the maine. But as these men are drowned with the common errour conceiued of our nation, so I am sure that in discerning the price and value of things, no man now liuing can go beyond the iudgement of the old Romans, who preferred the geat of Britaine before the like stones bred about Luke and all other countries whersoeuer. Marbodeus Gallus also writing of the same among other of estimation, saith thus:

Geat.

Laon. Chalchondile.

*Nascitur in Lycia lapis & propè gemma Gagates,*
*Sed genus eximium fœcunda Britannia mittit,*
*Lucidus & niger est, leuis & leuissimus idem,*
*Vicinas paleas trahit attritu calefactus,*
*Ardet aqua lotus, restinguitur vnctus oliuo.*

The Germane writers confound it with amber as if it were a kind therof: but as I regard not their iudgement in this point, so I read that it taketh name of Gagas a citie and riuer in Silicia, where it groweth in plentifull maner, as Dioscorides saith. Nicander in Theriaca calleth it Engangin and Gangitin, of the plentie thereof that is found in the place aforesaid, which he calleth Ganges, and where they haue great vse of it in driuing awaie of serpents by the onelie perfume thereof. Charles the fourth emperour of that name glased the church withall that standeth at the fall of Tangra, but I cannot imagine what light should enter therby. The writers also diuide this stone into fiue kinds, of which the one is in colour like vnto lion tawnie, another straked with white veines, the third with yellow lines, the fourth is garled with diuerse colours, among which some are like drops of bloud (but those come out of Inde) and the fift shining blacke as anie rauens feather.

Moreouer, as geat was one of the first stones of this Ile, whereof anie forren account was made, so our pearles also did match with it in renowme: in so much that the onelie desire of them caused Cæsar to aduenture hither, after he had seene the quantities and heard of our plentie of them, while he abode in France, and whereof he made a taberd which he offered vp in Rome to Uenus, where it hong long after as a rich and notable oblation and testimonie of the riches of our countrie. Certes they are to be found in these our daies, and thereto of diuerse colours, in no lesse numbers than euer they were in old time. Yet are they not now so much desired bicause of their smalnesse, and also for other causes, but especiallie sith church worke, as copes, vestments, albes, tunicles, altarclothes, canopies, and such trash, are worthilie abolished; vpon which our countrimen superstitiouslie bestowed no small quantities of them. For I thinke there were few churches or religious houses, besides bishops miters, bookes and other pontificall vestures, but were either throughlie fretted, or notablie garnished with huge numbers of them. Marbodeus likewise speaking of pearles, commendeth them after this maner:

*Gignit & insignes antiqua Britannia baccas, &c.*

Marcellinus also Lib. 23, *in ipso fine*, speaketh of our pearls and their generation, but he preferreth greatlie those of Persia before them, which to me doth seeme vnequallie done. But as the British geat or orient pearle were in old time esteemed aboue those of other countries; so time hath since the conquest of the Romans reuealed manie other: insomuch that at this season there are found in England the Aetites (in English called the erne stone, but for erne some pronounce eagle) and the hematite or blodstone, and these verie pure and excellent: also the calredonie, the porphyrite, the christall, and those other which we call calaminares and speculares, besides a kind of diamond or adamant, which although it be verie faire to sight, is yet much softer (as most are that are found & bred toward the north) than those that are brought hither out of other countries. We haue also vpon our coast the white corall, nothing inferiour to that which is found beyond the sea in the albe, neere to the fall of Tangra, or to the red and blacke, whereof Dioscorides intreateth, Lib. 5. cap. 8. We haue in like sort sundrie other stones dailie found in cliffes and rocks (beside the load stone which is oftentimes taken vp out of our mines of iron) whereof such as find them haue either no knowledge at all, or else do make but small account, being seduced by outlandish lapidaries, whereof the most part discourage vs from the searching and seeking out of our owne commodities, to the end that they maie haue the more free vtterance of their naturall and artificiall wares, whereby they get great gaines amongst such as haue no skill.

Triall of a stone.

I haue heard that the best triall of a stone is to laie it on the naile of the thombe, and so to go abroad into the cleare light, where if the colour hold in all places a like, the stone is thought to be naturall and good: but if it alter, especiallie toward the naile, then is it not found, but rather to be taken for an artificiall peece of practise. If this be true it is an experiment worthie the noting. Cardan also hath it in his *De subtilitate*; if not, I haue read more lies than this, as one for example out of Cato, who saieth, that a cup of iuie will hold no wine at all. I haue made some vessels of the same wood, which refuse no kind of liquor, and therefore I suppose that there is no such Antipathia betweene wine and our iuie, as some of our reading philosophers (without all maner of practise) will seeme to infer amongst vs: and yet I denie not but the iuie of Greece or Italie may haue such a propertie; but why should not the iuie then of France somewhat participat withall in the like effect, which groweth in an hotter soile than ours is? For as Baptista porta saith, it holdeth not also in the French iuie, wherfore I can not beleeue that it hath anie such qualitie at all as Cato ascribeth vnto it. What should I say more of stones? Trulie I can not tell, sith I haue said what I may alreadie, and peraduenture more than I thinke necessarie: and that causeth me to passe ouer those that are now & then taken out of our oisters, todes, muskels, snailes and adders, and likewise such as are found vpon sundrie hils in Glocestershire, which haue naturallie such sundrie proportions, formes & colours in them, as passe all humane possibilitie to imitate, be the workeman neuer so skilfull

Lib. 7.

skilfull and cunning, also those that are found in the heads of our perches and carps much desired of such as haue the stone, & yet of themselues are no stones but rather shels or grisles, which in time consume to nothing. This yet will I ad, that if those which are found in muskels (for I am vtterlie ignorant of the generation of pearls) be good pearle in deed, I haue at sundrie times gathered more than an ounce of them, of which diuerse haue holes alreadie entered by nature, some of them not much inferiour to great pearson in quantitie, and thereto of sundrie colours, as it happeneth amongst such as are brought from the esterlie coast to Saffron Walden in Lent, when for want of flesh, stale stinking fish and welked muskels are thought to be good meat; for other fish is too deere amongst vs when law doth bind vs to vse it. See more for the generation of pearls in the description of Scotland, for there you shall be further informed out of Boetius in that behalfe. They are called orient, because of the cleerenesse, which resembleth the colour of the cleere aire before the rising of the sun. They are also sought for in the later end of August, a little before which time the sweetnesse of the dew is most conuenient for that kind of fish, which doth ingender and conceiue them, whose forme is flat, and much like vnto a lempet. The further north also that they be found the brighter is their colour, & their substances of better valure, as lapidaries do giue out.

## Of salt made in England.

Chap. 13.

THere are in England certein welles where salt is made, whereof Leland hath written abundantlie in his cõmentaries of Britaine, and whose words onlie I will set downe in English as he wrote them, because he seemeth to haue had diligent consideration of the same, without adding anie thing of mine owne to him, except it be where necessitie doth inforce me for the meere aid of the reader, in the vnderstanding of his mind. Directing therefore his iournie from Worcester in his peregrination and laborious trauell ouer England, he saith thus: From Worcester I road to the Wich by inclosed soile, hauing meetlie good corne ground, sufficient wood and good pasture, about a fir miles off, Wich standeth somewhat in a vallie or low ground, betwixt two small hils on the left ripe (for so he calleth the banke of euerie broke through out all his English treatises) of a prettie riuer which not far beneath the Wich is called Salope broke. The beautie of the towne in maner standeth in one street, yet be there manie lanes in the towne besides. There is also a meane church in the maine street, and once in the weeks an indifferent round market. The towne of it selfe is somewhat foule and durtie when anie raine falleth by reason of much cariage through the streets, which are verie ill paued or rather not paued at all. The great aduancement also hereof is by making of salt. And though the commoditie thereof be singular great, yet the burgesses be poore generallie, because gentlemen haue for the most part gotten the great gaine of it into their hands, whilest the poore burgesses yeeld vnto all the labour. There are at this present time three hundred salters, and three salt springs in the towne of Wich, whereof the principall is within a butshot of the right ripe (or banke) of the riuer that there commeth downe: and this spring is double so profitable in yeelding of salt liquor, as both the other. Some saie (or rather fable) that this salt spring did faile in the time of Richard de la Wich bishop of Chichester, and that afterwards by his intercession it was restored to the profit of the old course (such is the superstition of the people) in remembrance whereof, or peradventure for the zeale which the Wich men and salters did beare vnto Richard de la Wich their countriman, they vsed of late times on his daie (which commeth once in the yeare) to hang this salt spring or well about with tapistrie, and to haue sundrie games, drinkings, and follish reuels at it. But to proceed. There be a great number of salt cotes about this well, wherein the salt water is sodden in leads, and brought to the perfection of pure white salt. The other two salt springs be on the left side of the riuer a prettie waie lower than the first, and (as I found) at the verie end of the towne. At these also be diuerse fornaces to make salt, but the profit and plentie of these two are nothing comparable to the gaine that riseth by the greatest. I asked of a salter how manie fornaces they had at all the three springs, and he numbred them to eightscore, that is, three hundred and fortie, saieng how euerie one of them paied pearlie fiue shillings and eight pence to the king. The truth is that of old they had liberties giuen vnto them for three hundred fornaces or more, and thereupon they giue a fee farme (or Vectigal) of one hundred pounds pearlie. Certes the pension is as it was, but the number of fornaces is now increased to foure hundred. There was of late search made for another salt spring there abouts, by the meanes of one Newport a gentleman dwelling at the Wich, and the place where it was appeereth, as doth also the wood and timber which was set about it, to keepe vp the earth from falling into the same. But this pit was not since occupied, whether it were for lacke of plentie of the salt spring, or for letting or hindering of the profit of the other three. We thinke that if wood and sale of salt would serue, they might dig and find more salt springs about the Wich than three, but there is somewhat else in the wind. For I heard that of late yeares a salt spring was found in an other quarter of Worcestershire, but it grew to be without anie vse, sith the Wich men haue such a priuilege, that they alone in those quarters shall haue the making of salt. The pits be so set about with gutters, that the salt water is easilie turned to euerie mans house, and at Nantwich verie manie troughs go ouer the riuer for the commoditie of such as dwell on the other side of the same. They seeth also their salt water in fornaces of lead, and lade out the salt some in cases of wicker, through which the water draineth, and the salt remaineth. There be also two or three but verie little salt springs at Dertwitch, in a low bottome, where salt is sometime made.

Of late also a mile from Combremere abbaie a peece of an hill did sinke, and in the same pit rose a spring of salt water, where the abbat began to make salt; but the men of the citie compounded with the abbat & conent that there should be none made there, whereby the pit was suffered to go to losse. And although it yeelded salt water still of it selfe, yet it was spoiled at the last and filled vp with filth. The Wich men vse the cõmoditie of their salt springs in drawing and decocting the water of them onlie by six moneths in the yeare, that is, from Midsummer to Christmas, as (I gesse) to mainteine the price of salt, or for sauing of wood, which I thinke to be their principall reason. For making of salt is a great and notable destruction of wood, and shall be greater hereafter, except some prouision be made for the better increase of firing. The lacke of wood also is alreadie perceiued in places neere the Wich, for whereas they vsed to buie and take their wood neere vnto their occupi-

other cattle eth the bure as we may in baloning

Priuileges doo sometimes harme.

A common plague in all things of anie great commoditie, for one beateth the bush but an-

occupiengs, those wonted syrings are now decaied, and they be inforced to seeke their wood so far as Worcester towne, and all the parts about Brenisgraue, Alchirch, and Alcester. I asked a salter how much wood he supposed yearelie to be spent at these fornaces: and he answered that by estimation there was consumed about six thousand load, and it was round pole wood for the most, which is easie to be cleft, and handsomelie riuen in peeces. The people that are about the fornaces are verie ill coloured, and the inst rate of euerie fornace is to make foure loads of salt yearelie, and to euerie load goeth fiue or six quarters as they make their accounts. If the fornace men make more in one fornace than foure loads, it is (as it is said) imploied to their owne auaile. And thus much hath Leland left in memorie of our white salt, who in an other booke, not now in my hands, hath touched the making also of baie salt in some part of our countrie. But sith that booke is deliuered againe to the owner, the tractation of baie salt can not be framed in anie order, bicause my memorie will not serue to shew the true maner and the place. It shall suffice therfore to haue giuen such notice of it, to the end the reader may know that aswell the baie as white are wrought and made in England, and more white also vpon the west coast toward Scotland, in Eller and else where, out of the salt water betweene Wlire and Cokermouth, which commonlie is of like price with our wheat. Finallie, hauing thus intermedled our artificiall salt with our minerals, let vs giue ouer, and go in hand with such mettals as are growing here in England.

## Of our accompt of time & hir parts.

### Chap. 14.

AS *Libra* is *As* or *Assis* to the Romans for their weight, and the foot in standard measure: so in our accompt of the parts of time, we take the daie consisting of foure and twentie houres, to be the greatest of the least, and least of the greatest, whereby we keepe our reckoning: for of the houre (to saie the truth) the most ancient Romans, Greeks, nor Hebrues had anie vse; sith they reckoned by watches: and whereof also Censorinus cap. 19. sheweth a reason wherefore they were neglected. For my part I do not see anie great difference vsed in the obseruation of time & hir parts, betweene our owne & any other forren nation, wherfore I shall not need to stand long on this matter. Howbeit to the end our exact order herein shall appeere vnto all men, I will set downe some short rehearsall thereof, and that in so briefe manner as vnto me is possible. As for our astronomicall practises, I meane not to meddle with them, sith their course is vniformelie obserued ouer all. Our common order therefore is to begin at the minut, which conteineth $\frac{1}{60}$ part of an houre, as at the smallest part of time knowne vnto the people, notwithstanding that in most places they descend no lower than the halfe quarter or quarter of the houre; and from whence they proceed vnto the houre, to wit, the foure and twentith part of that which we call the common and naturall daie, which doth begin at midnight, and is obserued continuallie by clockes, dialles, and astronomicall instruments of all sorts. The artificiall varietie of which kind of ware is so great here in England, as no place else (in mine opinion) can be comparable therein to this Ile. I will not speake of the cost bestowed vpon them in perle and stone, neither of the value of mettall, whereof they haue beene made, as gold, siluer, &c: and almost no abbeis or religious house without some of them. This onelie shall suffice to note here (as by the waie) that as antiquitie hath delighted in these things, so in our time pompe and excesse spendeth all, and nothing is regarded that bringeth in no bread. Of vnequall or temporall houres or daies, our nation hath no regard, and therefore to shew their quantities, differences, and diuisions, into the greater and the lesser, (whereof the later conteineth one vnequall houre, or the rising of halfe a signe, the other of a whole signe, which is in two houres space, wherof Marke seemeth to speake cap. 15 v 25, as the rest of the euangelists (yea and he also ibid. vers. 33) do of the other, Matth. 27 v 45 Luke 23 v 44, John 19 v 14) it should be but in vaine. In like sort, whereas the elder Aegyptians, Italians, Bohemians, latter Atheniens, and Iews begin their daie at the sun set ouer night; the Persians, Babylonians, Grecians, and Norbergians, at the sun rising (ech of them accompting their daies and nights by vnequall houres) also the elder Atheniens, Arabians, Dutchmen, Vmbers, Hetrurians, and Astronomers at high none, and so reckon from none to none: we after Hipparchus and the latter Aegyptians, or to speake more properlie, imitating the Romain maner vsed in the church there of long time, chose the verie point of midnight; from whence we accompt twelue equall houres vnto midnight insuing, and other twelue againe vnto the aforesaid point, according to these verses;

*Manè diem Græca gens incipit astra sequentes*
*In medio lucis Iudæis vespere sancta,*
*Inchoat ecclesia media sua tempora nocte.*

And this is our generall order for the naturall daie. Of the artificiall we make so farre accompt, as that we reckon it daie when the sun is vp, and night when the sun leaueth our horizon. Otherwise also we diuide it into two parts, that is to saie, fore none and after none, not regarding the ruddie, shining, burning and warming seasons (of three vnequall houres a peece, which others seeme to diuide into spring time, summer, autumne, and winter, in like curious manner) and whereof I read these verses:

*Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor horæ,*
*Hæc rubet, hæc splendet, hæc calet, illa tepet.*

Indeed our physicians haue another partition of the daie, as men of no lesse learning no doubt than the best of forren countries, if we could so conceiue of them. And herein they concurre also with those of other nations, who for distinction in regiment of our humors, diuide the artificiall daie and night in such wise as these verses do import, and are indeed a generall rule which ech of them doth follow:

*Tres lucis primas, noctis tres sanguinis imas,*
*Vis choleræ medias lucis sex vendicat horas.*
*Dátque melam primas noctis, tres lucis & imas,*
*Centrales ponas sex noctis phlegmatis horas.*

Or thus, as Tansteter hath giuen them forth in his prælections:

*A nona noctis donec sit tertia lucis,*
*Est dominus sanguis, sex inde sequentibus horis*
*Est dominans cholera, dum lucis nona sit hora*
*Post niger humid inest donec sit tertia noctis,*
*Posthæc phlegma venit, donec sit nona quietis.*

In English thus in effect:

Three houres yer sun doo rise,
and so manie after, blud,
From nine to three at after noone,
hot choler beares the swaie,
Euen so to nine at night,
swart choler hath to rule,
As phlegme from thence to three at morne;
six houres ech one I saie.

In

Night. In like sort for the night we haue none other parts than the twilight, darkenight, midnight, and cocks crowing: whereas the Latins diuide the same into 7 parts, as *Vesper* or *Vesperugo*, as Plautus calleth it, as Virgil vseth the word *Hesper* the euening, which is immediatlie after the setting of the sun. *Vesper.* *Crepusculum.* *Crepusculum* the twilight (which some call *Prima fax*, because men begin then to light candles) when it is betweene daie and night, light and darkenesse, or properlie neither daie nor night. *Concubium* the stilt of the night, when ech one is laid to rest. *Intempestum*, the dull or dead of the night, which is midnight, when men be in their first or dead sléepe. *Gallicinium*, the cocks crowing. *Conticinium*, when the cocks haue left crowing. *Matutinum*, the breach of the daie, and *Diluculum siue aurora*, the ruddie, orenge, golden or shining colour, séene immediatlie before the rising of the sun, and is opposite to the euening, as *Matutinum* is to the twilight. *Concubium.* *Intempestum.* *Gallicinium.* *Conticinium.* *Matutinum.* *Diluculum.*

watches. Other there are which do reckon by watches, diuiding the night after sun setting into foure equall parts. Of which the first beginneth at euening called the first watch, and continueth by thrée vnequall houres, and so forth vntill the end of the ninth houre, whereat the fourth watch entreth, which is called the morning watch, bicause it concurreth partlie with the darke night, and partlie with the morning and breach of the daie before the rising of the sun.

Houre. As for the originall of the word houre, it is verie ancient; but yet not so old as that of the watch, whereof we shall read abundantlie in the scriptures, which was deuised first among souldiors for their better safegard and change of watchmen in their camps; the like whereof is almost vsed among our seafaring men, which they call clearing of the glasse, and performed from time to time with great héed and some solemnitie. Hereunto the word *Hora* among the Grecians signified so well the foure quarters of the yéere, as the foure and twentith part of the daie, and limits of anie forme. But what stand I vpon these things to let my purpose staie? To proceed therefore.

wéeke. Of naturall daies is the wéeke coinpacted, which consisteth of seauen of them, the fridaie being commonlie called among the vulgar sort either king or worling, bicause it is either the fairest or foulest of the seauen: albeit that I cannot ghesse of anie reason whie they should so imagine. The first of these entreth with mondaie, whereby it commeth to passe, that we rest vpon the sundaie, which is the seauenth in number, as almightie God hath commanded in his word. The Iews begin their wéeke vpon our saturdaie at the setting of the sun: and the Turks in these daies with the saturdaie, whereby it commeth to passe, that as the Iews make our last daie the first of their wéeke, so the Turks make the Iewish sabaoth the beginning of their *Hebdoma*: bicause Mahomet their prophet (as they saie) was borne and dead vpon the fridaie, and so he was indéed, except their Alcharon deceiue them. The Iews do reckon their daies by their distance from their sabaoth, so that the first daie of their wéeke is the first daie of the sabaoth, and so forth vnto the first. The Latins and Aegyptians accompted their daies after the seauen planets, chosing the same for the denominator of the daie, that entreth his regiment with the first vnequall houre of the same after the sun be risen. Howbeit, as this order is not wholie reteined with vs, so the vse of the same is not yet altogither abolished, as may appéere by our sunday, mondaie, and saturdaie. The rest were changed by the Saxons, who in remembrance of Theut sometime their prince, called the second day of the wéek Theutsdach, the third Woden, Othin, Othon, or Edon, or Wodensdach. Also of Thor they named the fourth daie Thorsdach, and of Frea wife to Woden the fift was called Freadach. Albeit there are (and not amisse as I thinke) that suppose them to meane by Thor, Iupiter, by Woden, Mercurie, by Frea (or Frigga as Saxo calleth hir) Uenus, and finallie by Theut, Mars: which if it be so, then it is an easie matter to find out the german Mars, Uenus, Mercurie, and Iupiter, whereof you may read more hereafter in my chronologie. The truth is, that Frea albeit that Saxo giueth hir scant a good report, for that she loued one of hir husbands men better than himselfe, had seauen sonnes by Woden; the first, father to Wecca, of whome descended those that were afterwards kings of Kent. Fethelgeta was the second, and of him came the kings of Mercia. Baldaie the third, father to the kings of the west Saxons. Beldagius the fourth, parent to the kings of Brentcia or Northumberland. Weogodach the fift, author of the kings of Deira. Caser the first race of the east Angle race, & Nascad originall burgeant of the kings of Esser. As for the kings of Sussex, although they were of the same people, yet were they not of the same streine, as our old monuments do expresse. But to proceed.

As certeine of our daies suffered this alteration by the Saxons, so in our churches we reteined for a long time the number of daies or of * feries from the sabaoth, after the manner of the Iews, I meane vntill the seruice after the Romane vse was abolished, which custome was first receiued (as some thinke) by pope Syluester, though other saie by Constantine; albeit another sort do affirme, that Syluester caused the sundaie onelie to be called the Lords day, and dealt not with the rest. *Feriæ.*

Moneth. In like maner of wéekes our moneths are made, which are so called of the moone, each one conteining eight and twentie daies, or foure wéekes, without anie further curiositie. For we reckon not our time by the yeare of the moone, as the Iews, Grecians, or Romans did at the first; or as the Turks, Arabians and Persians do now: neither ante parcell thereof by the said planet, as in some part of the west Indies, where they haue neither wéeke, moneth, nor yéere, but onlie a generall accompt of hundreds and thousands of moones. Wherefore if we saie or write a moneth, it is to be expounded of eight and twentie daies, or foure wéeks onelie, and not of hir vsuall period of nine and twentie daies and one and thirtie minuts. Or (if you take it at large) for a moneth of the common calender, which neuertheless in plées and suites is nothing at all allowed of, sith the moone maketh hir full reuolution in eight and twentie daies or foure wéeks, that is, vnto the place where she left the sun: notwithstanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found verie often in that signe wherin she before had left him. Plutarch writeth of diuers barbarous nations which reckoned a more or lesse number of these moneths for whole yeares: and that of these some accompted but thrée, as the Archadians did foure, the Acarnans six, and the Aegyptians but one for a whole yeare, which causeth them to make such a large accompt of their antiquitie and originall. But forsomuch as we are not troubled with anie such disorder, it shall suffice that I haue generallie said of moneths and their quantities at this time. Now a word or two of the ancient Romane calender. *Trimethus in Antarctico.*

In old time each moneth of the Romane calender was reckoned after the course of the moone, and their enterances were vncerteine, as were also the changes of that planet: whereby it came to passe, that the daie of the change was the first of the moneth, howsoeuer it fell out. But after Julius Cesar had once corrected the same, the seuerall beginnings of euerie one of them did not onelie remaine fixed, but

but alſo the old order in the diuiſion of their parts continued ſtill vnaltered: ſo that the moneth is yet diuided as before, into calends, ides and nones, albeit that in my daies, the vſe of the ſame bée but ſmall, and their order reteined onelie in our calenders, for the better vnderſtanding of ſuch times, as the hiſtoriographers and old authors do remember. The reckoning alſo of each of theſe goeth (as you ſée) after a prepoſterous order, whereby the Romans did rather note how many daies were to the next change from the precedent, than contrariwiſe, as by peruſall of the ſame you ſhall more eaſilie perceiue.

The daies alſo of the change of the moneth of the moone, are called *Calendæ*, which in time of paganiſme were conſecrated to Iuno, and ſacrifice made to that goddeſſe on the ſame. On theſe daies alſo, and on the ides and nones they would not marie. Likewiſe the morow after each of them were called *Dies atri*, blacke daies, as were alſo diuerſe other, and thoſe either by reaſon of ſome notable ouerthrow or miſhap that befell vnto the Romans vpon thoſe daies, or in reſpect of ſome ſuperſtitious imagination conceiued of euill ſucceſſe likelie to fall out vpon the ſame. Of ſome they were called *Dies Aegyptiaci*. Whereby it appeareth that this pæuiſh eſtimation of theſe daies came from that nation. And as we do note our holie and feſtiuall daies with red letters in our calenders, ſo did the Romans their principall feaſts & circle of the moone, either in red or golden letters, and their victories in white, in their publike or conſularie tables. This alſo is more to be added, that if anie good ſucceſſe happened afterward vpon ſuch day as was alreadie blacke in their calender, they would ſolemnlie enter it in white letters by racing out of the blacke, whereby the blacke daie was turned into white, and wherein they not a little reioiſed.

The word *Calendæ* (in Greéke *Neomenia*) is deriued of *Calo*, to call: for vpon the firſt day of euerie moneth, the prieſt vſed to call the people of the citie and countrie togither in Calabria, for ſo the place was called where they met, and ſhew them by a cuſtome how manie daies were from the ſaid calends to the nones, & what feaſts were to be celebrated betweéne that and the next change. Their order is retrograde, becauſe that after the moneth was halfe expired, or the moone paſt the full, they reckoned by the daies to come vntill the next change, as ſeuenténe daies, ſirténe daies, fourténe daies, &c: as the Greékes did in the latter decad onelie, for they had no vſe of calends. The verie day therefore of the change is called *Calenda*, dedicated to Iuno, who thereof was alſo called *Calendaris*. At the firſt alſo the faſts or feaſt daies were knowne by none other meanes vnto the people but by the denunciation of the prieſts (as I ſaid) vpon this daie, till Flauius Scriba cauſed them to be written & publiſhed in their common calenders, contrarie to the will and meaning of the ſenat, for the eaſe and benefit of the people, as he pretended.

The nones commonlie are not aboue foure or ſir in euerie moneth: and ſo long as the nones laſted, ſo long did the markets continue, and therefore they were called *Nonæ quaſi Nundinæ*. In them alſo were neither holie daies more than is at this preſent (except the day of the purification of our ladie) no ſacrifice offered to the gods, but each one applied his buſineſſe, and kept his market, reckoning the firſt day after the calends or change, to be the fourth or firt daie before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called *Nonæ*, of the word *Non, quia in iiſdem diꝭ non coluntur*. For as Ouid ſaith, *Nonarum tutela deo caret*, or for that the nones were alwaies on the ninth daie before the ides: other becauſe *Nundina dea* was honored the ninth day before the ides, albeit I ſuppoſe rather that *Nundina dea* (a goddeſſe far yonger than the name of *Nonæ*) toke hir name of the nones, whereon it was a cuſtome among the Romans, *Luſtrare infantes ac nomina maribus imponere*, as they did with their maid children vpon the eight: but howſoeuer this be, ſure it is that they were the mart daies of euerie moneth, wherin the people bought, ſold, exchanged or bartered, and did nothing elſe.

The ides are ſo named of the Hethruſcan word, *Iduare*, to diuide: and before that Ceſar altered the calender, they diuided the moneth commonlie by the middeſt. But afterward when he had added certeine daies thereto, therby to make it agrée to the yéere of the ſunne (which he intruded about the end of euerie moneth, becauſe he would not alter the celebration of their vſuall feaſts, whereof the chiefe were holden alwaies vpon the day of the ides) then came they ſhort of the middeſt, ſometime by two or thrée daies. In theſe therefore (which alwaies are eight) the merchants had leiſure to packe vp and conuеie their merchandize, to pay their creditors, and make merie with their friends.

After the ides do the calends follow, but in a decreaſing order (as I noted) as the moone doth in light when ſhe is paſt the full. But herein lieth all the myſterie, if you can ſay ſo manie daies before the next change or new moone, as the number there expreſſed doth betoken, as for 16 calends ſo manie daies before the next conjunction, &c: (as is aboue remembred.) Of theſe calends, I meane touching their number in euerie moneth, I find theſe verſes inſuing:

*Ianus & Auguſtus denas nouémq; December,*
*Iunius Aprilis September & ipſe Nouember*
*Terſenas retinent, Februs bis octo calendas,*
*Iulius October Mars Maius Eptadecemq;.*

In English thus.

December Iune and Auguſt month
full nineteene calends haue,
Septemb Aprill Nouemb and Iune
twiſe nine they doo deſire,
Sixteene foule Februarie hath,
no more can he well craue.
October Maie and Iulie hot
but ſeuenteene doo require.

In like maner do the nones and ides.

*Sex Maius nonas, October, Iulius, & Mars,*
*Quatuor at reliqui, dabit idus quilibet octo.*

To Iulie, Mars, October, Maie,
ſix nones I hight,
The reſt but foure, and as for ides
they keepe ſtill eight.

Againe touching the number of daies in euerie moneth:

*Iunius, Aprilis, Septémq;, Nouémq; tricenos,*
*Vnum plus reliqui, Februs tenet octo vicenos,*
*At ſi biſſextus fuerit ſuper additur vnus.*

Thirtie daies hath Nouember,
Aprill, Iune, and September,
Twentie and eight hath Februarie alone,
and all the reſt thirtie and one,
but in the leape you muſt ad one.

Our yeare is counted after the courſe of the ſunne, and although the church hath ſome vſe of that of the moone for obſeruation of certeine moueable feaſts, yet it is reducible to that of the ſunne, which in our ciuill dealings is chiefliе had in vſe. Herein onelie I find a ſcruple, that the beginning thereof is not vniforme and certeine, for moſt of our records beare date the 25 of March, and our calenders the firſt of Januarie; ſo that with vs Chriſt is borne before he be conceiued. Our ſundrie officers alſo haue ſundrie entrances into their charges of cuſtome, which breédeth great confuſion, whereas if all theſe might be referred to one originall (and that to be the firſt of Januarie) I do not thinke but that there would be more

certeintie, and lesse trouble for our historiographers, notaries, & other officers in their account of the yere. In old time the Atheniens began their yeare with the change of the moone that fell nerest to the enterance of the sunne into the crab, the Latines at the winter solstice, or his going into the goat, the Jewes in ciuill case at the latter equinoctiall, and in ecclesiasticall with the first. They of Calecute begin their yeare somewhere in September, but vpon no daie certeine, sith they first consult with their wisards, who pronounce one day or other thereof to be most happie (as the yeare goeth about) and therewith they make their entrance, as Osorius doth remember, who addeth that vpon the eleuenth calends of September, they haue solemne plaies, much like to the idoll games, & that they write in leaues of tree with a pencill, in stead of paper, which is not found among them. Some of the old Grecians began their yere also in September: but sith we seeke herein but for the custome of our countrie onelie, it shall be enough to affirme that we make our account from the calends or first of Januarie, and from the middest of the night which is *Limes* betweens that and the last of December, whereof this maie suffice. I might speake of the Cynike yeare also in this place (for the ease of our English readers) sometime in vse amongst the Egyptians, which conteineth 1460 common yeares, whose beginning is alwaies reckoned from the rising of the lesser dog. The first vse thereof entered the selfe yeare wherin the Olimpiads were restored. And forsomuch as this nation hath no vse of intercalation, at the end of euerie 1460 yeares, they added an whole yeare of intercalation, because there are 365 leape yeers in the period, so that 1460 Julian yeers do conteine 1461 after the Egyptians account, wherby their common yeare is found to be lesse than ours. Furthermore, whereas our intercalation for the leape yere is somewhat too much by certeine minuts, which in 115 yeares amount vnto about an whole day, if one intercalation in so manie were omitted, our calender would be the more perfect: and I would wish that the same yeare wherein the said intercalation trulie found out should be ouerpassed, might be obserued and called *Annus magnus Elizabethæ*, in perpetuall remembrance of our noble and souereigne princesse now reigning amongst vs.

I might here saie somewhat also of the prime and hir alteration, which is risen higher by fiue daies in our common calender than it was placed by Iulius Cæsar: and in seauen thousand yeares some writer would grow to an error of an whole, if the world should last so long. But forsomuch as in some calenders of ours it is reduced againe to the date of euerie change, it shall suffice to saie no more therof. The pope also hath made a generall correction of the calender, wherein he hath reduced it to the same that it was or should haue bene at the councell of Nice. Howbeit as he hath abolished the vse of the golden number, so hath he continued the epact, applieng it vnto such generall vse, as doth now serue both the turnes, whose reformation had also per this time bene admitted into England, if it had not proceeded from him, against whom and all whose ordinances we haue so faithfullie sworne and set our hands.

Certes the next omission is to be performed if all princes would agree thereto in the leape yeare that shall be about the yeare of Grace 1668: if it shall please God that the world may last so long, and then may our calender also stand without anie alteration as it doth alreadie. By this also it appeareth how the defect of our calender may be supplied from the creation, wherein the first equinoctiall is seene higher toward the beginning of March than Cæsars calender now extant doth yeld vnto by seauen daies. For as in Cæsars time the true equinoctiall was pointed out to happen (as Stadius also noteth) either vpon or about the fiftéenth or seauentéenth of March, albeit the manifest apperance thereof was not found vntill the fiue and twentith of that moneth in their dials or by eie-sight: so at the beginning of the world the said entrance of the sunne into the ram, must néeds fall out to be about the twentith or one & twentith of Aprill, as the calender now standeth, if I faile not in my numbers. Aboue the yeare we haue no more parts of time, that carie anie seuerall names with them, except you will affirme the word age to be one, which is taken for a hundred yeares, and signifieth in English so much as Seculum or Æuum doth in Latine; neither is it needfull to remember that some of my countrimen do reckon their times not by years but by summers and winters, which is verie common among vs. Wherefore to shut vp this chapiter withall, you shall haue a table of the names of the daies of the weeke, after the old Saxon and Scotish maner, which I haue borowed from amongst our ancient writers, as I haue perused their volumes.

*The present names.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Monday. | Fridaie. |
| Tuesday. | Saturdaie. |
| Wednesday. | Sunday, or the Lords daie. |
| Thursday. | |

*The old Saxon names.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Monendeg. | Frigesdeg. |
| Tuesdeg. | Saterdeg. |
| Wodnesdeg. | Sunnandeg. |
| Thunresdeg. | |

*The Scotish vsage.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Diu Luna. | Diu Friach. |
| Diu Mart. | Diu Satur. |
| Diu Yath. | Diu Seroll. |
| Diu Ethamon. | |

## Of our principall faires and *markets.*

Chap. 15.

I Haue heretofore said sufficientlie of our faires, in the chapter of fairs and markets; and now to performe my promise there made, I set downe here so manie of our faires as I haue found out by mine owne obseruation, and helpe of others in this behalfe. Certes it is impossible for me to come by all, sith there is almost no towne in England, but hath one or more such marts holden yearelie in the same, although some of them (I must néeds confesse) be scarse comparable to Lowse faire, and little else bought or sold in them more than good drinke, pies, and some pedlerie trash: wherefore it were no losse if diuerse of them were abolished. Neither do I see whereunto this number of paltrie fairs tendeth, so much as to the corruption of youth, who (all other businesse set apart) must néeds repaire vnto them, whereby they often spend not onelie the worke daies, but also the Lords sabbaoth in great banitie and riot. But such hath bene the iniquitie of ancient times. God grant therefore that ignorance being now abolished, and a further insight into things growne into the minds of magistrates, these old errors

rors may be considered of, and so farre reformed, as that thereby neither God may be dishonored, nor the common wealth of our countrie anie thing diminished. In the meane time, take this table here insuing in stead of a calender of the greatest, sith that I cannot, or at the least wise care not to come by the names of the lesse, whose knowledge cannot be so profitable to them that be farre off, as they are oft prejudiciall to such as dwell nére hand to the places where they be holden and kept, by pilferers that resort vnto the same.

## Faires in Ianuarie.

The first day being Twelfe day at Salisburie, the fiue and twentith being saint Paules day, at Bristow, at Gratesend, at Churchingford, at Northalerton in Yorkeshire, where is kept a faire euerie wednesday from Christmasse vntill June.

## Faires in Februarie.

The first day at Bromleie. The second at Lin, at Bath, at Maidstone, at Bickleswoorth, at Budworth. The fourtéenth at Feuersham. On Ashwednesday at Lichfield, at Tamworth, at Roiston, at Excester, at Abington, at Cicester. The foure and twentith at Henlie vpon Thames, at Tewkesburie.

## Faires in March.

On the twelth day, at Stamford, Sapesford, and at Sudburie. The thirtéenth day at Wie, at the Mount, & at Bodmin in Cornewall. The fift sunday in Lent, at Grantham, at Salisburie. On monday before our ladie day in Lent, at Wisbich, at Kendall, Denbigh in Wales. On palmesunday éeuen, at Pumfret. On palmesunday, at Worcester. The twentith day at Durham. On our ladie day in Lent at Northamton, at Walden, at great Chart, at Newcastell. And all the ladie daies at Huntington. And at Saffron Walden on midlentsunday.

## Faires in Aprill.

The fift day at Wallingford. The seuenth at Darbie. The ninth at Bickleswoorth, at Belinswoorth. On monday after, at Euesham in Worcestershire. On tuesday in Easter wéeke at Northfleet, at Rochford, at Hitchin. The third sunday after Easter, at Louth. The two and twentith at Stabford. On saint Georges day, at Charing, at Ipswich, at Tamworth, at Ampthill, at Hinninham, at Gilford, at saint Pombes in Cornewall. On saint Markes day at Darbie, at Dunmow in Eller. The six and twentith at Tenderden in Kent.

## Faires in Maie.

On Maie date at Ripon, at Perin in Cornwall, at Olestrie in Wales, at Lerfield in Suffolke, at Stow the old, at Reading, at Leicester, at Chensford, at Maidstone, at Brickehill, at Blackeborne, at Cogilton, at Stokeneie land. The third at Bramyard, at Henningham, at Elstow, Waltham, Holicrosse, and Hedningham castell. The seuenth at Beuerleie, at Newton, at Orford. On Ascension day at Newcastell, at Yerne, at Brimechame, at saint Edes, at Bishopstratford, at Wicham, at Middlewich, at Stopford, at Chappell frith. On Whitsuneéuen, at Skipton vpon Crauen. On Whitsunday, at Richell, at Gribbie, and euerie wednesday fortnight at Kingston vpon Thames, at Katesdale, at Kirbistephin in Westmerland. On monday in Whitsunwéeke, at Daington, at Excester, at Bradford, at Rigate, at Burton, at Salforth, at Whitechurch, at Cockermouth, at Applebie, at Bicklesworth, at Stokeclare. On tuesday in Whitsunwéeke, at Lewse, at Rochford, at Canturburie, at Dromeskirke, at Perith, at long Milford. On wednesday in Whitsunwéeke, at Sandbarre, at Raisson. On Trinitie sunday, at Kendall, and at Rowell. On thursday after Trinitie sunday, at Prescote, at Stapford, at saint Annes, at Newburie, at Couentrie, at saint Edes, at Bishop stortford, at Rosse. The ninth at Lochester, at Dunstable. The twentie seuenth day, at Lenham. The twentie ninth at Crambroke. On monday in Rogation wéeke at Rech, and sunday after Ascension day, at Harsted.

## Faires in Iune.

The ninth day at Maidstone. The rj, at Okingham, at Newbourgh, at Bardfield, at Marfield, & Holt. The seuentéenth at Hadstocke. The twentie three at Shrewsburie, at saint Albans. The twentie fourth day, at Horsham, at Bedell, at Strackstocke, at saint Annes, at Wakefield, at Colchester, at Reading, at Bedford, at Barnewell beside Cambridge, at Wollerhampton, at Crambroke, at Gloucester, at Lincolne, at Peterborow, at Windsor, at Harstone, at Lancaster, at Westchester, at Halifax, at Alhborne. The twentie seuenth, at Folkestone. The twentie eight, at Hetcorne, at saint Pombes. The twentie ninth, at Alwodhurst, at Marleborough, at Holleswoorth, at Wollerhampton, at Peterfield, at Lempster, at Sudburie, at Gargraingе, at Bromleie.

## Faires in Iulie.

The second at Congreton, at Ashton vnder line. The sunday after the third of Julie, at Raisson. The eleuenth at Partneie, and at Lid. The fiftéenth, at Pichbacke. The seuentéenth, at Winchcombe. The twentith, at Urbridge, at Catesbie, at Bolton. The twentie two, at Marleborow, at Winchester, at Colchester, at Tetburie, at Tooling, at Yealdon, at Bridgenorth, at Clitherall, at Norwich in Cheshire, at Cheswike, at Battelfield, at Bickleworth. The twentie fift, at Bristow, at Douer, at Chilham, at Darbie, at Ipswich, at Northampton, at Dudleie in Staffordshire, at saint James beside London, at Reading, at Erech in the Ile, at Walden, at Thremhall, at Baldocke, at Louth, at Malmesburie, at Bromeleie, at Chichester, at Liuerpoole, at Altergam, at Rauenglasse in the north. The twentie first, at Tiptrie. The twentie seuenth at Canturburie, at Horsham, at Richmund in the north, at Warington, at Chappell frith.

## Faires in August.

The first day at Excester, at Feuersham, at Dunstable, at saint Edes, at Bedford, at Northam church, at Wisbich, at Yorke, at Rumneie, at Newton, at Yeland. The fourth at Linton. The tenth at Waltham, at Charsted, at Blackemore, at Hungerford, at Bedford, at Stroides, at Fernam, at S. Laurence by Bodmin, at Walton, at Croileie, at Sedbell, at new Brainford. The rv, at Cambridge, at Dunmow, at Caerleill, at Preston in Andall, at Wakefield on the two ladie daies, and vpon the sunday after the fiftéenth day of August, at Hauerhull, On Bartholomew day, at London, at Beggers bush beside Rie, at Leukesburie, at Sudburie, at Rie, at Nantwich, at Pagets, at Bromleie, at Norwich, at Northalerton, at Douer. On the sunday after

after Bartholomew day, at Sandwich. The twentie seuenth, and at Ashford.

## Faires in September.

The first day at S. Giles at the Bush. The eight day at Woolspit, at Wakefield, at Sturbridge, in Southwarke at London, at Snide, at Recolner, at Gisbourgh both the ladie dates, at Partnete. The three ladie dates at Blackeburne, at Gisborne in Yorkeshire, at Chalton, at Utcester. On Holirode day, at Richmond in Yorkeshire, at Rippond a horse faire, at Penhad, at Berslete, at Waltam abbeie, at Wotton vnder hedge, at Smalding, at Chesterfield, at Denbigh in Wales. On saint Mathies day, at Marleborough, at Bedford, at Croidon, at Holden in Holdernes, at saint Edmundsburie, at Malton, at saint Jues, at Shrewesburie, at Laneham, at Witnall, at Sittingborne, at Brainetrie, at Baldocke, at Katharine hill beside Gilford, at Douer, at Castrie. The twentie ninth day being Michaelmas day, at Canturburie, at Malton a noble horsse faire, at Lancaster, at Blackeborne, at Westchester, at Cokermouth, at Ashborne, at Hadleie, at Malden an horsse faire, at Waie hill, at Newburie, and at Leicester.

## Faires in October.

The fourth day at Michell. The first day at saint Faiths beside Norwich, at Maidstone. The eight at Harborough, at Hereford, at Bishop Stortford. On S. Edwards day, at Roiston, at Grauesend, at Windsor, at Marshfield. The ninth day at Colchester. On saint Lukes æuen, at Elie, at Wrickle, at Thame, at Thirsk, at Bridgenorth, at Stanton, at Charing, at Burton vpon Trent, at Charleton, at Wigan, at Friswides in Oxford, at Tisdale, at Middlewich, at Holt in Wales. The twentie one day at Saffron Walden, at Newmarket, at Hertford, at Cicester, at Stokesleie. The twentie third, at Preston, at Bikelsworth, at Kitchdale, at Whitechurch. The twentie eight, at Newmarket, and Hertford. On all saints æuen, at Wakefield, and at Kithen.

## Faires in Nouember.

The second at Blechinglie, at Kingston, at Marfield, at Epping. The first day, at Newport pond, at Stanleie, at Tregnie, at Salford, at Lesford, and Wetshod faire at Hertford. The tenth, at Leuton. The eleuenth, at Marleborough, at Douer. The thirtenth, at saint Edmundsburie, at Gilford. The seuentæenth day, at Low, at Hide. The nineteenth, at Horsham. On saint Edmunds day, at Hith, at Ingerstone. The twentie third day, at Sandwich. On saint Andrews day at Colingbourgh, at Rochester, at Peterfield, at Maidenhed, at Bewdleie, at Warington in Lancashire, at Bedford in Yorkeshire, at Oselsrie in Wales, and at Powles Belcham.

## Faires in December.

On the fift day, at Pluckeleie. On the first, at Cased, at Hedningham, at Spalding, at Excester, at Sinocke, at Arnedale, and at Northwich in Cheshire. The seuenth day at Sandhurst. The eight day being the conception of our ladie, at Clitherall in Lancashire, at Malpas in Cheshire. The twentie ninth, at Canturburie, and at Salisburie.

## Of our innes and thorowfaires.

Chap. 16.

Those townes that we call thorowfaires haue great and sumptuous innes builded in them, for the receiuing of such trauellers and strangers as passe to and fro. The manner of harbouring wherein, is not like to that of some other countries, in which the host or goodman of the house doth chalenge a lordlie authoritie ouer his ghests, but cleane otherwise, sith euerie man may vse his inne as his owne house in England, and haue for his monie how great or little varietie of vittels, and what other seruice himselfe shall thinke expedient to call for. Our innes are also verie well furnished with naperie, bedding, and tapisserie, especiallie with naperie: for beside the linnen vsed at the tables, which is commonlie washed dailie, is such and so much as belongeth vnto the estate and calling of the ghest. Euerie commer is sure to lie in cleane sheets, wherein no man hath beene lodged since they came from the landresse, or out of the water wherein they were last washed. If the traueller haue an horsse, his bed doth cost him nothing, but if he go on foot he is sure to paie a penie for the same: but whether he be horsseman or footman if his chamber be once appointed he may carie the kaie with him, as of his owne house so long as he lodgeth there. If he lose oughts whilest he abideth in the inne, the host is bound by a generall custome to restore the damage, so that there is no greater securitie anie where for trauellers than in the gretest inns of England. Their horsses in like sort are walked, dressed and looked vnto by certeine hostelers or hired seruants, appointed at the charges of the goodman of the house, who in hope of extraordinarie reward will deale verie diligentlie after outward appearance in this their function and calling. Herein neuertheless are manie of them blamewoorthie, in that they doo not onelie deceiue the beast oftentimes of his allowance by sundrie meanes, except their owners looke well to them; but also make such packs with slipper merchants which hunt after preis (for what place is sure from euill & wicked persons) that manie an honest man is spoiled of his goods as he trauelleth to and fro, in which feat also the counsell of the tapsters or drawers of drinke, and chamberleins is not seldome behind or wanting. Certes I beleeue not that chapman or traueller in England is robbed by the waie without the knowledge of some of them, for when he commeth into the inne, & alighteth from his horsse, the hostler forthwith is verie busie to take downe his budget or capcase in the yard from his sadle bow, which he peiseth fiilie in his hand to feele the weight thereof: or if he misse of this pitch, when the ghest hath taken vp his chamber, the chamberleins that longeth to the making of the beds, will be sure to remoue it from the place where the owner hath set it as if it were to set it more conuenientlie some where else, whereby he getteth an inkling whether it be monie or other short wares, & therof giueth warning to such od ghests as haunt the house and are of his confederacie, to the vtter vndoing of manie an honest yeoman as he iourneth by the waie. The tapster in like sort for his part doth marke his behauiour, and what plentie of monie he draweth when he paieth the shot, to the like end: so that it shall be an hard matter to escape all their subtile practises. Some thinke it a gay matter to commit their budgets at their comming to the goodman of the house: but thereby they oft bewraie

wraie themſelues. For albeit their monie be ſafe for the time that it is in his hands (for you ſhall not heare that a man is robbed in his inne) yet after their departure the hoſt can make no warrantiſe of the ſame, ſith his protection extendeth no further than the gate of his owne houſe: and there cannot be a ſurer token vnto ſuch as prie and watch for thoſe booties, than to ſee anie gheſt deliuer his capcaſe in ſuch maner. In all our innes we haue plentie of ale, beere, and ſundrie kinds of wine, and ſuch is the capacitie of ſome of them that they are able to lodge two hundred or three hundred perſons, and their horſſes at eaſe, & therto with a verie ſhort warning make ſuch proviſion for their diet, as to him that is vnacquainted withall may ſeeme to be incredible. Howbeit of all in England there are no worſe ins than in London, and yet manie are there far better than the beſt that I haue heard of in anie forren countrie, if all circumſtances be dulie conſidered. But to leaue this & go in hand with my purpoſe. I will here ſet downe a table of the beſt thorowfaires and townes of greateſt trauell of England, in ſome of which there are twelue or ſixteene ſuch innes at the leaſt, as I before did ſpeake of. And it is a world to ſee how ech owner of them contendeth with other for goodneſſe of interteinement of their gheſts, as about fineſſe & change of linnen, furniture of bedding, beautie of roomes, ſeruice at the table, coſtlineſſe of plate, ſtrength of drinke, varietie of wines, or well vſing of horſſes. Finallie there is not ſo much omitted among them as the gorgeouſnes of their verie ſignes at their doores, wherein ſome doo conſume thirtie or fortie pounds, a meere vanitie in mine opinion, but ſo vaine will they needs be, and that not onelie to giue ſome outward token of the inne keepers welth, but alſo to procure good gheſts to the frequenting of their houſes in hope there to be well vſed. Lo here the table now at hand, for more of our innes I ſhall not need to ſpeake.

## The waie from Walſingham to London.

| | |
|---|---|
| From Walſingham to Picknam | 12.miles |
| From Picknam to Brandonferie | 10.miles |
| From Brandonferie to Newmarket | 10.miles |
| From Newmarket to Brabram | 10.miles |
| From Brabram to Barkewaie | 20.miles |
| From Barkewaie to Puchrich | 7.miles |
| From Puchrich to Ware | 5.miles |
| From Ware to Waltham | 8.miles |
| From Waltham to London | 12.miles |

## The waie from Barwike to Yorke, and ſo to London.

| | |
|---|---|
| From Barwike to Belford | 12.miles |
| From Belford to Anwike | 12.miles |
| From Anwike to Morpit | 12.miles |
| From Morpit to Newcaſtell | 12.miles |
| From Newcaſtell to Durham | 12.miles |
| From Durham to Darington | 13.miles |
| From Darington to Northalerton | 14.miles |
| From Northalerton to Toplife | 7.miles |
| From Toplife to Yorke | 16.miles |
| From Yorke to Tadcaſter | 8.miles |
| From Tadcaſter to Wantbridge | 12.miles |
| From Wantbridge to Dancaſter | 8.miles |
| From Dancaſter to Tutford | 18.miles |
| From Tutford to Newarke | 10.miles |
| From Newarke to Grantham | 10.miles |
| From Grantham to Stanford | 16.miles |
| From Stanford to Stilton | 12.miles |
| From Stilton to Huntington | 9.miles |
| From Huntington to Roiſton | 15.miles |
| From Roiſton to Ware | 12.miles |
| From Ware to Waltham | 8.miles |
| From Waltham to London | 12.miles |

## The waie from Carnaruan to Cheſter, and ſo to London.

| | |
|---|---|
| From Carnaruan to Conwaie | 24.miles |
| From Conwaie to Denbigh | 12.miles |
| From Denbigh to Flint | 12.miles |
| From Flint to Cheſter | 10.miles |
| From Cheſter to Wich | 14.miles |
| From Wich to Stone | 15.miles |
| From Stone to Lichfield | 16.miles |
| From Lichfield to Colſill | 12.miles |
| From Colſill to Couentrie | 8.miles |

And ſo from Couentrie to London, as hereafter followeth.

## The waie from Cockermouth to Lancaſter, and ſo to London.

| | |
|---|---|
| From Cockermouth to Kiſwike | 6.miles |
| From Kiſwike to Grocener | 8.miles |
| From Grocener to Kendale | 14.miles |
| From Kendale to Burton | 7.miles |
| From Burton to Lancaſter | 8.miles |
| From Lancaſter to Preſton | 20.miles |
| From Preſton to Wigam | 14.miles |
| From Wigam to Warington | 20.miles |
| From Warington to Newcaſtell | 20.miles |
| From Newcaſtell to Lichfield | 20.miles |
| From Lichfield to Couentrie | 20.miles |
| From Couentrie to Daintrie | 14.miles |
| From Daintrie to Toceſter | 10.miles |
| From Toceſter to Stoniſtratford | 6.miles |
| From Stoniſtratford to Brichill | 7.miles |
| From Brichill to Dunſtable | 7.miles |
| From Dunſtable to ſaint Albons | 10.miles |
| From ſaint Albons to Barnet | 10.miles |
| From Barnet to London. | 10.miles |

## The waie from Yarmouth to Colcheſter, and ſo to London.

| | |
|---|---|
| From Yarmouth to Becclis | 8.miles |
| From Becclis to Blibour | 7.miles |
| From Blibour to Snapbridge | 8.miles |
| From Snapbridge to Woodbridge. | 8.miles |
| From Woodbridge to Ipſwich | 5.miles |
| From Ipſwich to Colcheſter | 12.miles |
| From Colcheſter to Eaſtford | 8.miles |
| From Eaſtford to Chelmeſford | 10.miles |
| From Chelmeſford to Brentwood | 10.miles |
| From Brentwood to London | 15.miles |

## The waie from Douer to London.

| | |
|---|---|
| From Douer to Canturburie | 12.miles |
| From Canturburie to Sittingborne | 12.miles |
| From Sittingborne to Rocheſter | 8.miles |
| From Rocheſter to Grauеſend | 5.miles |
| From Grauеſend to Datford | 6.miles |
| From Datford to London | 12.miles |

## The waie from ſaint Burien in Cornewall to London.

| | |
|---|---|
| From S. Burien to the Mount | 20.miles |
| From the Mount to Thurie | 12.miles |
| From ſaint Thurie to Bodman | 20.miles |
| From Bodman to Launſtone | 20.miles |
| From Launſtone to Dcomton | 15.miles |
| From Dcomton to Crokehornewell | 10.miles |

From Crokehorne well to Erceſter 10.miles
From Erceſter to Honiton 12.miles
From Honiton to Chard 10.miles
From Chard to Crokehorne 7.miles
From Crokehorne to Shirborne 10.miles
From Shirborne to Shaftſburie 10.miles
From Shaftſburie to Saliſburie 18.miles
From Saliſburie to Andevor 15.miles
From Andevor to Baſingſtocke 18.miles
From Baſingſtocke to Hartford 8.miles
From Hartford to Bagſhot 8.miles
From Bagſhot to Stanes 8.miles
From Stanes to London 15.miles

## The waie from Briſtowe to London.

From Briſtow to Parfield 10.miles
From Parfield to Chipnam 10.miles
From Chipnam to Marleborough 15.miles
From Marleborough to Hungerford 8.miles
From Hungerford to Newburie 7.miles
From Newburie to Reading 15.miles
From Reading to Maidenhead. 10.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbroke 7.miles
From Colbroke to London 15.miles

## The waie from ſaint Dauids to London.

From ſaint Dauids to Arford 20.miles
From Arford to Carmarden 10.miles
From Carmarden to Newton 10.miles
From Newton to Lanburie 10.miles
From Lanburie to Brechnocke 16.miles
From Brechnocke to Hate 10.miles
From Hate to Harford 14.miles
From Harford to Roſo 9.miles
From Roſo to Gloceſter 12.miles
From Gloceſter to Ciceſter 15.miles
From Ciceſter to Farington 16.miles
From Farington to Habington 7.miles
From Habington to Dorcheſter 7.miles
From Dorcheſter to Henleie 12.miles
From Henleie to Maidenhead 7.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbroke 7.miles
From Colbroke to London 15.miles

## Of thorowfares, from Douer to Cambridge.

From Douer to Canturburie 12.miles
From Canturburie to Roſcheſter 20.miles
From Roſcheſter to Grauelend 5.miles
From Grauelend ouer the Thames, to Horne-don 4.miles
From Hornedon to Chelmeſford 12.miles
From Chelmeſford to Dunmow 10.miles
From Dunmow to Tharſted 5.miles
From Tharſted to Radwinter 3.miles
From Radwinter to Linton 5.miles
From Linton to Babrenham 3.miles
From Babrenham to Cambridge 4.miles

## From Canturburie to Oxford.

From Canturburie to London 43.miles
From London to Urbridge or Colbrooke 15.mile
From Urbridge to Baccanſfield 7.miles
From Baccanſfield to eaſt Wickham 5.miles
From Wickham to Stocking church 5.miles
From Stocking church to Thetilford 5.miles
From Thetilford to Whatleie 6.miles
From Whatleie to Orford 4.miles

## From London to Cambridge.

From London to Edmondton 6.miles
From Edmondton to Waltham 6.miles
From Waltham to Hoddeſdon 5.miles
From Hoddeſdon to Ware 3.miles
From Ware to Pulcherchurch 5.miles
From Pulcherchurch to Barkewaie 7.miles
From Barkewaie to Fulmere 6.miles
From Fulmere to Cambridge 6.miles

### Or thus better waie.

From London to Hoddeſdon 17.miles
From Hoddeſdon to Hadham 7.miles
From Hadham to Saffron Walden 12.miles
From Saffron Walden to Cambridge 10.miles

## *Of certeine waies in Scotland, out of Reginald Wolfes his annotations.*

## From Barwijc to Eden-borow.

From Barwijc to Chirneſide 10.miles
From Chirneſide to Coldingham 3.miles
From Coldingham to Pinketon 6.miles
From Pinketon to Dunbarre 6.miles
From Dunbarre to Linton 6.miles
From Linton to Haddington 6.miles
From Haddington to Seaton 4.miles
From Seaton to Aberladie or Muſkelborow 8.mi.
From thence to Edenborow 8.miles

## From Edenborow to Barwijc another waie.

From Edenborow to Dalketh 5.miles
From Dalketh to new Battell & Lander 5.miles
From Lander to Urſildon 6.miles
From Urſildon to Dryburg 5.miles
From Dryburg to Carlton 6.miles
From Carlton to Barwijc 14.miles

## From Edenborow to Dunbrittaine weſtward.

From Edenborow to Kirkelliſton 6.miles
From Kirkelliſton to Lithco 6.miles
From Lithco to Farekirke ouer Forth 6.miles
From thence to Striuelin vpon Forth 6.miles
From Striuelin to Dunbriſtaine 24.miles

## From Striuelin to Kinghorne eaſtward.

From Striuelin to Downe in Menteth 3.miles
From Downe to Campſkenell 3.miles
From Campſkenell to Alwie vpon Forth 4.miles
From Alwie to Culroſe on Fife 10.miles
From Culroſe to Dunfermelin 2.miles
From Dunfermelin to Euerkennin 2.miles
From Euerkennin to Aberdore on Forth 3.miles
From Aberdore to Kinghorne vpon Forth 3.miles

## From Kinghorne to Taimouth.

From Kinghorne to Diſſard in Fife 3.miles
From Diſſard to Cowper 8.miles

From

From Colwper to S. Andzews 14. miles
From S. Andzews to the Taimouth 6. miles

## From Taimouth to Stockeford.

From Taimouth to Balmerinoth abbeie 4. mil.
From thence to Londozes abbeie 4. miles
From Londozes to S. Johns towne 12. miles
From S. Johns to Schone 5. miles
From thence to Abernithie, where the Erne runneth into the Taie 15. miles
From Abernithie to Dundée 15. miles
From Dundee to Arbzoth and Puros 24. miles
From Puros to Aberden 20. miles
From Aberden to the water of Doneie 20. miles
From thense to the riuer of Spaie 30. miles
From thence to Stockeford in Rosse, and so to the Nesse of Haben, a famous point on the west side 30. miles

## From Carleill to Whiteherne westward.

From Carleill ouer the Ferie against Redkirke 4. miles
From thence to Dunfrées 20. miles
From Dunfrées to the Ferie of Cre 40. miles
From thence to Wigton 3. miles
From thence to Whitherne 12. miles

Hitherto of the common waies of England and Scotland, whereunto I will adioine the old thorowfaires ascribed to Antoninus, to the end that by their conference the diligent reader may haue further consideration of the same than my leisure will permit me. In setting forth also thereof, I haue noted such diuersitie of reading, as hath happened in the sight of such written and printed copies, as I haue seene in my time. Notwithstanding I must confesse the same to be much corrupted in the rehearsall of the miles.

# Iter Britanniarum.

## A GESSORIACO.

*De Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum stadia* numero. CCCCL.

### A LIMITE, ID EST, A VALLO

Prætorio vsque M. P. CLVI. sic:

Britannia.

A Bramenio Corstopitum, m. p. xx
Vindomora, m. p. ix
Viconia* m. p. xix *Vinouia Vinouium* Darington.
Cataractoni m. p. xxii
Isurium m. p. xxiiii Aldborow *aliàs* Topcliffe.
Eburacum legio vi Victrix m. p. xvii yorke.
Deruentione m. p. vii Tadcaster.
Delgouitia m. p. xiii wentbridge.
Prætorio m. p. xxv Tudford.

### ITEM A VALLO AD

portum Ritupis m. p. 481
491 sic,

Ablato Bulgio* castra exploratorum m. p. x, 15 *aliàs à* Blato aliàs à Lugu-valio. Cairleill.
Lugu-vallo* m. p. xii
Voreda m. p. xiiii
Brouonacis* m. p. xiii *Brauoniacis*
Verteris m. p. xx, 13
Lauatris m. p. xiiii
Cataractone* m. p. xxi *Catuvractonium.* Darington.
Isuriam* m. p. xxiiii *Isoriam.* Aldborow *aliàs* Topcliffe.
Eburacum* m. p. xviii *Eboracum.* yorke.
Calcaria* m. p. ix *Cacaria*
Camboduno m. p. xx
Mammuncio* m. p. xviii *Manucio*
Condate m. p. xviii
Deua legio xxiii. c1. m. p. xx
Bouio* m. p. x *Bonio*
Mediolano m. p. xx
Rutunio m. p. xii
Vrio Conio* m. p. xi *Viroconium,* Shrewsburie *propè.*
Vxacona m. p. xi
Penno-Crucio m. p. xii
Etoceto m. p. xii
Mandues Sedo m. p. xvi
Venonis m. p. xii
Bennauenta* m. p. xvii *Bannaventa*
Lactorodo* m. p. xii *Lactodoro*
Maginto* m. p. xvii. 12 *Magiouintum*
Duro-Cobriuis m. p. xii Dunstable.
Vero-Lamio m. p. xii S. Albanes.
Sullomacis* m. p. ix Barnet.
Longidinio m. p. xii *Londinio.* London.
Nouiomago m. p. xii
Vagniacis m. p. vi
Durobrouis m. p. v *Duroprouis.* Rochester.
Duroleuo m. p. xvi. 8
Duror-Verno* m. p. xii *Drouerno Durouerno*
Ad portum Ritupis m. p. xii *Duraruenno Daruerno*

### ITEM A LONDINIO

ad portum Dubris m. p. 56
66, sic:

Dubobrus* m. p. xxvii *Durobrouis Durobrius.* Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25 Canturburie.
Ad portum Dubris m. p. xiiii Douer hauen.

### ITEM A LONDINIO AD

portum Lemanis m. p. 68 sic:

Durobrius m. p. xxvii Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25 Canturburie.
Ad portum* Lemanis m. p. xvi Limming hauen.

### ITEM A LONDINIO

Lugu-Valio ad Vallum m. p.
443, sic?

Cæsaromago m. p. xxviii
Colonia m. p. xxiiii
Villa Faustini m. p. xxxv, 25
Icianos m. p. xviii
Camborico m. p. xxxv
Durolipónte m. p. xxv
Durobriuas m. p. xxxv
Gausennis m. p. xxx
Lindo m. p. xxvi
Segeloci m. p. xiiii
Dano m. p. xxi
Lege-Olio* m. p. xvi *Legetium*
Eburaco m. p. xxi
Isubrigantum* m. p. xvi *Isurium Brigantum*
Cataractoni m. p. xxiiii
Leuatris* m. p. xviii *Leuatrix*
Verteris m. p. xiiii
Brocouo* m. p. xx *Broconicum*
Lugu-Vallo m. p. xxv, 22

### ITEM A LONDINIO

Lindo m. p. 156 sic:

Verolami m. p. xxi
Duro Cobrius m. p. xii
Magiouinio* m. p. xii { *Maginto*
Lactodoro m. p. xvi { *Magis*
Isanna Vantia* m. p. xii { *Isanna vatia*
Tripontio m. p. xii { *Isanna varia*
Venonis m. p. ix
Ratas m. p. xii
Verometo m. p. xiii
Margi-duno m. p. xii
Ad Pontem* m. p. vii *Pons Aelij*
Croco Calana* m. p. vii *Crorolana*
Lindo m. p. xii

### ITEM A REGNO

Londinio m. p. 116,
96 sic:

Clausentum m. p. xx
Venta Belgarum m. p. x
Galleua* Atrebatum m. p. xxii { *Gellena,*
Pontibus m. p. xxii Reding. { *Callina,* walingford.
Londinio m. p. xxii

ITEM

## ITEM AB EBVRACO Londinium m. p. 227 ſic:

| | |
|---|---|
| Lagecio m. p. xxi | |
| Dano m. p. xvi | Dancaſter. |
| Ageloco * m. p. xxi | *Segeloco* |
| Lindo m. p. xiiii | |
| Crococalano m. p. xiiii | |
| Margi-duno m. p. xiiii | |
| Vernemeto * m. p. xii | *Verometo* |
| Ratis m. p. xii | |
| Vennonis m. p. xii | |
| Bannauanto m. p. xix | |
| Magio Vinio m. p. xxviii | |
| Durocobrius m. p. xii | Dunſtable. |
| Verolamo m. p. xii | S. Albanes. |
| Sullomaca m. p. ix | Barnet. |
| Londinio m. p. xii | London. |

## ITEM A VENTA ICINORVM Londinio m. p. 128 ſic:

| | |
|---|---|
| Sitomago m. p. xxxi | |
| Combretouio * m. p. xxii | *Cumbretonio* |
| Ad Anſam m. p. xv | |
| Camoloduno m. p. vi | |
| Canonio m. p. ix | |
| Cæſaromago m. p. xii | |
| Durolito m. p. xvi | |
| Londinio m. p. xv | |

## ITEM A GLAMOVENTA Mediolano m. p. 150 ſic:

| | |
|---|---|
| Galaua m. p. xviii | |
| Alone * m. p. xii | *Alauna * Aliona Aliona* |
| Galacum * m. p. xix | *Galacum Brigantum* |
| Bremetonaci m. p. xxvii | |
| Coccio m. p. xx | |
| Mancunio * m. p. xviii | *Mamucio vel Mancio* |
| Condate m. p. xviii | |
| Mediolano m. p. xix | |

## ITEM A SEGONCIO DEuam m. p. 74 ſic:

| | |
|---|---|
| Canouio m. p. xxiiii | |
| Varis m. p. xi½x | |
| Deua m. p. xxxii | |

## ITEM A CALLEVA *aliàs* MVRIDONO aliàs Viroconiorum.

*Per Viroconium*

| | |
|---|---|
| Vindonu * m. p. xv | *Vindomi* |
| Venta Belgarum m. p. xxi | |
| Brige * m. p. xi | *Brage* |
| Soruioduni m. p. ix | |
| Vindogladia m. p. xiii, 15 | |
| Durnouaria m. p. viii | |
| Muriduno m. p. xxxvi | |
| Scadum Nunniorum * m. p. xv, 12 | *Iſcadum* |
| Leucaro m. p. xv | |
| Bomio m. p. xv | |
| Nido m. p. xv | |
| Iſcelegua Auguſti * m. p. xiiii | *Iſcelegia* |
| Burrio m. p. ix | |
| Gobannio m. p. xii | |
| Magnis m. p. xxii, | |
| Brauinio * m. p. xxiiii | *Bremenio* |
| Viriconio m. p. xxvii | |

## ITEM AB ISCA CALleua m. p. 109 ſic:

| | |
|---|---|
| Burrio m. p. ix | |
| Bleſtio m. p. xi | |
| Ariconio m. p. xi. | |
| Cleuo m. p. xv | |
| Durocornouio m. p. xiiii | |
| Spinis m. p. xv | |
| Calleua m. p. xv | |

## ITEM ALIO ITINERE AB Iſca Calleua m. p. 103 ſic:

| | |
|---|---|
| Venta Silurum m. p. ix | |
| Abone m. p. ix | |
| Traiectus m. p. ix | |
| Aquis Solis m. p. vi | |
| Verlucione m. p. xv | |
| Cunetione m. p. xx | |
| Spinis m. p. xv | |
| Calleua m. p. xv | |

## ITEM A CALLEVA ISCADVM Nunniorum m. p. 136 ſic:

| | |
|---|---|
| Vindomi m. p. xv | |
| Venta Belgarum m. p. xxi | |
| Brige m. p. xi | |
| Sorbiodoni m. p. viii | |
| Vindocladia m. p. xii | |
| Durnonouaria * m. p. viii | *Durnonaria* |
| Moriduno m. p. xxxvi | |
| Iſcadum Nunniorum m. p. xv | |

# FINIS.

# THE
# Hiſtorie of Eng-
*land, from the time that it*
was firſt inhabited, vntill
*the time that it was*
laſt conquered:

*Wherein the ſundrie alte-*
rations of the ſtate vnder for-
*ren people is declared; and*
other manifold obſeruati-
*ons remembred:*

By Raphael Holinshed.

Now newlie read ouer, and
*diligentlie digeſted into bookes and*
chapters, with their ſeuerall argu-
*ments prefixed, conteining an abridge-*
ment of the whole hiſtorie, for the
*helpe of the readers iudgement*
and memorie:

*With two tables of particulars,*
the one ſeruing the deſcrip-
*tion, the other the hiſtorie:*
by Abr. Fleming.

Laus hiſtoriæ ex
I. Lelando.

*Quod ſol æthereo præſtat pulcherrimus orbi,*
*Hiſtoria humanis vſibus hoc tribuit.*

# To the Readers ſtudious in hiſtories.

THe order obſerued in the deſcription of Britaine, by reaſon of the neceſſarie diuiſion thereof into bookes and chapters growing out of the varietie of matters therein conteined, ſeemed (in my iudgement) ſo conuenient a courſe deuiſed by the writer, as I was eaſilie induced thereby to digeſt the hiſtorie of England immediatlie following into the like method: ſo that as in the one, ſo likewiſe in the other, by ſummarie contents foregoing euerie chapter, as alſo by certeine materiall titles added at the head of euerie page of the ſaid hiſtorie, it is a thing of no difficultie to comprehend what is diſcourſed and diſcuſſed in the ſame.

Wherein (ſith hiſtories are ſaid to be the regiſters of memorie and the monuments of veritie) all louers of knowlege, ſpeciallie hiſtoricall, are aduiſedlie to marke (among other points) the ſeuerall and ſucceſsiue alterations of regiments in this land: whereof it was my meaning to haue made an abſtract, but that the ſame is ſufficientlie handled in the firſt booke and fourth chapter of the deſcription of Britaine; whereto if the ſeuenth chapter of the ſame booke be alſo annexed, there is litle or no defect at all in that caſe wherof iuſtlie to make complaint. *Pag. 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 28, 29, of the deſcription: and pag. 202 of the hiſtorie of England.*

Wherfore by remitting the readers to thoſe, I reape this aduantage, namelie a diſcharge of a forethought & purpoſed labour, which as to reduce into ſome plauſible forme was a worke both of time, paine and ſtudie: ſo ſeeming vnlikelie to be compriſed in few words (being a matter of neceſſarie and important obſeruation) occaſion of tediouſnes is to and fro auoided; ſpeciallie to the reader, who is further to be aduertiſed, that the computations of yeares here and there expreſſed, according to the indirect direction of the copies whenſe they were deriued and drawne, is not ſo abſolute (in ſome mens opinion) as it might haue beene: howbeit iuſtifiable by their originals.

Wherin hereafter (God prolonging peace in the church and common-welth that the vſe of bookes may not be abridged) ſuch diligent care ſhall be had, that in whatſoeuer the helpe of bookes will doo good, or conference with antiquaries auaile, there ſhall want no will to vſe the one and the other. And yet it is not a worke for euerie common capacitie, naie it is a toile without head or taile euen for extraordinarie wits, to correct the accounts of former ages ſo many hundred yeares receiued, out of vncerteinties to raiſe certeinties, and to reconcile writers diſſenting in opinion and report. But as this is vnpoſſible, ſo is no more to be looked for than may be performed: and further to inquire as it is againſt reaſon, ſo to vndertake more than may commendablie be atchiued, were fowle follie.

*Abraham Fleming.*

# THE FIRST BOOKE of the historie of England.

## Who inhabited this Iland before the comming of Brute: of Noah & his three sonnes, among whom the whole earth was diuided: and to which of their portions this Ile of Britaine befell.

## The first Chapter.

WHat manner of people did first inhabite this our country, which hath most generallie and of longest continuance béene knowne among all nations by the name of Britaine as yet is not certeinly knowne; neither can it be decided frō whence the first inhabitants there of came, by reason of such diuersitie in iudgements as haue risen amongst the learned in this behalfe. But sith the originall in maner of all nations is doubtfull, and euen the same for the more part fabulous (that alwaies excepted which we find in the holie scriptures) I wish not any man to leane to that which shall be here set downe as to an infallible truth, sith I do but onlie shew other mens coniectures, grounded neuertheless vpon likelie reasons, concerning that matter whereof there is now left but little other certeintie, or rather none at all.

The originall of nations for the most part vncertcine.

Whither Britaine were an Iland at the first.

Geog. com. lib.

No Ilands at the first, as some coniecture.

To fetch therefore the matter from the farthest, and so to stretch it forward, it séemeth by the report of Dominicus Marius Niger that in the beginning, when God framed the world, and diuided the waters apart from the earth, this Ile was then a parcell of the continent, and ioined without any separation of sea to the maine land. But this opinion (as all other the like vncerteinties) I leaue to be discussed of by the learned: howbeit for the first inhabitation of this Ile with people, I haue thought good to set downe in part, what may be gathered out of such writers as haue touched that matter, and may séeme to giue some light vnto the knowledge thereof.

In the first part of the acts of the English votaries.

Britaine inhabited before the flood.

Genesis. 6.

First therefore Iohn Bale our countrieman, who in his time greatlie trauelled in the search of such antiquities, doth probablie coniecture, that this land was inhabited and replenished with people long before the flood, at that time in the which the generation of mankind (as Moses writeth) began to multiplie vpon the vniuersall face of the earth: and therefore it followeth, that as well this land was inhabited with people long before the daies of Noah, as any the other countries and parts of the world beside. But when they had once forsaken the ordinances appointed them by God, and betaken them to new waies inuented of themselues, such lewdenesse of life ensued euerie where, as brought vpon them the great deluge and vniuersall flood, in the which perished as well the inhabitants of these quarters, as the residue of the race of mankind, generallie dispersed in euerie other part of the whole world, onelie Noah & his familie excepted, who by the prouidence and pleasure of almightie God was preserued from the rage of those waters, to recontinue and repaire the new generation of man vpon earth.

Berosus ant. lib. 1

### Noah.

In comment. super 4. lib. Berosus de antiquit. lib. 1. Annius vt supr.

After the flood (as Annius de Viterbo recordeth) and reason also enforceth, Noah was the onlie monarch of all the world, and as the same Annius gathereth by the account of Moses in the 100. yeare after the flood, Noah diuided the earth among his three sonnes; assigning to the possession of his eldest sonne all that portion of land which now is knowne by the name of Asia; to his second sonne Cham, he appointed all that part of the world which now is called Affrica: and to his third sonne Japhet was allotted all Europa, with all the Iles therto belonging, wherin among other was conteined this our Ile of Britaine, with the other Iles thereto perteining.

### Japhet and his sonnes.

Iohannes Bodinus ad fac. hist. cogn. Franciscus Tarapha.

Japhet the third son of Noah, of some called Japetus, and of others, Atlas Maurus (because he departed this life in Mauritania) was the first (as Bodinus affirmeth by the authoritie and consent of the Hebrue, Greeke & Latine writers) that peopled the countries of Europe, which afterward he diuided among his sonnes: of whom Tuball (as Tarapha affirmeth) obteined the kingdome of Spaine. Gomer had dominion ouer the Italians, and (as Berosus and diuers other authors agrée) Samothes was the founder of Celtica, which conteined in it (as Bale witnesseth) a great part of Europe, but speciallie those countries which now are called by the names of Gallia and Britannia.

Britaine inhabited shortlie after the flood.

Thus was this Iland inhabited and peopled within 200 yéeres after the flood by the children of Japhet the sonne of Noah: & this is not onlie proued by Annius, writing vpon Berosus, but also confirmed by Moses in the scripture, where he writeth, that of the offspring of Japhet, the Iles of the Gentiles (wherof Britain is one) were sorted into regions in the time of Phaleg the sonne of Hiber, who was borne at the time of the diuision of languages. Herevpon Theophilus hath these words: *Cùm priscis temporibus pauci forent homines in Arabia & Chaldæa, post linguarum diuisionem aucti & multiplicati paulatim sunt: hinc quidam abierunt versus orientem, quidam concessere ad partes maioris continentis, alij porrò profecti sunt ad septentrionem sedes quæsituri, nec prius desierunt terram vbiq; occupare, quàm etiam Britannos in Arctois climatibus accesserint, &c.* That is;

Theophilus episcop. Antioch. ad Antol. lib. 2.

The words of Theophilus a doctor of the church, who liued an. Dom. 160.

When at the first there were not manie men in Arabia and Chaldæa, it came to passe, that after the diuision of toongs, they began somewhat better to increase and multiplie, by which occasion some of them went toward the east, and some toward the parts of the great maine land: diuers went also northwards to seeke them dwelling places, neither staid they to repleniſh the earth as they went, till they came vnto the Iles of Britaine, lieng vnder the north pole. Thus far Theophilus.

These things considered, Gildas the Britaine had great reason to thinke, that this countrie had bene inhabited from the beginning. And Polydor Virgil was with no lesse consideration hereby induced to confesse, that the Ile of Britaine had received inhabitants forthwith after the floud.

## Of Samothes, Magus, Sarron, *Druis, and Bardus, fiue kings* succeeding each other in regiment *ouer the Celts and Samotheans*, and how manie hundred yeeres *the Celts inhabited* this Iland.

## *The second Chapter.*

Gen.2. SAmothes the first begotten sonne of Japhet called by Moses Meſech, by others Dis, received for his portion (according to the report of Wolfgangus Lazius) all the countrie lieng betweene the riuer of Rhene and the Pyrenian mountains, where he founded the kingdome of Celtica ouer his people called Celtæ. Which name Cent.1. Bale affirmeth to haue bene indifferent to the inhabitants both of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile of Britaine, & that he planted colonies of men (brought forth of the east parts) in either of them, first in the maine land, and after in the Iland. He is reported by Anti.lib.1. Berosus to haue excelled all men of that age in learning and knowledge: and also is thought by Bale to haue imparted the same among his people; namelie, the vnderstanding of the sundrie courses of the Bale ſcript. Brit.cent.1. starres, the order of inferiour things, with manie other matters incident to the morall and politike gouernment of mans life: and to haue deliuered the Cæſar.comment. lib.8. same in the Phenician letters: out of which the Grækes (according to the opinion of Archilochus) deuised & deriued the Græke characters, insomuch that Xenophon and Iosephus do constantlie report (although Diogenes Laertius be against it) that both the Grækes and other nations receiued their letters and learning first from these countries. Of this king and his learning arose a sect of philosophers (saith Annius) first in Britaine, and after in Gallia, the which of his name were called Samothei. They (as Aristotle and Secion write) were passing skilfull both in the law of God and man: and for that cause exceedinglie giuen to religion, especiallie the inhabitants of this Ile of Britaine, insomuch that the whole nation did not onelie take the name of them, but the Iland it selfe (as Bale and doctor Caius agree) came to be called Samothea, which was the first peculiar name that euer it had, and by the which it was especiallie knowne before the arriuall of Albion.

De migr.gen. In epithet. temp. De æquinocis contra Appionem. Lib.de Magic. ſucceſſ.lib.22. Script.Brit. cent.1. De ant.Cant. cent.lib.1. This Ile called Samothea.

### *Magus the son of Samothes*

MAgus the sonne of Samothes, after the death of his father, was the second king of Celtica, by whome (as Berosus writeth) there were manie townes builded among the Celts, which by the witnesse of Annius did beare the addition of their founder Magus: of which townes diuers are to be found in Ptolomie. And Antoninus a painfull surueior of the world and searcher of cities, maketh mention of foure of them here in Britaine, Sitomagus, Neomagus, Niomagus, and Nouiomagus. Neomagus sir Thomas Eliot writeth to haue stood where the citie of Chester now standeth; Niomagus, George Lillie placeth where the towne of Buckingham is now remaining. Beside this, Bale doth so highlie commend the foresaid Magus for his learning renowmed ouer all the world, that he would haue the Persians, and other nations of the south and west parts, to deriue the name of their diuines called *Magi* from him. In deed Rauisius Textor, and sir Iohn Prise affirme, that in the daies of Plinie, the Britons were so expert in art magike, that they might be thought to haue first deliuered the same to the Persians. What the name of *Magus* importeth, and of what profession the *Magi* were, Tullie declareth at large, and Mantuan in briefe, after this maner:

Annius in comment. ſuper eundem. Geog. De diui.lib.1. De faſtis li.5.

*Ille penes Persas Magus est, qui sidera norit,*
*Qui sciat herbarum vires cultúmq; deorum,*
*Persepoli facit ista Magos prudentia triplex.*

The Persians terme him Magus, that
the course of starres dooth knowe,
The power of herbs, and worship due
to God that man dooth owe,
By threefold knowledge thus the name
of Magus then dooth growe. H.F.

### *Sarron the sonne of Magus.*

SArron the third king of the Celts succæded his father Magus in gouernement of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile Samothea, wherein as (D. Caius writeth) he founded certaine publike places for them that professed learning, which Berosus affirmeth to be done, to the intent to restraine the wilfull outrage of men, being as then but raw and void of all ciuilitie. Also it is thought by Annius, that he was the first author of those kind of philosophers, which were called Sarronides, of whom Diodorus Siculus writeth in this sort: There are (saith he) among the Celts certaine diuines and philosophers called Sarronides, whom aboue all other they haue in great estimation. For it is the manner among them, not without a philosopher to make anie sacrifice: sith they are of beleefe, that sacrifices ought onelie to be made by such as are skilfull in the diuine mysteries, as of those who are nèerest vnto God, by whose intercession they thinke all good things are to be required of God, and whose aduise they vse and follow, as well in warre as in peace.

De ant.Cant. lib.1. Lib.6. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

### *Druis the son of Sarron.*

DRuis, whom Seneca calleth Dyrus, being the sonne of Sarron, was after his father established the fourth king of Celtica, indifferentlie reigning as wel ouer the Celts as Britons, or rather (as the inhabitants of this Ile were then called) Samotheans. This prince is commended by Berosus to be so plentifullie indued with wisedome and learning, that Annius taketh him to be the vndoubted author of the beginning and name of the philosophers called Druides, whome Cæsar and all other ancient Græke and Latine writers do affirme to haue had their begining in Britaine, and to haue bin brought from thence into Gallia, insomuch that when there arose any doubt in that countrie touching any point of their discipline, they did repaire to be resolued therein into Britaine, where, speciallie in the Ile of Anglesey (as Humfrey Llhoyd witnesseth) they made their principall abode. Touching their vsages manie things are written by Aristotle, Socion, Plinie, Laertius, Bodinus, and others: which I will gather in briefe, and set downe as followeth. They had (as Cæsar saith) the charge of common & priuate sacrifices, the

De mort. Cleod. Anti.lib.5. Annius ſuper eundem. De bello Gallico.lib.9. De bello Gallico.6.

the discussing of points of religion, the bringing vp of youth, the determining of matters in variance, with full power to interdict so manie from the sacrifice of their gods and the companie of men, as disobeied their award. Polydore affirmeth, how they taught, that mens soules could not die, but departed from one bodie to another, and that to the intent to make men valiant and dreadlesse of death. Tullie writeth, that partlie by tokens, and partlie by surmises, they would foretell things to come. And by the report of Hector Boetius, some of them were not ignorant of the immortalitie of the one and euerlasting God. All these things they had written in the Greeke tong, insomuch that Wolf. Lazius (vpon the report of Marcellinus) declareth how the Greeke letters were first brought to Athens by Cinagenes from the Druides. And hereupon it commeth also to passe, that the British tong hath in it remaining at this day some smacke of the Greeke. Among other abuses of the Druides, they had (according to Diodorus) one custome to kill men, and by the falling, bleeding, and dismembring of them, to diuine of things to come: for the which and other wicked practises, their sect was first condemned for abhominable (as some haue written) and dissolued in Gallia (as Auentinus witnesseth) by Tiberius and Claudius the emperours; and lastlie abolished here in Britaine (by the report of Caius) when the gospell of Christ by the preaching of Fugatius and Damianus was receiued among the Britaines, vnder Lucius king of Britaine, about the yeare of our sauior, 179.

*Hist. an. lib. 1.*
*De diui. lib. 1.*
*Hist. Scoti, li. 2.*
*De migr. gen. lib. 2.*
*Marcellinus.*
*Anna. Boiorum. lib. 22.*
*De ant. Cant.*

*Bardus the sonne of Druis.*

BArdus the sonne of Druis succéeded his father in the kingdome of Celtica, and was the fift king ouer the Celtes and Samotheans, amongst whom he was highlie renoumed (as appeareth by Berosus) for inuention of ities and musicke, wherein Annius of Viterbo writeth, that he trained his people: and of such as excelled in this knowledge, he made an order of philosophicall poets or heraulds, calling them by his owne name Bardi. And it should séeme by doctor Caius and maister Bale, that Cæsar found some of them here at his arriuall in this Ile, and reported that they had also their first begining in the same. The profession and vsages of these Bardi, Nonnius, Strabo, Diodorus, Stephanus, Bale, and sir Iohn Prise, are in effect reported after this sort. They did vse to record the noble exploits of the ancient capteins, and to drawe the pedegrées and genealogies of such as were liuing. They would frame pleasant ities and songs, learne the same by heart, and sing them to instruments at solemne feasts and assemblies of noble men and gentlemen. Wherefore they were had in so high estimation, that if two hosts had bene readie ranged to ioine in battell, and that any of them had fortuned to enter among them, both the hosts (as well the enimies as the friends) would haue holden their hands, giuen eare vnto them, and ceassed from fight, vntill these Bards had gone out of the battell. Of these Bards Lucane saith,

*Berosus ant. lib. 2.*
*Annius in commen. super eundem.*
*Ant. Cant. li. 1. script. Britan. cent. 1.*
*Nonnius Marcel. Strabo. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 6. Carol. Stephan. in dict. hist. Bale. John Prise.*

*Vos quoq; qui fortes animas belló q; peremptas,*
*Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,*
*Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi*

And you ô poet Bards from danger void that dities sound,
Of soules of dreadlesse men, whom rage of battell would confound,
And make their lasting praise to time of later age rebound.

*Lucan. lib. 1.*

Because the names of these poets were neither discrepant from the ciuilitie of the Romans, nor repugnant to the religion of the Christians, they (of all the other sects before specified) were suffered onlie to continue vnabolished in all ages, insomuch that there flourished of them among the Britains (according to Bale) before the birth of Christ, Plenidius and Dronius: after Christ (as Prise recounteth) Thalesine, and the two Merlins, Melkin, Elaslairion, and others: and of late daies among the Welshmen, Dauid Die, Iollo Gough, Dauid ap William, with an infinite number more. And in Wales there are sundrie of them (as Caius reporteth) remaining vnto this day; where they are in their language called (as Leland writeth) Barthes. Also by the witnes of Humfrey Llhoyd, there is an Iland neere vnto Wales, called *Insula Bardorum*, and Bardsey, whereof the one name in Latine, and the other in Saxon or old English, signifieth the Iland of the Bardes or Barthes.

*John Bale script. Britan. cent. 2.*
*John Prise defen hist. Brit.*
*Caius de ant. Cant. lib. 1.*
*John Leland syllab. ant. dict.*
*Hum. Lloyd de Mona insula.*

*Thus farre the gouernements of the Celts in this Ile.*

## An appendix to the former chapter.

AFter Bardus, the Celts (as Bale saith) loathing the streict ordinances of their ancient kings, and betaking themselues to pleasure and idlenesse, were in short time, and with small labour brought vnder the subiection of the giant Albion, the sonne of Neptune, who altering the state of things in this Iland, streicted the name of Celtica and the Celts within the bounds of Gallia, from whence they came first to inhabit this land vnder the conduct of Samothes, as before ye haue heard, accordinglie as Annius hath gathered out of Berosus the Chaldean, who therein agréeth also with the scripture, the saieng of Theophilus the doctor, and the generall consent of all writers, which fullie consent, that the first inhabitants of this Ile came out of the parties of Gallia, although some of them dissent about the time and maner of their comming. Sir Brian Tuke thinketh it to be ment of the arriuall of Brute, when he came out of those countries into this Ile. Cæsar and Tacitus séeme to be of opinion, that those Celts which first inhabited here, came ouer to view the countrie for trade of merchandize. Bodinus would haue them to come in (a Gods name) from Languedoc, and so to name this land Albion, of a citie in Languedoc named Albie. Beda, and likewise Polydore (who followeth him) affirme that they came from the coasts of Armorica, which is now called little Britaine.

*Bale.*
*Annius.*
*Theophilus.*
*Sir Brian Tuke*
*Cæsar.*
*Tacitus.*
*Bodinus.*
*Beda.*
*Polydor.*

But that the authorities afore recited are sufficient to proue the time that this Iland was first inhabited by the Celts, the old possessors of Gallia; not onelie the néerneslie of the regions, but the congruence of languages, two great arguments of originals do fullie confirme the same. Bodinus writeth vpon report, that the British and Celtike language was all one. But whether that be true or not, I am not able to affirme, bicause the Celtike tong is long sithens growne wholie out of vse. Howbeit some such Celtike words as remaine in the writings of old authours may be perceiued to agrée with the Welsh tong, being the vncorrupted speech of the ancient Britains. In déed Pausanias the Grecian maketh mention how the Celts in their language called a horsse *Marc*: and by that name do the Welshmen call a horsse to this day: and the word *Trimarc* in Pausanias, signifieth in the Celtike tong, three horsses.

*Bodinus.*
*Pausanias.*

Thus it appeareth by the authoritie of writers, by situation of place, and by affinitie of language, that this Iland was first found and inhabited by the Celts, that there name from Samothes to Albion continued here the space of 310 yeares or there abouts. And finallie it is likelie, that aswell the progenie as the speech of them is partlie remaining in this Ile among the inhabitants, and speciallie the British, euen vnto this day.

*John Bale.*

## Of the giant Albion, of his comming into this Iland, diuers opinions why it was called Albion: why Albion and Bergion were slaine by Hercules: of Danaus and of his 50 daughters.

## The third Chapter.

Bale.

NEptunus called by Moses (as some take it) Neptuim, the first sonne of Osiris, after the account of Annius, and the brother of Hercules, had appointed him of his father (as Diodorus writeth) the gouernement of the ocean sea: wherefore he furnished himselfe of sundrie light ships for the more redie passage by water, which in the end grew to the number of a full nauie: & so by continuall exercise he became so skilfull, and therewith so mightie vpon the waters (as Higinus & Pictonius do write) that he was not onelie called the king, but also esteemed the god of the seas. He had to wife a ladie called Amphitrita, who was also honored as goddesse of the seas, of whose bodie he begat sundrie children: and (as Bale reporteth) he made euerie one of them king of an Iland. In the Ile of Britaine he landed his fourth son called Albion the giant, who brought the same vnder his subiection. And herevpon it resteth, that Iohn Textor, and Polydor Virgil made mention, that light shippes were first inuented in the British seas, and that the same were couered round with the hides of beasts, for defending them from the surges and waues of the water.

*Annius de Viterbo.*
*Diodorus Siculus.*
Pinnesses or gallies.
Higinus.
Pictonius.
*Script. Brit. cent. 1.*
Ioh. Textor.
Polydor.

This Albion being put by his father in possession of this Ile of Britaine, within short time subdued the Samotheans, the first inhabitantes thereof, without finding any great resistance, for that (as before ye haue heard) they had giuen ouer the practise of all warlike and other painefull exercises, and through vse of effeminate pleasures, whereunto they had giuen themselues ouer, they were become now vnapt to withstand the force of their enimies: and so (by the testimonie of Nicholaus Perottus, Rigmanus Philesius, Aristotle, and Humfrey Llhoyd, with diuers other, both forraine & home-writers) this Iland was first called by the name of Albion, hauing at one time both the name and inhabitants changed from the line of Japhet vnto the accursed race of Cham.

Nichol. Perot.
Rigmanus Philesius.
Aristotle.
Hum. Lhoyd.

This Albion (that thus changed the name of this Ile) and his companie, are called giants, which signifieth none other than a tall kind of men, of that vncorrupt stature and highnesse naturallie incident to the first age (which Berosus also seemeth to allow, where he writeth, that Noah was one of the giants) and were not so called only of their monstrous greatnesse, as the common people thinke (although in deed they exceeded the vsuall stature of men now in these daies) but also for that they toke their name of the soile where they were borne: for *Gigantes* signifieth the sons of the earth: the *Aborigines*, or (as Cesar calleth them) *Indigenæ*) that is, borne and bred out of the earth where they inhabited.

Berosus.
What *Gigantes* signifie.

Thus some thinke, but verelie although that their opinion is not to be allowed in any condition, which maintaine that there should be any Aborigines, or other kind of men than those of Adams line; yet that there haue beene men of far greater stature than are now to be found, is sufficientlie proued by the huge bones of those that haue beene found in our time, or lately before: whereof here to make further relation it shall not need, sith in the description of Britaine ye shall find it sufficientlie declared.

Against the opinion of the Aborigines.

But now to our purpose. As Albion held Britaine in subiection, so his brother Bergion kept Ireland and the Orkenies vnder his rule and dominion, and hearing that their cosine Hercules Lybicus hauing finished his conquests in Spaine, meant to passe through Gallia into Italie, against their brother Lollrigo that oppressed Italie, vnder subiection of him & other of his brethren the sons also of Neptune; as well Albion as Bergion assembling their powers togither, passed ouer into Gallia, to stoppe the passage of Hercules, whose intention was to vanquish and destroie those tyrants the sonnes of Neptune, & their complices that kept diuers countries and regions vnder the painefull yoke of their heauie thraldome.

Bale. Bergion brother to Albion. Hercules Lybicus.

The cause why Hercules pursued his cosins.

The cause that moued Hercules thus to pursue vpon those tyrants now reigning thus in the world, was, for that not long before, the greatest part of them had conspired togither and slaine his father Osiris, not withstanding that they were nephues to the same Osiris, as sonnes to his brother Neptune, and not contented with his slaughter, they diuided his carcase also amongst them, so that each of them got a peece in token of reioising at their murtherous atchiued enterprise.

Diuers opinions why this Ile was called Albion. See more hereof in the description.

For this cause Hercules (whome Moses calleth Laabin) proclamed warres against them all in reuenge of his fathers death: and first he killed Trichon and Busiris in Aegypt, then Anteus in Mauritania, & the Gerions in Spaine, which enterprise atchiued, he led his armie towardes Italie, and by the way passed through a part of Gallia, where Albion and Bergion hauing vnited their powers togither, were readie to receiue him with battell: and so neere to the mouth of the riuer called Rhosne, in Latine *Rhodanus*, they met & fought. At the first there was a right terrible and cruell conflict betwixt them. And albeit that Hercules had the greatest number of men, yet was it verie doubtfull a great while, to whether part the glorie of that daies worke would bend. Whereupon when the victorie began outright to turne vnto Albion, and to his brother Bergion, Hercules perceiuing the danger and likelihood of vtter losse of that battell, speciallie for that his men had wasted their weapons, he caused those that stood still and were not otherwise occupied, to stoope downe, and to gather vp stones, whereof in that place there was great plentie, which by his commandement they bestowed so freelie vpon their enimies, that in the end hee obteined the victorie, and did not only put his aduersaries to flight, but also slue Albion there in the field, togither with his brother Bergion, and the most part of all their whole armie. This was the end of Albion, and his brother Bergion, by the valiant prowesse of Hercules, who as one appointed by Gods prouidence to subdue the cruell & vnmercifull tyrants, spent his time to the benefit of mankind, deliuering the oppressed from the heauie yoke of miserable thraldome, in euerie place where he came.

Pomp. Mela.

Hercules vanquisheth his enimies.

Albion is slaine.

And by the order of this battell wee maye learne whereof the poets had their inuention, when they faine in their writings, that Iupiter holpe his sonne Hercules, by throwing downe stones from heauen in this battell against Albion and Bergion. Moreouer, from henceforth was this Ile of Britaine called Albion (as before we haue said) after the name of the said Albion: because he was established chiefe ruler and king thereof both by his grandfather Osiris, and his father Neptune that cunning sailour reigning therein (as Bale saith) by the space of 44. yeares,

The occasion of the fable of Iupiters holping his sonne Hercules.
How this Ile was called Albion, of the giant Albion. Iohn Bale.

*Terræ filius* what it signifieth.
*Aborigines. Indigenæ.*
The mistaking of the name of Diocletianus for Danaus.

yeares, till finally he was slaine in maner afore remembred by his vncle Hercules Libicus.

After that Hercules had thus vanquished and destroied his enimies, hée passed to and fro thorough Gallia, suppressing the tyrants in euerie part where he came, and restoring the people vnto a reasonable kinde of libertie, vnder lawfull gouernours. This Hercules (as we find) builded the citie Alexia in Burgongne, nowe called Alize. Moreouer, by Lilius Giraldus in the life of Hercules it is auouched, that the same Hercules came ouer hither into Britaine. And this doth Giraldus write by warrant of such Britons as (saith he) haue so written themselues, which thing peraduenture he hath read in Gildas the ancient Briton poet: a booke that (as he confesseth in the 5. dialog of his historics of poets) he hath seene. The same thing also is confirmed by the name of an head of land in Britaine called *Promontorium Herculis*, as in Ptolomie ye may read, which is thought to take name of his arriuall at that place. Thus much for Albion and Hercules.

Diuers opinions why this Ile was called Albion. See more hereof in the description.

But now, whereas it is not denied of anie, that this Ile was called anciently by the name of Albion: yet there be diuers opinions how it came by that name: for manie do not allow of this historie of Albion the giant. But for so much as it appertaineth rather to the description than to the historie of this Ile, to rip vp and lay forth the secret mysteries of such matters: and because I thinke that this opinion which is here auouched, how it toke that name of the forsaid Albion, sonne to Neptune, may be confirmed with as good authoritie as some of the other, I here passe ouer the rest, & proceed with the historie.

When Albion chiefe capteine of the giants was slaine, the residue that remained at home in the Ile, continued without any rule or restraint of law, in so much that they fell to such a dissolute order of life, that they seemed little or nothing to differ from brute beasts: and those are they which our ancient chronicles call the giants, who were so named, as well for the huge proportion of their stature (sithens as before is said, that age brought forth far greater men than are now liuing) as also for that they were the first, or at the least the furthest in remembrance of any that had inhabited this countrie. For this word Gigines, or Gegines, from whence our word giant (as some take it) is deriued, is a Greeke word, and signifieth, Borne or bred of or in the earth, for our fore-elders, specially the Gentiles, being ignorant of the true beginning of mankind, were persuaded, that the first inhabitants of any countrie were bred out of the earth, and therefore when they could go no higher, reckoning the descents of their predecessours, they would name him *Terræ filius*, The sonne of the earth: and so the giants whom the poets faine to haue sought to make battell against heauen are called the sonnes of the earth: and the first inhabitants generally of euery countrie were of the Greekes called Gigines, or Gegines, and of the Latines *Aborigines*, and *Indigenæ*, that is, People borne of the earth from the beginning, and comming from no other countrie, but bred within the same.

*Terræ filius* what it signifieth.

*Aborigines. Indigenæ.*

These giants and first inhabitants of this Ile continued in their beastlie kind of life vnto the arriuall of the ladies, which some of our chronicles ignorantly write to be the daughters of Diocletian the king of Assyria, whereas in deed they haue beene deceiued, in taking the word Danaus to be short written for Diocletianus: and by the same meanes haue diuers words and names beene mistaken, both in our chronicles, and in diuers other ancient written works. But this is a fault that learned men should not so much trouble themselues about, considering the same hath bin alreadie found by sundrie authors ling sithens, as Hugh the Italian, Iohn Harding, Iohn Rouse of Warwike, and others, speciallie by the helpe of Dauid Pencair a British historie, who recite the historie vnder the name of Danaus and his daughters. And because we would not any man to thinke, that the historie of these daughters of Danaus is onelie of purpose deuised, and brought in place of Diocletianus, to excuse the imperfection of our writers, whereas there was either no such historie (or at the least no such women that arriued in this Ile) the authoritie of Nennius a Briton writer may be auouched, who wrote aboue 900. yeares past, and maketh mention of the arriuall of such ladies.

Hugh the Italian. Harding. Iohn Rous out of Dauid Pencair.

Nennius.

To be short, the historie is thus. Belus the sonne of Epaphus, or (as some writers haue) of Neptune and Libies (whome Isis after the death of Apis maried) had issue two sonnes: the first Danaus, called also Armeus; and Aegyptus called also Rameses: these two were kings among the Aegyptians. Danaus the elder of the two, hauing in his rule the vpper region of Aegypt, had by sundrie wiues 50. daughters, with whome his brother Aegyptus, gaping for the dominion of the whole, did instantlie labour, that his sonnes being also 50. in number, might match. But Danaus hauing knowledge by some prophesie or oracle, that a sonne in law of his should be his death, refused so to bestow his daughters. Hereupon grew warre betwixt the brethren, in the end whereof, Danaus being the weaker, was inforced to flée his countrie, and so prepared a nauie, imbarked himselfe and his daughters, and with them passed ouer into Greece, where he found meanes to dispossesse Gelenor (sonne to Stenelas king of Argos) of his rightfull inheritance, driuing him out of his countrie, and reigned in his place by the assistance of the Argiues that had conceiued an hatred towardes Gelenor, and a great liking towardes Danaus, who in verie deed did so farre excell the kings that had reigned there before him, that the Greekes in remembrance of him were after called Danai.

Belus priscus. *Dictionarium poeticum.*

Danaus. Aegyptus. Higinus.

But his brother Aegyptus, taking great disdaine for that he and his sonnes were in such sort despised of Danaus, sent his sonnes with a great armie to make warre against their vncle, giuing them in charge not to returne, till they had either slaine Danaus, or obteined his daughters in mariage. The yong gentlemen according to their fathers commandement, being arriued in Greece, made such warre against Danaus, that in the end he was constrained to giue vnto those his 50. nephues his 50. daughters, to ioine with them in mariage, and so they were. But as the prouerbe saith, In trust appeared treacherie. For on the first night of the mariage, Danaus deliuered to ech of his daughters a sword, charging them that when their husbands after their bankets and passimes were once brought into a sound sléepe, ech of them should slea hir husband, menacing them with death vnlesse they fulfilled his commandement. They all therefore obeied the will of their father, Hypermnestra onely excepted, with whom preuailed more the loue of kinred and wedlocke, than the feare of hir fathers displeasure: for shee alone spared the life of hir husband Lynceus, waking him out of his sléepe, and warning him to depart and flée into Aegypt to his father. He therefore hauing all the wicked practises reuealed to him by his wife, followed hir aduice, and so escaped.

The mistaking of the name of Diocletianus for Danaus.

Now when Danaus perceiued how all his daughters had accomplished his commandement, sauing onelie Hypermnestra, he caused hir to be brought forth into iudgement, for disobeieng him in a matter wherein both the safetie and losse of his life rested: but she was acquitted by the Argiues, &

Pausanias.

discharged. Howbeit hir father kept hir in prison, and seeking to find out other husbands for his other daughters that had obeied his pleasure in sleaing their first husbands, long it was ere he could find any to match with them: for the heinous offense committed in the slaughter of their late husbands, was yet too fresh in memorie, and their bloud not wiped out of mind. Neuertheless, to bring his purpose the better to passe, he made proclamation, that his daughters should demand no ioinctures, and euerie suter should take his choise without respect to the age of the ladie, or abilitie of him that came to make his choise, but so as first come best serued, according to their owne phantasies and likings. Howbeit when this policie also failed, & would not serue his turne, he deuised a game of running, ordeining therewith, that whosoeuer got the best price should haue the first choise among all the sisters; and he that got the second, should chose next to the first; and so foorth, ech one after an other, according to the triall of their swiftnesse of foote.

How much this practise auailed, I know not: but certeine it is, diuers of them were bestowed, either by this or some other meanes, for we find that Autonomes was maried to Architeles, Chrysanta or (as Pausanias saith) Scea was matched with Archandrus, Amaome with Neptunus Equestris, on whome he begat Nauplius.

Higinus. But now to returne vnto Lynceus, whome his wife Hypermnestra preserued, as before ye haue heard. After he was once got out of the reach and danger of his father in law king Danaus, he gaue knowledge thereof to his wife, in raising a fire on heigth beaconwise, accordingly as she had requested him to do at his departure from hir: and this was at a place which afterwards toke name of him, and was called Lyncea. Vpon his returne into Aegypt, he gaue his father to vnderstand the whole circumstance of the trecherous crueltie vsed by his vncle and his daughters in the murder of his brethren, and how hardly he himselfe had escaped death out of his vncles handes. Whereupon at time conuenient he was furnished forth with men and ships by his father, for the spéedie reuenge of that heinous, vnnaturall and most disloiall murder, in which enterprise he sped him forth with such diligence, that in short time he found meanes to dispatch his vncle Danaus, set his wife Hypermnestra at libertie, and subdued the whole kingdome of the Argiues.

Thts done, he caused the daughters of Danaus (so many as remained within the limits of his dominion) to be sent for, whome he thought not worthie to liue, because of the cruell murther which they had committed on his brethren: but yet for that they were his wiues sisters, he would not put them to death, but commanded them to be thrust into a ship, without maister, mate or mariner, and so to be turned into the maine ocean sea, and to take and abide such fortune as should chance vnto them. These ladies thus imbarked and left to the mercy of the seas, by hap were brought to the coasts of this Ile then called Albion, where they toke land, and in seeking to prouide themselues of victuals by pursute of wilde beasts, met with no other inhabitants, than the rude and sauage giants mentioned before, whome our historiens for their beastlie kind of life do call diuells. With these monsters did these ladies (finding none other to satisfie the motions of their sensuall lust) ioine in the act of venerie, and ingendred a race of people in proportion nothing differing from their fathers that begat them, nor in conditions from their mothers that bare them.

But now peraduenture ye will thinke that I haue forgotten my selfe, in rehearsing this historie of the ladies arriuall here, bicause I make no mention of Albina, which should be the eldest of the sisters, of whome this land should also take the name of Albion. To this we answer, that as the name of their father hath bene mistaken, so likewise hath the whole course of the historie in this behalfe. For though we shall admit that to be true which is rehearsed (in maner as before ye haue heard) of the arriuall here of those ladies; yet certeine it is that none of them bare the name of Albina, from whome this land might be called Albion. For further assurance whereof, if any man be desirous to know all their names, we haue thought good here to rehearse them as they be found in Higinus, Pausanias, and others. 1 Idea, 2 Philomela, 3 Scillo, 4 Phicomene, 5 Euippe, 6 Demoditas, 7 Hyale, 8 Crite, 9 Damone, 10 Hipothoe, 11 Mirmidone, 12 Euridice, 13 Chleo, 14 Arania, 15 Cleopatra, 16 Phylea, 17 Hyppareta, 18 Chrysothemis, 19 Heranta, 20 Armoaste, 21 Danaes, 22 Scea, 23 Glaucipe, 24 Demophile, 25 Autodice, 26 Polyrena, 27 Hecate, 28 Achamantis, 29 Arsalte, 30 Nonuste, 31 Aminone, 32 Helice, 33 Amaome, 34 Polybe, 35 Helicte, 36 Electra, 37 Eubule, 38 Daphildice, 39 Hero, 40 Europomene, 41 Critomedia, 42 Pyrene, 43 Eupheno, 44 Themistagora, 45 Paleno, 46 Erato, 47 Autonomes, 48 Itea, 49 Chrysanta, 50 Hypermnestra. These were the names of those ladies the daughters of Danaus: howbeit, which they were that should arriue in this Ile, we can not say: but it sufficeth to vnderstand, that none of them hight Albina. So that, whether the historie of their landing here should be true or not, it is all one for the matter concerning the name of this Ile, which vndoubtedlie was called Albion, either of Albion the giant (as before I haue said) or by some other occasion.

The names of the daughters of Danaus.

See more in the description.

And thus much for the ladies, whose strange aduenture of their arriuall here, as it may séeme to manie (with good cause) incredible, so without further auouching it for truth, I leaue it to the consideration of the reader, to thinke thereof as reason shall moue him; sith I see not how either in this, or in other things of such antiquitie, we cannot haue sufficient warrant otherwise than by likelie coniectures. Which as in this historie of the ladies they are not most probable, yet haue we shewed the likeliest, that (as we thinke) may be déemed to agrée with those authors that haue written of their comming into this Ile. But as for an assured proofe that this Ile was inhabited with people before the comming of Brute, I trust it may suffice which before is recited out of Annius de Viterbo, Theophilus, Gildas, and other, although much more might be said: as of the comming hither of Osiris, as well as in the other parties of the world: and likewise of Vlysses his being here, who in performing some vow which he either then did make, or before had made, erected an altar in that part of Scotland which was anciently called Caledonia, as Iulius Solinus Polyhistor in plaine words doth record.

Humfr. Lhoyd.

Vlysses in Britaine.

Harding. Alex. Neuil. W. Har.

Iulius Solinus.

¶ Upon these considerations I haue no doubt to deliuer vnto the reader, the opinion of those that thinke this land to haue bene inhabited before the arriuall here of Brute, trusting it may be taken in good part, sith we haue but shewed the coniectures of others, till time that some sufficient learned man shall take vpon him to decipher the doubts of all these matters. Neuertheless, I thinke good to aduertise the reader that these stories of Samothes, Magus, Sarron, Druis, and Bardus, do relie onelie vpon the authoritie of Berosus, whom most diligent antiquaries do reiect as a fabulous and counterfet author, and Vacerius hath laboured to proue the same by a speciall treatise latelie published at Rome.

Harding and Iohn Rous out of Dauid Pencair.

THE

# THE SECOND BOOKE of the Historie of England.

## Of Brute and his descent, how *he slue his father in hunting*, his banishment, his letter to king Pandrasus, *against whom he wageth* battell, taketh him prisoner, *and concludeth peace vpon* conditions.

### *The first Chapter.*

HItherto haue we spoken of the inhabitants of this Ile before the comming of Brute, although some will needs haue it, that he was the first which inhabited the same with his people descended of the Troians, some few giants onelie excepted whom he vtterlie destroted, and left not one of them aliue through the whole Ile. But as we shall not doubt of Brutes comming hither, so may we assuredly thinke, that he found the Ile peopled either with the generation of those which Albion the giant had placed here, or some other kind of people whom he did subdue, and so reigned as well ouer them as ouer those which he brought with him. Humfr. Lhoyd.

This Brutus, or Brytus [for this letter (Y) hath of ancient time had the sounds both of V and I] (as the author of the booke which Geffrey of Monmouth translated doth affirme) was the sonne of Siluius, the sonne of Ascanius, the sonne of Aeneas the Troian, begotten of his wife Creusa, & borne in Troie, before the citie was destroied. But as other do take it, the author of that booke (whatsoeuer he was) and such other as follow him, are deceiued onelie in this point, misraking the matter, in that Posthumus the sonne of Aeneas (begotten of his wife Lauinia, and borne after his fathers decease in Italie) was called Ascanius, who had issue a sonne named Julius, who (as these other do coniecture) was the father of Brute, that noble chieftaine and aduenturous leader of those people, which being descended (for the more part in the fourth generation) from those Troians that escaped with life, when that roiall citie was destroied by the Grékes, got possession of this worthie and most famous Ile. Harding. Alex. Neuil. W. Har.

To this opinion Giouan Villani a Florentine in his vniuersall historie, speaking of Aeneas and his offspring kings in Italie, séemeth to agrée, where he saith: Siluius (the sonne of Aeneas by his wife Lauinia) fell in loue with a néece of his mother Lauinia, and by hir had a sonne, of whom she died in trauell, and therefore was called Brutus, who after as he grew in some stature, and hunting in a forrest slue his father vnwares, and therevpon for feare of his grandfather Siluius Posthumus he fled the countrie, and with a retinue of such as followed him, passing through diuers seas, at length he arriued in the Ile of Britaine.

Concerning therefore our Brute, whether his father Julius was sonne to Ascanius the sonne of Aeneas by his wife Creusa, or sonne to Posthumus called also Ascanius, and sonne to Aeneas by his wife Lauinia, we will not further stand. But this, we find, that when he came to the age of 15. yéeres, so that he was now able to ride abrode with his father into the forrests and chases, he fortuned (either by mishap, or by Gods prouidence) to strike his father with an arrow, in shooting at a déere, of which wound he also died. His grandfather (whether the same was Posthumus, or his elder brother) hearing of this great misfortune that had chanced to his sonne Siluius, liued not long after, but died for verie greefe and sorow (as is supposed) which he conceiued thereof. And the yong gentleman, immediatlie after he had slaine his father (in maner before alledged) was banished his countrie, and therevpon got him into Grecia, where trauelling the countrie, he lighted by chance among some of the Troian offspring, and associating himselfe with them, grew by meanes of the linage (whereof he was descended) in proces of time into great reputation among them: chieflie by reason there were yet diuers of the Troian race, and that of great authoritie in that countrie. For Pyrrhus the sonne of Achilles, hauing no issue by his wife Hermione, maried Andromache, late wife vnto Hector: and by hir had three sonnes, Pololus, Pileus, and Pergamus, who in their time grew to be of great power in those places and countries, and their offspring likewise: whereby Brutus or Brytus wanted no friendship. For euen at his first comming thither, diuers of the Troians that remained in seruitude, being desirous of libertie, by flocks resorted vnto him. And amongst other, Assaracus was one, whom Brute intertained, receiuing at his hands the possession of sundrie forts and places of defense, before that the king of those parties could haue vnderstanding or knowledge of any such thing. Herewith also such as were readie to make the aduenture with him, repaired to him on eth side, whereupon he first placed garisons in those townes which had bene thus deliuered vnto him, and afterwards with Assaracus and the residue of the multitude he withdrew into the mountains néere adioining. And thus being made strong with such assistance, by consultation had with them that were of most authoritie about him, Brute killeth his father. Paulanias.

him, wrote vnto the king of that countrie called Pandrasus, in forme as followeth.

## A letter of Brute to Pandrasus, as I *find it set downe in Galfride* Monumetensis.

BRute leader of the remnant of the Troian people, to Pandrasus king of the Greekes, sendeth greeting. Because it hath beene thought a thing vnworthie, that the people descended of the noble linage of Dardanus should be otherwise dealt with than the honour of their nobilitie dooth require: they haue withdrawne themselues within the close couert of the woods. For they haue chosen rather (after the maner of wild beasts) to liue on flesh and herbs in libertie, than furnished with all the riches in the world to continue vnder the yoke of seruile thraldome. But if this their dooing offend thy mightie highnesse, they are not to be blamed, but rather in this behalfe to be pardoned, sith euerie captiue prisoner is desirous to be restored vnto his former estate and dignitie. You therefore pitieng their case, vouchsafe to grant them their abridged libertie, and suffer them to remaine in quiet within these woods which they haue got into their possession: if not so, yet giue them licence to depart forth of this countrie into some other parts.

The sight of these letters, and request in them conteined, made Pandrasus at the first somewhat amazed, howbeit deliberating further of the matter, and considering their small number, he made no great account of them, but determined out of hand to suppresse them by force, before they should grow to a greater multitude. And to bring his intention the better to passe, he passed by a towne called Sparatinum, & marching toward the woods where he thought to haue found his enimies, he was suddenlie assalted by Brute, who with three thousand men came forth of the woods, and fiercelie setting vpon his enimies, made great slaughter of them, so that they were vtterlie discomfited, & sought by flight to saue themselues in passing a riuer neere hand called Akalon. Brute with his men following fast vpon the aduersaries, caused them to plunge into the water at aduenture, so that manie of them were drowned. Howbeit Antigonus the brother of Prandrasus did what he could to stay the Grecians from fleeing, and calling them backe againe did get some of them togither, placed them in order, and began a new field: but it nothing auailed, for the Troians preasing vpon him, tooke him prisoner, slue and scattred his companie, and ceased not till they had rid the fields of all their aduersaries.

Pandrasus prepareth an armie to suppresse the Troian offspring.

Sparatinum.

Peraduenture Achelous

Antigonus, the brother of Pandrasus.

He is taken prisoner.

This done, Brute entering the towne, furnished it with six hundred able souldiours, and afterwards went backe to the residue of his people that were incamped in the woods, where he was receiued with vnspeakeable ioy for this prosperous atchiued enterprise. But although this euill successe at the first beginning sore troubled Pandrasus, as well for the losse of the field, as for the taking of his brother, yet was he rather kindled in desire to seeke reuenge, than otherwise discouraged. And therefore assembling his people againe togither that were scattered here and there, he came the next day before the towne of Sparatinum, where he thought to haue found Brute inclosed togither with the prisoners, and therfore he shewed his whole endeuour by hard siege and fierce assaults to force them within to yeeld.

Brute entreth into Sparatinum.

To conclude, so long he continued the siege, till victuals began to waxe scant within, so that there was no way but to yeeld, if present succour came not to remoue the siege: whereupon they signified their necessitie vnto Brute, who for that he had not power sufficient to fight with the enimies in open field, he ment to giue them a camisado in the night season, and so ordered his businesse, that informing a prisoner (named Anacletus whome he had taken in the last battell) to serue his turne, by constreining him to take an oth (which he durst not for conference sake breake) he found means to encounter with his enimies vpon the aduantage, that he did not onelie ouerthrowe their whole power, but also take Pandrasus prisoner, whereby all the trouble was ended: and shortlie after a perfect peace concluded, vpon these conditions following.

Pandrasus taken prisoner.

First, that Pandrasus should giue his daughter Innogen vnto Brute in marriage, with a competent summe of gold and siluer for hir dowrie.

The conditions of the agreement betwixt Brute & Pandrasus.

Secondlie, to furnish him and his people with a nauie of ships, and to store the same with victuals and all other necessaries.

Thirdlie, that Brute with his people should haue licence to depart the countrie, to seeke aduentures whither so euer it should please them to direct their course, without let, impeachment, or trouble to be offered anie waies by the Greeks.

To all these conditions (because they touched not the prerogatiue of his kingdome) Pandrasus did willinglie agree, and likewise performed.

## Brute and his wife Innogen arriue in *Leogitia, they aske counsell of an oracle* where they shall inhabit, he meeteth with *a remnant of Troians on the coasts* neere the shooting downe of the *Pyrenine hills into the sea.*

## *The second Chapter.*

ALl things being thus brought to passe according to Brutes desire, wind also and wether seruing the purpose, he with his wife Innogen and his people imbarked, and hoising vp sailes departed from the coasts of Grecia. Now after two daies and a nights sailing, they arriued at Leogitia (in some old written bookes of the British historie noted downe Lergetia) an Iland, where they consulted with an oracle. Brute himselfe kneeling before the idoll, and holding in his right hand a boll prepared for sacrifice full of wine, and the bloud of a white hinde, spake in this maner as here followeth:

*Diua potens nemorum, terror syluestribus apris,*
*Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos,*
*Infernásq; domos, terrestria iura resolue,*
*Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis:*
*Dic certam sedem qua te venerabor in æuum,*
*Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.*

These verses (as Ponticus Virumnius and others also do gesse) were written by Gildas Cambrius in his booke intituled *Cambreidos*, and may thus be Englished:

Thou goddesse that doost rule
the woods and forrests greene,
And chasest foming boares
that flee thine awfull sight,
Thou that maist passe aloft
in airie skies so sheene,

And

Brute with his companie landed in Affrike.

The mistaking of those that haue coped the British historie putting *Mare Tyrhenum*, for *Pyreneum*.

And walke eke vnder earth
in places void of light,
Diſcouer earthlie ſtates,
direct our courſe aright,
And ſhew where we ſhall dwell,
according to thy will,
In ſeates of ſure abode,
where temples we may dight
For virgins that ſhall ſound
thy laud with voices ſhrill.

After this praier and ceremonie done, according to the pagane rite and cuſtome, Brute abiding his anſwer, fell aſléepe: in which ſléepe appeared to him the ſaid goddeſſe vttering this anſwer in the verſes following expreſſed.

*Brute, ſub occaſum ſolis trans Gallica regna,*
*Inſula in oceano eſt, vndiq; clauſa mari,*
*Inſula in oceano eſt, habitata gigantibus olim,*
*Nunc deſerta quidem, gentibus apta tuis:*
*Hanc pete, námq; tibi ſedes erit illa perennis,*
*Hic fiet natis altera Troia tuis:*
*Hîc de prole tua reges naſcentur, & ipſis*
*Totius terræ ſubditus orbis erit.*

Brute, farre by-weſt beyond the Gallike land is found,
An Ile which with the ocean ſeas
incloſed is about,
Where giants dwelt ſometime,
but now is deſart ground,
Moſt meet where thou maiſt plant
thy ſelfe with all thy rout:
Make thitherwards with ſpeed,
for there thou ſhalt find out
An euerduring ſeat,
and Troie ſhall riſe anew,
Vnto thy race, of whom
ſhall kings be borne no dout,
That with their mightie power
the world ſhall whole ſubdew.

After he awaked out of ſléepe, and had called his dreame to remembrance, he firſt doubted whether it were a verie dreame, or a true viſion, the goddes hauing ſpoken to him with liuelie voice. Whereupon calling ſuch of his companie vnto him as he thought requiſite in ſuch a caſe, he declared vnto them the whole matter with the circumſtances, whereat they greatlie reioiſing, cauſed mightie bonfires to be made, in the which they caſt wine, milke, and other liquors, with diuers gums and ſpices of moſt ſweet ſmell and ſauour, as in the pagan religion was accuſtomed. Which obſeruances and ceremonies performed and brought to end, they returned ſtreightwaies to their ſhips, and as ſoone as the wind ſerued, paſſed forward on their iournie with great ioy and gladneſſe, as men put in comfort to find out the wiſhed ſeats for their firme and ſure habitations. From hence therefore they caſt about, and making weſtward, firſt arriued in Affrica, and after kéeping on their courſe, they paſſed the ſtraits of Gibralterra, and coaſting alongſt the ſhore on the right hand, they found another companie that were likewiſe deſcended of the Troian progenie, on the coaſts nere where the Pyrenine hils ſhot downe to the ſea, whereof the ſame ſea by good reaſon (as ſome ſuppoſe) was named in thoſe daies *Mare Pyrenæum*, although hitherto by fault of writers & copiers of the Britiſh hiſtorie receiued, in this place *Mare Tyrrhenum*, was ſlightlie put downe in ſtead of *Pyrenæum*.

The offspring of thoſe Troians, with whom Brute and his companie thus did méet, were a remnant of them that came away with Antenor. Their capteine hight Corineus, a man of great modeſtie and approued wiſedome, and thereto of incomparable ſtrength and boldneſſe.

Brute with his companie landed in Affrike.

The miſtaking of thoſe that haue copied the Britiſh hiſtorie putting *Mare Tyrrhenum*, for *Pyrenæum*.

Brute and the ſaid Troians with their *capteine Corineus doo aſſociat, they take* landing within the dominion of king Goſ- *farus, he raiſeth an armie againſt Brute and* his power, but is diſcomfited: of the *citie of Tours: Brutes arriuall in this* Iland with his companie.

## *The third Chapter.*

After that Brute and the ſaid Troians, by conference interchangeablie had, vnderſtood one anothers eſtates, and how they were deſcended from one countrie and progenie, they vnited themſelues togither, greatlie reioiſing that they were ſo fortunatlie met: and hoiſing vp their ſailes, directed their courſe forward ſtill, till they arriued within the mouth of the riuer of Loire, which diuideth Aquitaine from Gall Celtike, where they tooke land within the dominion of a king called Goffarius, ſurnamed Pictus, by reaſon he was deſcended of the people *Agathyrſi*, otherwiſe named Picts, becauſe they vſed to paint their faces and bodies, inſomuch that the richer a man was amongſt them, the more coſt he beſtowed in painting himſelfe; and commonlie the haire of their head was red, or (as probable writers ſay) of ſkie colour. Herodotus calleth them χρυσοφόρους, becauſe they did weare much gold about them. They vſed their wiues in common, and becauſe they are all ſuppoſed to be brethren, there is no ſtrife nor diſcord among them. Of theſe *Agathyrſi*, it is recorded by the ſaid Herodotus, that they refuſed to ſuccour the Scythians againſt Darius, giuing this reaſon of their refuſall; becauſe they would not make warre againſt him who had done them no wrong. And of this people doth the poet make mention, ſaieng,

*Cretéſq; Dryopéſq; fremunt pictiq; Agathyrſi.*

To paint their faces not for amiableneſſe, but for terribleneſſe, the Britons in old time vſed, and that with a kind of herbe like vnto plantine. In which reſpect I ſée no reaſon why they alſo ſhould not be called Picts, as well as the Agathyrſi; ſéeing the denomination ſprang of a vaine cuſtome in them both. And here by the way, ſithens we haue touched this follie in two ſeuerall people, let it not ſéeme tedious to read this one tricke of the Indians, among whom there is great plentie of pretious ſtones, wherewith they adorne themſelues in this maner; namelie, in certein hollow places which they make in their fleſh, they incloſe and riuet in pretious ſtones, and that as well in their foreheads as their chéekes, to none other purpoſe, than the Agathyrſi in the vſe of their painting.

The countrie of Poictou (as ſome hold) where the ſaid Goffarius reigned, tooke name of this people: likewiſe a part of this our Ile of Britaine now conteined within Scotland, which in ancient time was called Pightland or Pictland, as elſewhere both in this hiſtorie of England, and alſo of Scotland may further appeare. But to our purpoſe.

When Goffarius the king of Poictou was aduertiſed of the landing of theſe ſtrangers within his countrie, he ſent firſt certeine of his people to vnderſtand what they ment by their comming a land within his dominion, without licence or leaue of him obteined. They that were thus ſent, came by chance to a place where Corineus with two hundred of the companie were come from the ſhips into a forreſt néere the ſea ſide, to kill ſome veneſon for their ſuſte-

nance:

Brute and Corineus ioin their companies together.

They arriue on the coaſts of Gallia, now called France.

Goffarius ſurnamed Pictus.

*Les annales d Aquitaine.*

Agathyrſi, otherwiſe called Piers, of painting their bodies.

Marcellus. Plinie. Herodotus li. 4.

Virg. Aeneid. 4.

Cæſar com. li. 5

P. Mart. com. part. 2. ſect. 60.

Pightland or Pictland.

Goffarius ſendeth vnto Brute.

nance: and being rebuked with some disdainfull speach of those Poictouins, he shaped them a round answer: insomuch that one of them whose name was Imbert, let driue an arrow at Corineus: but he auoiding the danger thereof, shot againe at Imbert, in reuenge of that iniurie offered, and claue his head in sunder. The rest of the Poictouins fled therevpon, and brought word to Goffarius what had happened: who immediatlie with a mightie armie made forward to encounter with the Troians, and comming to ioine with them in battell, after a sharpe and sore conflict, in the end Brute with his armie obteined a triumphant victorie, speciallie through the noble prowesse of Corineus.

Corineus answereth the messengers. Imbert.

Imbert is slaine by Corineus.

Goffarius raiseth an armie.

Goffarius is discomfited.

Goffarius seeketh aid against Brute.

Goffarius escaping from the field, fled into the inner parts of Gallia, making sute for assistance vnto such kings as in those daies reigned in diuers prouinces of that land, who promised to aid him with all their forces, and to expell out of the coasts of Aquitaine, such strangers as without his licence were thus entred the countrie. But Brute in the meane time passed forward, and with fire and sword made hauocke in places where he came: and gathering great spoiles, fraught his ships with plentie of riches. At length he came to the place, where afterwards he built a citie named *Turonium*, that is, Tours.

Brute spoileth the countrie.

Turonium or Tours built by Brute.

Here Goffarius with such Galles as were assembled to his aid, gaue battell againe vnto the Troians that were incamped to abide his comming. Where after they had fought a long time with singular manhood on both parties: the Troians in fine oppressed with multitudes of aduersaries (euen thirtie times as manie mo as the Troians) were constreined to retire into their campe, within the which the Galles kept them as besieged, lodging round about them, and purposing by famine to compell them to yéeld themselues vnto their mercie. But Corineus taking counsell with Brute, deuised to depart in the darke of the night out of the campe, to lodge himselfe with three thousand chosen souldiers secretlie in a wood, and there to remaine in couert till the morning that Brute should come forth and giue a charge vpon the enimies, wherewith Corineus should breake forth and assaile the Galles on the backes.

Goffarius hauing renewed his forces, fighteth eftsones with Brute.

This policie was put in practise, and tooke such effect as the deuisers themselues wished: for the Galles being sharplie assailed on the front by Brute and his companie, were now with the sudden comming of Corineus (who set vpon them behind on their backes) brought into such a feare, that incontinentlie they tooke them to flight, whom the Troians egerlie pursued, making no small slaughter of them as they did ouertake them. In this battell Brute lost manie of his men, and amongst other one of his nephues named Turinus, after he had shewed maruellous proofe of his manhood. Of him (as some haue written) the foresaid citie of Tours tooke the name, and was called *Turonium*, bicause the said Turinus was there buried.

Andrew Theuet affirmeth the contrarie, and maintaineth that one Taurus the nephue of Hanniball was the first that inclosed it about with a pale of wood (as the maner of those daies was of fensing their townes) in the yeare of the world 3374. and before the birth of our sauiour 197.

Theuet.

3374

But to our matter concerning Brute, who after he had obteined so famous a victorie, albeit there was good cause for him to reioise, yet it sore troubled him to consider that his numbers dailie decaied, and his enimies still increased, and grew stronger: wherevpon resting doubtfull what to do, whether to proceed against the Galles, or returne to his ships to seeke the Ile that was appointed him by oracle, at length he chose the surest and best way, as he tooke it, and as it proued. For whilest the greater part of his armie was yet left aliue, and that the victorie remained on his side, he drew to his nauie, and lading his ships with exceeding great store of riches which his people had got abroad in the countrie, he tooke the seas againe. After a few daies sailing they landed at the hauen now called Totnesse, the yeare of the world 2850, after the destruction of Troy 66, after the deliuerance of the Israelites from the captiuitie of Babylon 397, almost ended; in the 18 yeare of the reigne of Eneas king of Babylon, 13 of Pelanthus king of Athens, before the building of Rome 368, which was before the natiuitie of our Sauior Christ 1116, almost ended, and before the reigne of Alexander the great 783.

Brute with his remnant of Troians arriueth in the Ile. Anno mundi 2850.

Brute discouereth the commodities of *this Iland, mightie giants withstand him,* Gogmagog and Corineus wrestle together *at a place beside Douer: he buildeth the* citie of Trinouant now termed London, *calleth this Iland by the name of* Britaine, and diuideth it into three *parts among his three sonnes.*

## *The fourth Chapter.*

WHEN Brute had entred this land, immediatlie after his arriuall (as writers do record) he searched the countrie from side to side, and from end to end, finding it in most places verie fertile and plentious of wood and grasse, and full of pleasant springs and faire riuers. As he thus trauelled to discouer the state and commodities of the Iland, he was encountred by diuers strong and mightie giants, whome he destroied and slue, or rather subdued, with all such other people as he found in the Iland, which were more in number than by report of some authors it should appeare there were. Among these giants (as Geffrey of Monmouth writeth) there was one of passing strength and great estimation, named Gogmagog, with whome Brute caused Corineus to wrestle at a place beside Douer, where it chanced that the giant brake a rib in the side of Corineus while they strone to claspe, and the one to ouerthrow the other: wherewith Corineus being sore chafed and stirred to wrath, did so double his force that he got the vpper hand of the giant, and cast him downe headlong from one of the rocks there, not farre from Douer, and so dispatched him: by reason whereof the place was named long after, The fall or leape of Gogmagog, but afterward it was called The fall of Douer. For this valiant deed, and other the like seruices first and last atchiued, Brute gaue vnto Corineus the whole countrie of Cornwall. To be briefe, after that Brute had destroied such as stood against him, and brought such people vnder his subiection as he found in the Ile, and searched the land from the one end to the other: he was desirous to build a citie, that the same might be the seate roiall of his empire or kingdome. Wherevpon he chose a plot of ground lieng on the north side of the riuer of Thames, which by good consideration seemed to be most pleasant and conuenient for any great multitude of inhabitants, aswell for holsomnesse of aire, goodnesse of soile, plentie of woods, and commoditie of the riuer, seruing as well to bring in as to carrie out all kinds of merchandize and things necessarie for the gaine, store, and vse of them that there should inhabit.

Brute encountreth the giants.

Corineus wrestleth with Gogmagog.

Gogmagog slaine.

Cornwall giuen to Corineus.

In the daies of this our Brute Hanile and Hamuell gouerned Israell.



inhabit.

Here therefo
dation of a citie
the second year
(saith Gal. Mon
saith) Troinet
brance of that
and his people

When Brut
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Of Locrin
*of Albana*
death:
*branke*
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*Locrine the second ruler of Britain*

Gal. Mon. Mat. West. Fa. out of G. de Co. Gal. Mon. Mat. West.

While this Lo
Albanact rule
slaine in a bat
thians, called
Britaine, and
with his broth
brothers death
dome, gathere
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chased him so
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Moreouer in
three yong dau
cially one of t
ter to a certei

It should seeme that he was come ouer the Humber.

Gal. Mon.

inhabit.

Here therefore he began to build and lay the foundation of a citie, in the tenth or (as other thinke) in the second yeare after his arriuall, which he named (saith Gal.Mon.) Troinouant, or (as Hum. Llhoyd saith) Troinewith, that is, new Troy, in remembrance of that noble citie of Troy from whence he and his people were for the greater part descended.

When Brutus had builded this citie, and brought the Iland fullie vnder his subiection, he by the aduise of his nobles commanded this Ile (which before 10 hight Albion) to be called Britaine, and the inhabitants Britons after his name, for a perpetuall memorie that he was the first bringer of them into the land. In this meane while also he had by his wife .iij. sonnes, the first named Locrinus or Locrine, the second Cambris or Camber, and the third Albanactus or Albanact. Now when the time of his death drew néere, to the first he betoke the gouernment of that part of the land nowe knowne by the name of 20 England: so that the same was long after called Loegria, or Logiers, of the said Locrinus. To the second he appointed the countrie of Wales, which of him was first named Cambria, diuided from Loegria by the riuer of Seuerne. To his third sonne Albanact he deliuered all the north part of the Ile, afterward called Albania, after the name of the said Albanact: which portion of the said Ile lieth beyond the Humber northward. Thus when Brutus had diuided the Ile of Britaine (as before is mentioned) 30 into 3. parts, and had gouerned the same by the space of 15. yeares, he died in the 24 yeare after his arriuall (as Harison noteth) and was buried at Troinouant or London: although the place of his said buriall there be now growne out of memorie.

In the daies of this our Brute Saule and Samuell gouerned Israell.

## Of Locrine the eldest sonne of Brute, *of Albanact his yoongest sonne, and his* death: of Madan, Mempricius, Ebranke, *Brute Greenesheeld, Leill,* Ludhurdibras, Baldud, and Leir, *the nine rulers of Britaine successiuelie after Brute.*

## *The fift Chapter.*

*Locrine the second ruler of Britain*

Gal.Mon. Mat.West. Fabian. Grafton. Gal.Mon. Mat.West.

LOcrinus or Locrine the first begotten sonne of Brute began to reigne ouer the countrie called Logiers, in the yeare of the world 1874, and held to his part the countrie that reached from the south sea vnto the riuer of Humber. While this Locrinus gouerned Logiers, his brother Albanact ruled in Albania, where in fine he was slaine in a battell by a king of the Hunnes or Scythians, called Humber, who inuaded that part of Britaine, and got possession thereof, till Locrinus with his brother Camber, in reuenge of their other brothers death, and for the recouerie of the kingdome, gathered their powers togither, and comming against the said king of the Hunnes, by the valiancie of their people they discomfited him in battell, and chased him so egerlie, that he himselfe and a great number of his men were drowned in the gulfe that then parted Loegria and Albania, which after toke name of the said king, and was called Humber, and so continueth vnto this date.

It should seeme that he was come ouer the Humber.

Gal. Mon.

Moreouer in this battell against the Hunnes were three yong damsels taken of excellent beautie, specially one of them, whose name was Estrild, daughter to a certeine king of Scythia. With this Estrild king Locrine fell so farre in loue, notwithstanding a former contract made betwixt him and the ladie Guendoloena, daughter to Corineus duke of Cornwall, that he meant yet with all spéed to marie the same Estrild. But being earnestlie called vpon, and in manner forced thereto by Corineus, hée changed his purpose, and married Guendoloena, kéeping neuertheles the aforesaid Estrild as paramour still after a secret sort, during the life of Corineus his father in law.

Now after that Corineus was departed this world, Locrine forsoke Guendoloena, and maried Estrild. Guendoloena therefore being cast off by hir husband, got hir into Cornewall to hir friends and kinred, and there procured them to make warre against the said Locrine hir husband, in the which warres hée was slaine, and a battell fought néere to the riuer of Sture, after he had reigned (as writers affirme) twentie yeares, & was buried by his father in the Citie of Troinouant, leauing behind him a yong sonne (begotten of his wife Guendoloena) named Madan, as yet vnméete to gouerne. Mat.West.

Hée is not numbred amongst those that reigned as rulers in this land by Mat. west.

Guendoloena or Guendoline the wife of Locrinus, and daughter of Corineus duke of Cornewall, for so much as hir sonne Madan was not of yeares sufficient to gouerne, was by common consent of the Britons made ruler of the Ile, in the yéere of the world 2894, and so hauing the administration in hir hands, she did right discréetlie vse hir selfe therein, to the comfort of all hir subiects, till hir sonne Madan came to lawfull age, and then she gaue ouer the rule and dominion to him, after she had gouerned by the space of fiftéene yeares. Gal. Mon.

*Madan the third ruler.*

MAdan the sonne of Locrine and Guendoline entred into the gouernement of Britaine in the 2909. of the world. There is little left in writing of his doings, sauing that he vsed great tyrannie amongst his Britons: and therefore after he had ruled this land the tearme of 40. yeares, he was deuoured of wild beastes, as he was abroad in hunting. He left behind him two sonnes, Mempricius and Manlius. He builded (as is reported) Madancaistre, now Dancastre, which retaineth still the later part of his name.

*Mempricius the fourth ruler.*

MEmpricius the eldest sonne of Madan began his reigne ouer the Britons in the yeare of the world 2949, he continued not long in peace. For his brother Manlius vpon an ambitious mind prouoked the Britons to rebell against him, so that sore and deadly warre continued long betweene them. But finallie, vnder colour of a treatie, Manlius was slaine by his brother Mempricius, so that then he liued in more tranquillitie and rest. Howbeit, being deliuered thus from trouble of warres, he fell into slouth, and so into vnlawfull lust of lecherie, and thereby into the hatred of his people, by forcing of their wiues and daughters: and finallie became so beastlie, that he forsoke his lawfull wife and all his concubines, and fell into the abhominable sinne of Sodomie. And thus from one vice he fell into another, till he became odious to God and man, and at length, going on hunting, was lost of his people, and destroied of wild beastes, when he had reigned twentie yeares, leauing behind him a noble yong sonne named Ebranke, begotten of his lawfull wife.

Fabian. Manlius is slaine. Gal. Mon.

Slouth engendred lecherie.

Mempricius is deuoured of beastes.

*Ebranke the fift ruler.*

EBranke the sonne of Mempricius began to rule ouer the Britons in the yeare of the world 2969. He had as writers do of him record, one and twentie wiues, on whom he begot 20. sonnes and 30. daughters, of the which the eldest hight Gualos, or Gualea. These daughters he sent to Alba Syluius, which was the eleuenth king of Italie, or the first king of the Latines, to the end they might be married

Ebranke had 21. wiues: his thirtie daughters sent into Italie.

married to his noble men of the blood of Troians, because the Sabines refused to ioine their daughters with them in marriage. Furthermore, he was the first prince of his land that euer inuaded France after Bute, and is commended as author and originall builder of many cities, both in his owne kingdome, and else where. His sonnes also vnder the conduct of Assaracus, one of their eldest brethren, returning out of Italie, after they had conducted their sisters thither, inuaded Germanie, being first molested by the people of that countrie in their rage, and by the helpe of the said Alba subdued a great part of that countrie, & there planted themselues. Our histories say, that Ebracus their father married them in their returne, and aided them in their conquests, and that he builded the citie of Caerbranke, now called Yorke, about the 14. yeare of his reigne. He builded also in Albania now called Scotland, the castle of Maidens, afterward called Edenburgh of Adian one of their kings. The citie of Alclud was builded likewise by him (as some write) now decaied. After which cities thus builded, he sailed ouer into Gallia, now called France, with a great armie, and subduing the Galles as is aforesaid, he returned home with great riches and triumph. Now when he had guided the land of Britaine in noble wise by the tearme of fortie yeares, he died, and was buried at Yorke.

Bergomas lib. 6.

The citie of Caerbranke builded. Matth. West.

Fortie yeares hath Math. west. and Gal. Monmine.

*Brute Greene-shield the sixt ruler.* Iacobus Leo.

BRute Greneshield, the sonne of Ebranke, was made gouernor of this land in the yeare of the world 3009, Asa reigning in Iuda, and Baasa in Israell. This prince bare alwaies in the field a greene shield, whereof he toke his surname, and of him some forraine authors affirme, that he made an attempt to bring the whole realme of France vnder his subiection, which he performed, because his father sustained some dishonor and losse in his last voiage into that countrie. Howbeit they say, that when he came into Henaud, Brinchild a prince of that quarter gaue him also a great ouerthrow, and compelled him to retire home againe into his countrie. This I borrow out of William Harison, who in his chronologie toucheth the same at large, concluding in the end, that the said passage of this prince into France is verie likelie to be true, and that he named a parcell of Armorica lieng on the south, and in manner vpon the verie loine after his owne name, and also a citie which he builded there Britaine. For (saith he) it should seeme by Strabo. lib. 4. that there was a noble citie of that name long before his time in the said countrie, whereof Plinie also speaketh lib. 4. cap. 7. albeit that he ascribe it vnto France after a disordered maner. More I find not of this foresaid Brute, sauing that he ruled the land a certeine time, his father yet liuing; and after his decease the tearme of twelue yeares, and then died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Yorke.

Strabo lib. 4.

*Leill the seuenth ruler.*

Carleil builded.

Chester repaired.

LEill the sonne of Brute Greeneshield, began to reigne in the yeare of the world 3021, the same time that Asa was reigning in Iuda, and Ambri in Israell. He built the citie now called Carleil, which then after his owne name was called Caerleil, that is, Leill his citie, or the citie of Leill. He repaired also (as Henrie Bradshaw saith) the citie of Caerleon now called Chester, which (as in the same Bradshaw appeareth) was built before Brutus entrie into this land by a giant named Leon Gauer. But what authoritie he had to auouch this, it may be doubted, for Ranulfe Higden in his worke intituled Polychronicon, saith in plaine words, that it is vnknowen who was the first founder of Chester, but that it toke the name of the sojourning there of some Romaine legions, by whome also it is not vnlike that it might be first built by P. Ostorius Scapula, who as we find, after he had subdued Caratacus king of the Ordouices that inhabited the countries now called Lancashire, Chesshire, and Salopshire, built in those parts, and among the Silures, certeine places of defense, for the better harbrough of his men of warre, and keeping downe of such Britaines as were still readie to moue rebellion.

But now to the purpose concerning K. Leill. We find it recorded that he was in the beginning of his reigne verie vpright, and desirous to see iustice executed, and aboue all thinges loued peace & quietnesse; but as yeares increased with him, so his vertues began to diminish, in so much that abandoning the care for the bodie of the commonwealth, he suffered his owne bodie to welter in all vice and voluptuousnesse, and so procuring the hatred of his subiects, caused malice and discord to rise amongst them, which during his life he was neuer able to appease. But leauing them so at variance, he departed this life, & was buried at Carleil, which as ye haue heard he had builded while he liued.

*Lud or Ludhurdibras the eight ruler.*

Kaerkin or Canterbury is builded.

Caerguent is builded.

Paladour is builded.

LUd or Ludhurdibras the sonne of Leill began to gouerne in the yeare of the world 3046. In the beginning of his reigne, hee sought to appease the debate that was raised in his fathers daies, and bring the realme to his former quietnesse, and after that he had brought it to good end, he builded the towne of Kaerkin now called Canterburie: also the towne of Caerguent now cleped Winchester, and mount Paladour now called Shaftsburie. About the building of which towne of Shaftsburie, Aquila a prophet of the British nation wrote his prophesies, of which some fragments remaine yet to be seene, translated into the Latine by some ancient writers. When this Lud had reigned 29. yeares, he died, and left a sonne behind him named Baldud.

*Baldud or Bladud the ninth ruler.*

Gal. Mon. The king was learned.

Hot bathes.

BAldud the sonne of Ludhurdibras began to rule ouer the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3085. This man was well seene in the sciences of astronomie and nigromancie, by which (as the common report saith) he made the hot bathes in the citie of Caerbran now called Bath. But William of Malmesburie is of a contrarie opinion, affirming that Julius Cesar made those bathes, or rather repaired them when he was here in England: which is not like to be true: for Julius Cesar, as by good coniecture we haue to thinke, neuer came so farre within the land that way forward. But of these bathes more shall be said in the description. Now to proceed. This Baldud toke such pleasure in artificiall practises & magike, that he taught this art throughout all his realme. And to shew his cunning in other points, vpon a præsumptuous pleasure which he had therein, he toke vpon him to flie in the aire, but he fell vpon the temple of Apollo, which stood in the citie of Troinouant, and there was torne in peeces after he had ruled the Britaines by the space of 20. yeares.

Mat. West. The prince did flie.

He gouerned the third part of Gallia as Gal. Mon. saith.

*Leir the 10. ruler.*

Mat. West. Leicester is builded.

LEir the sonne of Baldud was admitted ruler ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3105, at what time Joas reigned in Iuda. This Leir was a prince of right noble demeanor, gouerning his land and subiects in great wealth. He made the towne of Caerleir now called Leicester, which standeth vpon the riuer of Soze. It is written that he had by his wife three daughters without other issue, whose names were Gonorilla, Regan, and Cordeilla, which daughters he greatly loued, but specially Cordeilla the yongest farre aboue the two elder. When this Leir therefore was come to great yeres, & began to wax vnweldie through age, he thought to vnderstand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre hir whome he best loued, to the succession ouer the kingdome. Wherupon he first asked

Gal. Mon.

The answer of the yongest daughter.

The two eldest daughters are married.

The realme is promised to his two daughters.

Triall of loue.

asked Gonorilla the eldest, how well she loued him: who calling hir gods to record, protested that she loued him more than hir owne life, which by right and reason should be most deere vnto hir. With which answer the father being well pleased, turned to the second, and demanded of hir how well she loued him: who answered (confirming hir saiengs with great othes) that she loued him more than tong could expresse, and farre aboue all other creatures of the world.

The answer of the yongest daughter.

Then called he his yongest daughter Cordeilla before him, and asked of hir what account she made of him, vnto whome she made this answer as followeth: Knowing the great loue and fatherlie zeale that you haue alwaies borne towards me (for the which I maie not answere you otherwise than I thinke, and as my conscience leadeth me) I protest vnto you, that I haue loued you euer, and will continuallie (while I liue) loue you as my naturall father. And if you would more vnderstand of the loue that I beare you, assertaine your selfe, that so much as you haue, so much you are worth, and so much I loue you, and no more. The father being nothing content with this answer, married his two eldest daughters, the one vnto Henninus the duke of Cornewall, and the other vnto Maglanus the duke of Albania, betwixt whome he willed and ordeined that his land should be diuided after his death, and the one halfe thereof immediatlie should be assigned to them in hand: but for the third daughter Cordeilla he reserued nothing.

The two eldest daughters are maried.

The realme is promised to his two daughters.

Neuertheles it fortuned that one of the princes of Gallia (which now is called France) whose name was Aganippus, hearing of the beautie, womanhod, and good conditions of the said Cordeilla, desired to haue hir in mariage, and sent ouer to hir father, requiring that he might haue hir to wife: to whome answer was made, that he might haue his daughter, but as for anie dower he could haue none, for all was promised and assured to hir other sisters alreadie. Aganippus notwithstanding this answer of denall to receiue anie thing by way of dower with Cordeilla, toke hir to wife, onlie moued thereto (I saie) for respect of hir person and amiable vertues. This Aganippus was one of the twelue kings that ruled Gallia in those daies, as in the British historie it is recorded. But to proceed.

He gouerned the third part of Gallia as Gal. Mon. saith.

After that Leir was fallen into age, the two dukes that had married his two eldest daughters, thinking it long yer the gouernment of the land did come to their hands, arose against him in armour, and reft from him the gouernance of the land, vpon conditions to be continued for terme of life: by the which he was put to his portion, that is, to liue after a rate assigned to him for the maintenance of his estate, which in processe of time was diminished as well by Maglanus as by Henninus. But the greatest griefe that Leir toke, was to see the vnkindnesse of his daughters, which seemed to thinke that all was too much which their father had, the same being neuer so little: in so much that going from the one to the other, he was brought to that miserie, that scarslie they would allow him one seruant to wait vpon him.

In the end, such was the vnkindnesse, or (as I maie saie) the vnnaturalnesse which he found in his two daughters, notwithstanding their faire and pleasant words vttered in time past, that being constreined of necessitie, he fled the land, & sailed into Gallia, there to seeke some comfort of his yongest daughter Cordeilla, whom before time he hated. The ladie Cordeilla hearing that he was arriued in poore estate, she first sent to him priuilie a certeine summe of monie to apparell himselfe withall, and to reteine a certeine number of seruants that might attend vpon him in honorable wise, as appertained to the estate which he had borne: and then so accompanied, she appointed him to come to the court, which he did, and was so ioifullie, honorablie, and louinglie receiued, both by his sonne in law Aganippus, and also by his daughter Cordeilla, that his hart was greatlie comforted: for he was no lesse honored, than if he had beene king of the whole countrie himselfe.

Now when he had informed his sonne in law and his daughter in what sort he had beene vsed by his other daughters, Aganippus caused a mightie armie to be put in a readinesse, and likewise a great nauie of ships to be rigged, to passe ouer into Britaine with Leir his father in law, to see him againe restored to his kingdome. It was accorded, that Cordeilla should also go with him to take possession of the land, the which he promised to leaue vnto hir, as the rightfull inheritour after his decesse, notwithstanding any former grant made to hir sisters or to their husbands in anie maner of wise.

Herevpon, when this armie and nauie of ships were readie, Leir and his daughter Cordeilla with hir husband toke the sea, and arriuing in Britaine, fought with their enimies, and discomfited them in battell, in the which Maglanus and Henninus were slaine: and then was Leir restored to his kingdome, which he ruled after this by the space of two yeeres, and then died, fortie yeres after he first began to reigne. His bodie was buried at Leicester in a vaut vnder the chanell of the riuer of Sore beneath the towne. March. West.

## The gunarchie of queene Cordeilla, *how she was vanquished, of hir imprisonment and self-murther: the contention betweene Cunedag and* Margan nephewes for gouernement, *and the end thereof.*

## *The sixt Chapter.*

*Queene Cordeilla.*

COrdeilla the yongest daughter of Leir was admitted Q. and supreme gouernesse of Britaine, in the yeere of the world 3155, before the building of Rome 54, Vzia then reigning in Juda, and Jeroboam ouer Israell. This Cordeilla after hir fathers decease ruled the land of Britaine right worthilie during the space of fiue yeeres, in which meane time hir husband died, and then about the end of those fiue yeeres, hir two nephewes Margan and Cunedag, sonnes to hir aforesaid sisters, disdaining to be vnder the gouernment of a woman, leuied warre against hir, and destroied a great part of the land, and finallie toke hir prisoner, and laid hir fast in ward, wherewith she toke such griefe, being a woman of a manlie courage, and despairing to recouer libertie, there she slue hirselfe, when she had reigned (as before is mentioned) the tearme of fiue yeeres.

*Cunedag and Margan.*

CUnedagius and Margauus nephewes to Cordeilla, hauing recouered the land out of hir hands, diuided the same betwixt them, that is to saie, the countrie ouer and beyond Humber fell to Margan, as it stretcheth euen to Catnesse, and the other part lieng south and by-west, was assigned to Cunedagius. This partition chanced in the yeere of the world 3170, before the building of Rome 47, Vzia as then reigning in Juda, and Jeroboam in Israell. Afterwards

wards, these two cosins, Cunedag and Margan, had not reigned thus past a two yéeres, but thorough some seditious persons, Margan was persuaded to raise warre against Cunedag, telling him in his eare, how it was a shame for him being come of the elder sister, not to haue the rule of the whole Ile in his hand. Hereupon ouercome with pride, ambition, and couetousnesse, he raised an armie, and entring into the land of Cunedag, he burned and destroied the countrie before him in miserable maner.

Margan inuadeth his cousine Cunedag.

Cunedag in all hast to resist his aduersarie, assembled also all the power he could make, and comming with the same against Margan, gaue him battell, in the which he slue a great number of Margans people, and put the residue to flight, and furthermore pursued him from countrie to countrie, till he came into Cambria, now called Wales, where the said Margan gaue him effsones a new battell: but being too weake in number of men, he was there ouercome and slaine in the field, by reason whereof that countrie toke name of him, being there slaine, and so is called to this daie Glau Margan, which is to meane in our English tong, Margans land. This was the end of that Margan, after he had reigned with his brother two yéeres, or thereabouts.

Margan is slaine. Matt. West.

*Cunedagus alone.*

After the death of Margan, Cunedag the sonne of Hennius and Ragaie (middlemost daughter of Leir before mentioned) became ruler of all the whole land of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3172, before the building of Rome 45, Vzia still reigning in Juda, and Jeroboam in Israell. He gouerned this Ile well and honourablie for the tearme of 33 yeares, and then dieng, his bodie was buried at Trohouant or London. Moreouer, our writers do report, that he builded three temples, one to Mars at Perth in Scotland, another to Mercurie at Bangor, and the third to Apollo in Cornewall.

## Of Riuallus, Gurgustius, Sysillius, Iago, and Kinimacus, *rulers of Britaine* by succession, and of the accidents *coincident with their times.*

## *The seuenth Chapter.*

*Riuallus the* 13. *ruler.*

Riuallus, the sonne of Cunedag, began to reigne ouer the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3203, before the building of Rome 15, Joathan as then being king of Juda, and Phacea king of Israel. This Riuall gouerned the Ile in great welth and prosperitie. In his time it rained bloud by the space of three daies togither; after which raine ensued such an exceeding number and multitude of flies, so noisome and contagious, that much people died by reason thereof. When he had reigned 46 yeares he died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Yorke. In the time of this Riuals reigne was the citie of Rome builded, after concordance of most part of writers. Perdix also a wizard, and a learned astrologian florished and writ his prophesies, and Merene also.

It rained bloud. Matth. West.

Rome builded

*Gurgustius the* 14. *ruler.*

Gurgustius, the son of the before named Riuall, began to gouerne the Britaines in the yeare after the creation of the world 3249, and after the first foundation of Rome 33, Ezechias reigning in Juda. This Gurgustius in the chronicle of England, is called Gorbodian the sonne of Reignold, he reigned 37 yeares, then departing this life, was buried at Caerbranke (now called Yorke) by his father.

*The state of the Sysillius the* 15. *ruler.*

Sysillius, after some writers Syluius, the brother of Gurgustius, was chosen to haue the gouernance of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3287, and after the building of Rome 71, Manasses still reigning in Juda. This Sysillius in the English chronicle is named Secill. He reigned 49 yeares, and then died, and was buried at Carbadon, now called Bath.

*Iago the* 16. *ruler.*

Iago or Lago, the cousin of Gurgustius, as next inheritor to Sysillius, toke vpon him the gouernement of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3336, and after the building of Rome 120, in whose time the citie of Jerusalem was taken by Nabuchodonozar and the king of Juda, Mathania, otherwise called Zedechias, being slaine. This Iago or Lago died without issue, when he had reigned 23 yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

*Kinimacus the* 17. *ruler.*

Kinimacus or Kinmarus the sonne of Sysillius as some write, or rather the brother of Iago, began to gouerne the land of Britain, in the yere of the world 3364, and after the building of Rome 148, the Iewes as then being in the third yeare of their captiuitie of Babylon. This Kinimacus departed this life, after he had reigned 54 yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

## Of Gorbodug and his two sonnes Ferrex and Porrex, *one brother killeth another, the mother slaieth hir sonne, and how Britaine by ciuill warres (for lacke of issue legitimate to the gouernment) of a monarchie became a pentarchie: the end of Brutes line.*

## *The eight Chapter.*

*Gorbodug the* 18. *ruler.*

Gorbodug the sonne of Kinimacus began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare after the creation of the world 3418, from the building of the citie of Rome 202, the 58 of the Iews captiuitie at Babylon. This Gorbodug by most likelihood to bring histories to accord, should reigne about the tearme of 62 yeares, and then departing this world, was buried at London, leauing after him two sonnes Ferrex and Porrex, or after some writers, Ferreus and Porreus.

*Ferrex the* 19. *ruler.*

Ferrex with Porrex his brother began iointlie to rule ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3476, after the building of Rome 260, at which time, the people of Rome forsoke their citie in their rebellious mood. These two brethren continued for a time in good friendship and amitie, till at length through couetousnesse, and desire of greater dominion, prouoked by flatterers, they fell at variance and discord, wherby Ferrex was constreined to flée into Gallia, and there purchased aid of a great duke called Gunhardus or Suardus, and so returned into Britaine, thinking to preuaile and obteine the dominion of the whole Iland. But his brother Porrex was readie to receiue him with battell after he was landed, in the which battell Ferrex was slaine, with the more part of his people. The English chronicle saith, that Porrex was he that fled into France, & at his returne, was slaine, and that Ferrex suruiued. But Geffrey of Monmouth & Polychronicon are of a contrarie opinion. Matthew Westmonasterienſis writeth, that Porrex deuising waies to kill Ferrex, atchiued his purpose and slue him. But whether of them so euer suruiued, the mother of them was so highlie offended for the death of him that was slaine, whom she most intierlie

Ferrex fled into Gallia.

Matth. West.

intierlie loued, that setting apart all motherlie affection, she found the meanes to enter the chamber of him that surviued in the night season, and as he slept, she with the helpe of hir maidens slue him, and cut him into small péeces, as the writers dw affirme. Such was the end of these two brethren, after they had reigned by the space of foure or fiue yeares.

The mother killeth hir son.

After this followed a troublous season, full of cruell warre, and seditious discord, whereby in the end, and for the space of fiftie yeares, the monarchie or sole gouernement of the Iland became a pentarchie, that is, it was diuided betwixt fiue kings or rulers, till Dunwallon of Cornewall ouercame them all. Thus the line of Brute (according to the report of most writers) toke an end: for after the death of the two foresaid brethren, no rightfull inheritor was left a-

Robert Record

liue to succéed them in the kingdome. The names of these fiue kings are found in certeine old pedegrées: and although the same be much corrupted in diuers copies, yet these vndernamed are the most agréeable.

But of these fine kings or dukes, the English chro-

nicle alloweth Cloton king of Cornewall for most rightfull heire. There appeareth not any time certeine by report of ancient authors, how long this variance continued amongst the Britains: but (as some say) it lasted for the space of 51 yeres, coniecturing so much by that which is recorded in Polychron. who saith, who it endured euen till the beginning of the reigne of Mulmucius Dunwallon, who began to gouerne from the time that Brute first entred Britaine, about the space of 703 thrée yeares.

Fabian. Ciuill warres 51. yeares.

¶ Here ye must note, that there is difference amongst writers about the supputation and account of these yeares, insomuch that some making their reckoning after certeine writers, and finding the same to varie aboue thrée C. yeares, are brought into further doubt of the truth of the whole historie: but whereas other haue by diligent search tried out the continuance of euerie gouernors reigne, and reduced the same to a likelihood of some conformitie, I haue thought best to follow the same, leauing the credit thereof with the first authors.

*The pentarchie.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Rudacus | king of | Wales. |
| 2 | Clotenus | | Cornewall. |
| 3 | Pinnor | | Loegria. |
| 4 | Staterus | | Albania. |
| 5 | Yewan | | Northumberland. |

*The end of the second Booke.*

# THE THIRD BOOKE of the Historie of England.

## Of Mulmucius the first king *of Britaine, who was crowned* with a golden crowne, his lawes, *his foundations, with other* his acts and deeds.

### *The first Chapter.*

*Mulmucius.* Matth. West. Polyd.

NOw to proceede with the aforesaid authors, Mulmucius Dunwallō, or as other saie Dunuallo Mulmucius, the sonne of Cloton (as testifieth th' english chronicle and also Geffrey of Monmouth) got the vpper hand of the other dukes or rulers: and after his fathers decease began his reigne ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, in the yéere of the world 3529, after the building of Rome 314, and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 97, and about the 26 yéere of Darius Artarerres Longimanus, the fift king of the Persians. This Mulmucius Dunuallo is named in the english chronicle Donebant, and proued a right worthie prince. He builded within the citie of London then called Troinouant, a temple, and named it the temple of peace: the which (as some hold opinion, I wote not vpon what ground) was the same which now is called Blackwell hall, where the market for buieng and selling of cloths is kept. The chronicle of England affirmeth, that Mulmucius (whome the old boke nameth Molle) builded the two townes Malmesburie and the Vies. He also made manie good lawes, which were long after vsed, called Mulmucius lawes, turned out of the British speech into the Latine by Gildas Priscus, and long time after translated out of latine into english by Alfred king of England, and mingled in his statutes. He moreouer gaue priuileges to temples, to plowes, to cities, and to high waies leading to the same, so that whosoeuer fled to them, should be in safegard from bodilie harme, and from thence he might depart into what countrie he would, with indemnitie of his person. Some authors write, that he began to make the foure great high waies of Britaine, the which were finished by his sonne Blinus, as after shall be declared.

Fabian. See more in the description.

Malmesburie and the Vies built. Matth. West.

Lawes made.

Caxton and Polychron.

red.

After he had established his land, and set his Britains in good and conuenient order, he ordeined him by the aduise of his lords a crowne of gold, & caused himselfe with great solemnitie to be crowned, according to the custome of the pagan lawes then in vse: & bicause he was the first that bare a crowne here in Britaine, after the opinion of some writers, he is named the first king of Britaine, and all the other before rehearsed are named rulers, dukes, or gouernors.

The first king that was crowned with a golden crowne.

Amongst other of his ordinances, he appointed weights and measures, with the which men should buy and sell. And further he deuised sore and streight orders for the punishing of theft. Finallie, after he had guided the land by the space of fortie yéeres, he died, and was buried in the foresaid temple of peace which he had erected within the citie of Troinouant now called London, as before ye haue heard, appointing in his life time, that his kingdome should be diuided betwixt his two sonnes, Brennus and Belinus (as some men do coniecture.)

Polyd. weights and measures.

Theft punished. Fabian.

## The ioint-gouernment of Belinus and *Brennus the two sonnes of Mulmucius*, their discontentment, the stratagems of *the one against the other, the expulsion* of Brennus out of Britaine.

## *The second Chapter.*

Belinus and Brennus.

BRennus and Belinus began to reigne iointlie as kings in Britaine, in the yéere of the world 3574, after the building of the citie of Rome 355, and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 142, which was about the seuenth yéere of Artaxerres surnamed Mnemon, the seuenth king of the Persians. Belinus held vnder his gouernment Loegria, Wales, and Cornwall: and Brennus all those countries ouer and beyond Humber. And with this partition were they contented by the tearme of six or seuen yéeres, after which time expired, Brennus coueting to haue more than his portion came to, first thought to purchase himselfe aid in forreine parties, & therefore by the prouocation and counsell of yong vnquiet heads, sailed ouer into Norway, and there married the daughter of Elsung or Elsing, as then duke or ruler of that countrie. Beline offended with his brother, that he should thus without his aduice marrie with a stranger, now in his absence seized all his lands, townes, and fortresses into his owne hands, placing garisons of men of warre where he thought conuenient.

3574

Matth. West.

Polyd. saith 5.

Brennus not content with his portion.

Elsingius.

In the meane time, Brenne aduertised hereof, assembled a great nauie of ships, well furnished with people and souldiers of the Norwegians, with the which he tooke his course homewards, but in the waie he was encountred by Guilthdacus king of Denmarke, the which had laid long in wait for him, bicause of the yong ladie which Brenne had maried, for whome he had béene a suter to hir father Elsing of long time. When these two fléetes of the Danes and Norwegians met, there was a sore battell betwixt them, but finallie the Danes ouercame them of Norway, and tooke the ship wherein the new bride was conueied, and then was she brought aboord the ship of Guilthdacus. Brenne escaped by flight as well as he might. But when Guilthdacus had thus obtained the victorie and prey, suddenlie thereupon arose a sore tempest of wind and weather, which scattered the Danish fleete, and put the king in danger to haue béene lost: but finallie within fiue daies after, being driuen by force of wind, he landed in Northumberland, with a few such ships as kept togither with him.

Guilthdacus king of Denmarke.

A tempest.

Guilthdacus landed in the north.

Beline being then in that countrie, prouiding for defense against his brother, vpon knowledge of the king of Denmarks arriuall, caused him to be staied. Shortlie after, Brenne hauing recouered and gotten togither the most part of his ships that were dispersed by the discomfiture, and then newlie rigged and furnished of all things necessarie, sent word to his brother Beline, both to restore vnto him his wife wrongfullie rauished by Guilthdacus, and also his lands iniuriouslie by him seized into his possession. These requests being plainlie and shortlie denied, Brenne made no long delaie, but spéedilie made toward Albania, and landing with his armie in a part thereof, incountred with his brother Beline nére vnto a wood named as then Calater, where (after cruell fight, and mortall battell betwixt them) at length the victorie abode with the Britains, and the discomfiture did light so on the Norwegians, that the most of them were wounded, slaine, and left dead vpon the ground.

Calater wood is in Scotland.

Hereby Brenne being forced to flée, made shift, and got ouer into Gallia, where after he had sued to this prince, at length he abode, and was well receiued of one Seguinus or Seginus duke of the people called then Allobrogs (as Galfrid of Monmouth saith) or rather Armorica, which now is called Britaine, as Polychronicon, and the english historie printed by Caxton, more truelie maie seeme to affirme. But Beline hauing got the vpper hand of his enimies, assembling his councell at Caerbranke, now called York, toke aduise what he should do with the king of Denmarke: where it was ordeined, that he should be set at libertie, with condition and vnder couenant, to acknowledge himselfe by doing homage, to hold his land of the king of Britaine, and to paie him a yéerelie tribute. These couenants being agréed vpon, and hostages taken for assurance, he was set at libertie, and so returned into his countrie. The tribute that he couenanted to paie, was a thousand pounds, as the English chronicle saith.

Seguinus or Seginus duke of the Allobrogs, now the Dolphinat or Sauoy.

The Danes tributarie to the Britains.

When Beline had thus expelled his brother, and was alone possessed of all the land of Britaine, he first confirmed the lawes made by his father: and for so much as the foure waies begun by his father were not brought to perfection, he therefore caused workmen to be called forth and assembled, whom he set in hand to paue the said waies with stone, for the better passage and ease of all that should trauell through the countries from place to place, as occasion should require.

The foure high waies builded.

The first of these foure waies is named Fosse, and stretcheth from the south into the north, beginning at the corner of Totnesse in Cornewall, and so passing forth by Deuonshire, and Somersetshire, by Cutherie, on Cottelwold, and then forward beside Couentrie vnto Leicester, and from thence by wild plaines towards Newarke, and endeth at the citie of Lincolne. The second waie was named Watling stréete, the which stretcheth ouerthwart the Fosse, out of the southeast into the northeast, beginning at Douer, and passing by the middle of Kent ouer Thames beside London, by-west of Westminster, as some haue thought, and so forth by S. Albons, and by the west side of Dunstable, Stratford, Towcester, and Wedon by-south of Lilleborne, by Atherston, Gilberts hill, that now is called the Wreken, and so forth by Seuerne, passing beside Worcester, vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales, and so vnto a

The Fosse.

Watling stréet

place

place called Cardigan, at the Irish sea. The third way was named Ermingstréet, which stretched out of the west northwest, vnto the east southeast, and beginneth at Penenia, the which is in Saint Davids land in west Wales, and so vnto Southampton. The fourth and last waie hight Ykenildstréte, which leadeth by Worcester, Winchcombe, Birmingham, Lichfield, Darbie, Chesterfield, and by Yorke, and so forth vnto Tinmouth. After he had caused these waies to be well and sufficientlie raised and made, he confirmed vnto them all such priuileges as were granted by his father.

Erming strát

Ykenildstrét.

Priuileges granted to the wales.

Brennus marrieth with the duke of Allobrogs daughter, groweth into great honour, commeth into Britaine with an armie against his brother Beline, their mother reconcileth them, they ioine might & munition and haue great conquests, conflicts betweene the Galles and the Romans, the two brethren take Rome.

## The third Chapter.

IN the meane time that Beline was thus occupied about the necessarie affaires of his realme and kingdome, his brother Brenne that was fled into Gallia onelie with 12. persons, bicause he was a goodlie gentleman, and séemed to vnderstand what apperteined to honour, grew shortlie into fauour with Seginus the duke afore mentioned, and declaring vnto him his aduersitie, and the whole circumstance of his mishap, at length was so highlie cherished of the said Seginus, delting in such worthie qualities as he saw in him dailie appearing, that he gaue to him his daughter in mariage, with condition, that if he died without issue male, then should he inherit his estate & dukedome: and if it happened him to leaue anie heire male behind him, then should he yet helpe him to recouer his land and dominion in Britaine, béereft from him by his brother.

Brenne marieth the duke of Allobrogs daughter.

These conditions well and surelie vpon the dukes part by the assent of the nobles of his land concluded, ratified, and assured, the said duke within the space of one yéere after died. And then after a certeine time, being knowne that the duches was not with child, all the lords of that countrie did homage to Brenne, receiuing him as their lord and supreme gouernour, vpon whome he likewise for his part in recompense of their curtesie, bestowed a great portion of his treasure.

Shortlie after also, with their assent he gathered an armie, and with the same effsones came ouer into Britaine, to make new warre vpon his brother Beline. Of whose landing when Beline was informed, he assembled his people, and made himselfe readie to méete him: but as they were at point to haue ioined battell, by the intercession of their mother that came betwixt them, and demeaned hirselfe in all motherlie order, and most louing maner towards them both, they fell to an agréement, and were made friends or euer they parted asunder.

Brenne with an armie returneth into Britaine.

Brenne and Beline made friends by intercession of their mother.

After this they repaired to London, and there taking aduice togither with their peeres and councellors, for the good order and quieting of the land, at length they accorded to passe with both their armies into Gallia, to subdue that whole countrie, and so following this determination, they toke shipping and sailed ouer into Gallia, where beginning the warre with fire and sword, they wrought such maisteries, that within a short time (as saith Geffrey of Monmouth) they conquered a great part of Gallia, Italie, and Germanie, and brought it to their subiection. In the end they toke Rome by this occasion (as writers report) if these be the same that had the leading of those Galles, which in this season did so much hurt in Italie and other parts of the world.

They inuade Gallia and Italie.

After they had passed the mountaines, & were entred into Tuscan, they besieged the citie of Clusium, the citizens whereof being in great danger, sent to Rome for aid against their enimies. Whereupon the Romanes, considering with themselues that although they were not in anie league of societie with the Clusians, yet if they were ouercome the danger of the nert brunt were like to be theirs: with all speed they sent ambassadours to intreat betwixt the parties for some peace to be had.

Now Clusi.

Ambassadours sent from Rome.

They that were sent, required the capteines of the Galles, in the name of the senat and citizens of Rome, not to molest the friends of the Romans. Whereunto answere was made by Brennus, that for his part he could be content to haue peace, if it were so that the Clusians would be agréeable that the Galles might haue part of the countrie which they held, bring more than they did alreadie well occupie, for otherwise (said he) there could be no peace granted.

Brennus answere.

The Romane ambassadours being offended with these words, demanded what the Galles had to do in Tuscan, by reason of which and other the like ouerthwart wordes, the parties began to kindle in displeasure so farre, that their communication brake off, and so they from treating fell againe to trie the matter by dint of sword.

The treatie of peace breaketh off.

The Romane ambassadours also to shew of what prowesse the Romans were, contrarie to the law of nations (forbidding such as came in ambassage about anie treatie of peace to take either one part or other) toke weapon in hand, and ioined themselues with the Clusians, wherewith the Galles were so much displeased, that incontinentlie with one voice, they required to haue the siege raised from Clusium, that they might go to Rome. But Brennus thought good first to send messengers thither, to require the deliuerie of such as had broken the law, that punishment might be done on them accordinglie as they had deserued. This was done, and knowledge brought againe, that the ambassadors were not onelie not punished, but also chosen to be tribunes for the nert yeare.

The Galles then became in such a rage (because they saw there was nothing to be looked for at the hands of the Romans, but warre, iniurious wrongs, and deceitfull traines) that they turned all their force against them, marching streight towardes Rome, and by the waie destroied all that stood before them.

The Galles make towards Rome.

The Romans aduertised thereof, assembled themselues togither to the number of 40. thousand, and encountring with Beline and Brenne, neare to the riuer Allia, about 11. miles on this side Rome, were slaine and quite discomfited.

The Romans incountring with the Galles are ouerthrowne.

The Galles could scarse beléeue that they had got the victorie with so small resistance: but when they perceiued that the Romans were quite ouerthrowne and that the field was clearelie rid of them, they got togither the spoile, and made towards Rome it selfe, where such feare and terror was striken into the heartes of the people, that all men were in despaire to defend the citie: and therefore the senate with all the warlike youth of the citizens got them into the capitoll, which they furnished with victuals and all things necessarie for the maintenance of the

The Romans in despaire withdraw into the capitoll.

same against a long siege. The honorable fathers and all the multitude of other people not apt for warres, remained still in the citie, as it were to perish with their countrie if hap so befell.

The Galles enter into Rome.

In the meane time came the Galles to the citie, and entring by the gate Collina, they passed forth the right way vnto the market place, marueling to see the houses of the power sort to be shut against them, and those of the richer to remaine wide open; wherefore being doubtfull of some deceitfull traines, they were not ouer rash to enter the same; but after they had espied the ancient fathers sit in their chaires apparelled in their rich robes, as if they had bin in the senat, they reuerenced them as gods, so honorable was their port, grauenesse in countenance, and shew of apparell.

The reuerend aspect of the senators.

Marcus Papirius.

In the meane time it chanced, that Marcus Papirius stroke one of the Galles on the head with his staffe, because he presumed to stroke his beard: with which iniurie the Gall being prouoked, slue Papirius (as he sat) with his sword, and therewith the slaughter being begun with one, all the residue of those ancient fatherlie men as they sat in their chaires were slaine and cruellie murthered. After this all the people found in the citie without respect or difference at all, were put to the sword, and their houses sacked. And thus was Rome taken by the two brethren, Beline and Brenne, 365 yeares after the first building thereof. Besides this, the Galles attempted in the night season to haue entred the capitoll: and in deed ordered their enterpaise so secretlie, that they had atchiued their purpose, if a sort of ganders had not with their crie and noise disclosed them, in wakening the Romans that were asleepe: so by that meanes were the Galles beaten backe and repelled.

Rome sacked.

365

The capitoll defended.

## Camillus reuoked from exile, made *dictator, and receiueth peremptorie au*-thoritie, he ouerthroweth the Galles in a *pitcht field, controuersie betweene wri*-ters touching Brennus and Belinus left *vndetermined; of diuers foundations, erec*-tions and reparations doone and atchiued *by Belinus, the burning of his bodie in stead of his buriens.*

## *The fourth Chapter.*

THe Romans being thus put to their extreame shift, deuised among themselues how to reuoke Furius Camillus from exile, whom not long before they had vniustlie banished out of the citie. In the end they did not onelie send for him home, but also created him dictator, committing into his handes (so long as his office lasted) an absolute power ouer all men, both of life and death. Camillus forgetfull of the iniurie done to him, and mindfull of his dutie towards his countrie, and lamenting the state thereof, without delay gathered such an armie as the present time permitted.

In the meane time those that kept the capitoll (being almost famished for lacke of vittels) compounded with Brenne and Beline, that for a thousand pounds weight in gold, the Romans should redéeme their liberties, and the said Brenne and Beline depart with their armie out of the citie and all the territories of Rome. But at the deliuerie of the monie, and by a certeine kind of hap, the Romans

A composition

name was preserued at that time from such dishonor and ignominie as was likelie to haue insued. For some of the couetous sort of the Galles, not contented with the iust weight of the gold, did cast their swords also into the balance where the weights lay, thereby to haue ouer weight: whereupon the Romans refused to make paiment after that weight.

And thus whilest they were in altercation about this matter, the one importunate to haue, the other not willing to grant, the time passed, till in the meane season Camillus came in amongst them with his power, commanding that the gold should be had away, and affirming that without consent of the dictator, no composition or agreement might be concluded by the meaner magistrate. He gaue a signe to the Galles to prepare themselues to battell, whervnto they lightlie agréed, and togither they went. The battell being once begun, the Galles that loked earst for gold, and not for battell, were easilie ouercome, such as stood to the brunt were slaine, and the rest by flight constreined to depart the citie.

Camillus ordeined appointeth the Galles their paiment.

The Galles ouerthowne.

Polybius writeth, that the Galles were turned from the siege of the citie, through wars which chanced amongst their owne people at home, and therefore they concluded a peace with the Romans, and leauing them in libertie returned home againe.

But howsoeuer the matter passed, thus much haue we stept from our purpose, to shew somwhat of that noble and most famous capteine Brennus, who (as not onelie our histories, but also Giouan Villani the Florentine doth report) was a Britaine, and brother to Beline (as before is mentioned) although I know that manie other writers are not of that mind, affirming him to be a Gall, and likewise that after this present time of the taking of Rome by this Brennus 110 yeares, or there abouts, there was another Brennus a Gall by nation (say they) vnder whose conduct an other armie of the Gals inuaded Grecia, which Brennus had a brother that hight Belgius, although Humfrey Llhoyd and sir Iohn Prise doo flatlie denie the same, by reason of some discordance in writers, namelie in the computation of the yeares set downe by them that haue recorded the doings of those times, whereof the error is growen. Howbeit I doubt not but that the truth of this matter shall be more fullie sifted out in time by the learned and studious of such antiquities. But now to our purpose.

This is also to be noted, that where our histories make mention, that Beline was abroad with Brennus in the most part of his victories, both in Gallia, Germanie, and Italie; Titus Liuius speaketh but onlie of Brennus: whereupon some write, that after the two brethren were by their mothers intreatance made friends, Brennus onlie went ouer to Gallia, and there through proofe of his worthie prowesse, atteined to such estimation amongst the people called *Galli Senones*, that he was chosen to be their generall capteine at their going ouer the mountaines into Italie. But whether Beline went ouer with his brother, and finallie returned backe againe, leauing Brennus behind him, as some write, or that he went not at all, but remained still at home whilest his brother was abroad, we can affirme no certeintie.

Titus Liu. Polydor.

Matth. West.

Most part of all our writers make report of manie worthie deeds accomplished by Beline, in repairing of cities decaied, & erecting of other new buildings, to the adorning and beautifieng of his realme and kingdome. And amongst other works which were by him erected, he builded a citie in the south part of Wales, neare to the place where the riuer of Uske falleth into Seuerne, fast by Glamorgan, which citie hight Caerleon, or Caerlegion Ar Wiske. This Caerleon was the principall citie in time past of all Demetia, now called Southwales. Manie notable monu-

Polychr. Gal.M. Caerleon. Wiske built by Beline.

monuments are remaining there till this day, testifieng the great magnificence and roiall buildings of that citie in old time. In which citie also sith the time of Christ were three churches, one of saint Julius the martyr, an other of saint Aron, and the third was the mother church of all Demetia, and the chiefe see: but after, the same see was translated vnto Menenia, (that is to say) saint Dauid in Westwales. In this Caerleon was Amphibulus borne, who taught and instructed saint Albon.

This Belin also builded an hauen, with a gate ouer the same, within the citie of Troinouant now called London, in the summitie or highest part whereof afterwards was set a vessell of waxe, in the which were put the ashes of his bodie, which bodie after his decease was burnt, as the maner of burieng in those daies did require. This gate was long after called Belins gate, and at length by corruption of language Billings gate. He builded also a castell eastward from this gate (as some haue written) which was long time after likewise called Belins castell, and is the same which now we call the tower of London. Thus Belin studieng dailie to beautifie this land with godlie buildings and famous workes, at length departed this life, after he had reigned with his brother iointlie and alone the space of 26 yeres.

Fabian.

John Leland.

The tower of London built by Belin.

## Of Gurguintus, Guintolinus, and Sicilius, three kings of Britaine succeeding each other by lineall descent in the regiment, and of their acts and deeds, with a notable commendation of Queene Martia.

### The fift Chapter.

*Gurguintus.*

GVrguintus the sonne of Belin began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare of the world 1596, after the building of Rome 380, after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 164 complet, which was about the 33 yeare of Artarerres Mnemon, surnamed Magnus, the seuenth king of the Persians. This Gurguint in the English chronicle is named Coirinbratus, and by Matthew Westmin. he is surnamed Barbiruc, the which bicause the tribute granted by Guilthdag king of Denmarke in perpetuitie vnto the kings of Britaine was denied, he sailed with a mightie nauie and armie of men into Denmarke, where he made such warre with fire and sword, that the king of Denmarke with the assent of his barons was constreined to grant essoines to continue the paiment of the aforesaid tribute.

Matth. West. Gal. M.

Gurguint constrained the Danes by force to pay their tribute.

After he had thus atchiued his desire in Denmarke, as he returned backe towards Britaine, he encountred with a naue of 30 ships beside the Iles of Orkenies. These ships were fraught with men and women, and had to their capteine one called Bartholin or Partholin, who being brought to the presence of king Gurguint, declared that he with his people were banished out of Spaine, and were named Balenses or Baselenses, and had sailed long on the sea, to the end to find some prince that would assigne them a place to inhabit, to whom they would become subiects, & hold of him as of their souereigne gouernor. Therefore he besought the king to consider their estate, and of his great benignitie to appoint some void quarter where they might settle. The king with the aduice of his barons granted to them the Ile of Ireland, which as then (by report of some authors) lay waste and without habitation. But it should appeare by other writers, that it was inhabited long before those daies, by the people called Hiberienses, of Hiberus their capteine that brought them also out of Spaine.

Matth. West. Gal. Mon.

Basques.

See more hereof in Ireland.

Polychron.

After that Gurguintus was returned into his countrie, he ordeined that the laws made by his ancestors should be dulie kept and obserued. And thus administring iustice to his subiects for the tearme of 19 yeares, he finallie departed this life, and was buried at London, or as some haue at Caerleon. In his daies was the towne of Cambridge with the vniuersitie first founded by Cantaber, brother to the aforesaid Bartholin (according to some writers) as after shall appeare.

Caius.

*Guintolinus.*

GVintolinus or Guintilius the sonne of Gurguintus was admitted king of Britaine in the yere of the world 3614, after the building of the citie of Rome 399, and second yere of the 206 Olimpiad. This Guintoline was a wise prince, graue in counsell, and sober in behauior. He had also a wife named Martia, a woman of perfect beautie, & wisedome incomparable, as by hir prudent gouernement and equall administration of iustice after hir husbands decease, during hir sonnes minoritie, it most manifestlie appeared.

It is thought that in an happie time this Guintoline came to the gouernement of this kingdome, being shaken and brought out of order with ciuill dissentions, to the end he might reduce it to the former estate, which he earnestlie accomplished: for hauing once got the place, he studied with great diligence to reforme anew, and to adorne with iustice, lawes and good orders, the British common wealth, by other kings not so framed as stood with the quietnesse thereof. But afore all things he vtterlie remoued and appeased such ciuill discord, as seemed yet to remaine after the maner of a remnant of those seditions factions and partakings, which had so long time reigned in this land. But as he was busie in hand herewith, death tooke him out of this life, after he had reigned 27 yeares, and then was he buried at London.

*Sicilius.*

SIcilius the sonne of Guintoline, being not past seuen yeares of age when his father died, was admitted king, in the yeare 3659, after the building of Rome 430, & after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 218, & in the first after the death of Alexander. By reason that Sicilius was not of age sufficient of himselfe to guide the kingdome of the Britains, his mother that worthie ladie called Martia, had the gouernance both of his realme and person committed to hir charge.

Queene Martia gouerneth in hir sonnes roome.

She was a woman expert and skilfull in diuers sciences, but chiefelie being admitted to the gouernance of the realme, she studied to preserue the common wealth in good quiet and wholsome order, and therefore deuised and established profitable and conuenient lawes, the which after were called Martian lawes, of hir name that first made them. These lawes, as those that were thought good and necessarie for the preseruation of the common wealth, Alfred, or Alured, that was long after king of England, translated also out of the British tong, into the English Saron speech, and then were they called after that translation Marchenelagh, that is to meane, the lawes of Martia. To conclude, this worthie woman guided the land during the minoritie of hir sonne right politikelie; and highlie to hir perpetuall renowme and commendation. And when hir sonne came to lawfull age, she deliuered vp the gouernance into his handes. How long he reigned writers varie, some auouch but seuen yeares, though other

She maketh lawes.

Matth. West.

Matt. West.

other affirme 15. which agréeth not so well with the accord of other histories and times. He was buried at London.

## Of Kimarus and his sudden end, of Elanius and his short regiment, of Morindus and his beastlie crueltie, all three immediatlie succeeding each other in the monarchie of Britaine, with the exploits of the last.

## The sixt Chapter.

*Kimarus.* KImarus the sonne of Sicilius began to reigne ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3657, and after the building of Rome 442, & in the first yeare of the 117, Olimpiad. This Kimarus being a wild yong man, and giuen to follow his lusts and pleasures, was slaine by some that were his enimies, as he was abroad in hunting, when he had reigned scarselie three yeares.

Fabian.

*Elanius.* ELanius the sonne of Kimarus, or (as other haue) his brother, began to rule the Britaines in the yeare after the creation of the world 3361, after the building of Rome 445, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 229, and in the fourth yeare of the Seleuciens, after which account the bookes of Machabees do reckon, which began in the 14, after the death of Alexander. This Elanius in the English Chronicle is named also Haran; by Mat. Westm. Danius; and by an old chronicle which Fabian much followed, Elanius and Kimarus should seeme to be one person: but other hold the contrarie, and saie that he reigned fullie 8. yeares.

Matth. West.

*Morindus.* MOrindus the bastard sonne of Elanius was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3667, after the building of Rome 451, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 236, and in the tenth yeare of Cassander K. of Macedonia, which hauing dispatched Olimpias the mother of Alexander the great, and gotten Roxanes with Alexanders sonne into his hands, vsurped the kingdome of the Macedonians, and held it 15 yéeres. This Morindus in the English chronicle is called Morwith, and was a man of worthie fame in chiualrie and martiall dooings, but so cruell withall, that his vnmercifull nature could scarse be satisfied with the torments of them that had offended him, although oftentimes with his owne hands he cruellie put them to torture and execution. He was also beautifull and comelie of personage, liberall and bounteous, and of a maruellous strength.

G. Mon.

In his daies, a certeine king of the people called Morani, with a great armie landed in Northumberland, and began to make cruell warre vpon the inhabitants. But Morindus aduertised héerof, assembled his Britains, came against the enimies, and in battell putting them to flight, chased them to their ships, and toke a great number of them prisoners, whome to the satisfieng of his cruell nature he caused to be slaine euen in his presence. Some of them were headed, some strangled, some panched, and some he caused to be slaine quicke.

The like may be thought of those Murreis or Moramians of whom H.B. speaketh. Fabian.

¶ These people (whome Gal. Mon. nameth Moriani) I take to be either those that inhabited about Terrouane and Calice, called Morini, or some other people of the Galles or Germaines, and not as some estéeme them, Morauians, or Merhenners, which were not knowen to the world (as Humfrey Lhoyd hath verie well noted) till about the daies of the emperour Mauricius, which misconstruction of names hath brought the British historie further out of credit than reason requireth, if the circumstances be dulie considered.

But now to end with Morindus. At length this bloudie prince heard of a monster that was come a land out of the Irish sea, with the which when he would néeds fight, he was deuoured of the same, after he had reigned the terme of 8 yeeres, leauing behind him fiue sonnes, Gorbonianus, Archigallus, Elidurus, Vigenius or Pigenius, and Peredurus.

## Of Gorbonianus, Archigallus, Elidurus, Vigenius, and Peredurus, the fiue sons of Morindus, the building of Cambridge, the restitution of Archigallus to the regiment after his depriuation, Elidurus three times admitted king, his death and place of interrement.

## The seuenth Chapter.

*Gorbomen or Gorbonianus.* GOrbonianus the first son of Morindus succéeded his father in the kingdome of Britain, in the yeare of the world 3676, after the building of Rome 461, and fourth yeare of the 121, Olimpiad. This Gorbonianus in the English chronicle is named Granbodian, and was a righteous prince in his gouernment, and verie deuout (according to such deuotion as he had) towards the aduancing of the religion of his gods: and therupon he repaired all the old temples through his kingdome, and erected some new.

A righteous and religious prince.

He also builded the townes of Cambridge and Grantham (as Caxton writeth) and was beloued both of the rich and poore, for he honoured the rich, and relieued the poore in time of their necessities. In his time was more plentie of all things necessarie for the wealthfull state of man, than had béene before in anie of his predecessors daies. He died without issue, after he had reigned (by the accord of most writers) about the terme of ten yeares.

By this it should seeme that Ptlad should not be in Scotland, contrarie to the Scotish authors.

Some write that this Gorbonian built the townes of Cairgrant, now called Cambridge, & also Grantham, but some thinke that those which haue so written are deceiued, in mistaking the name; for that Cambridge was at the first called Granta: and by that meanes it might be that Gorbonian built onlie Grantham, and not Cambridge, namelie because other write how that Cambridge (as before is said) was built in the daies of Gurguntius the sonne of Beline, by one Cantaber a Spaniard, brother to Partholoin, which Partholoin by the aduice of the same Gurguntius, got seates for himselfe and his companie in Ireland (as before ye haue heard.)

Cambridge by whome it was built.

An example of brotherlie loue.

The said Cantaber also obteining licence of Gurguntius, builded a towne vpon the side of the riuer called Canta, which he closed with walles, and fortified with a strong tower or castell, and after procuring philosophers to come hither from Athens (where in his youth he had bene a student) he placed them there, and so euen then was that place furnished (as they saie) with learned men, and such as were readie to instruct others in knowledge of letters and philosophicall doctrine. But by whome or in what time soeuer it was built, certeine it is that there was a citie or towne walled in that place before the comming of the Saxons, called by the Britaines



taines

Archigallus.

He is giuen to nourish dissention.

Elidurus.

taines Caergrant, and by the Saxons Grancheſter.

This towne fell ſo to ruine by the inuaſion of the Saxons, that at length it was in maner left deſolate, and at this day remaineth as a village. But néere thereunto vnder the Saxon kings, an other towne was built, now called Cambridge, where by the fauour of king Sigebert and Felix a Burgundian, that was biſhop of Dunwich, a ſchole was erected, as in place conuenient ſhall appeare.

*Archigallus.*

ARchigallus, the ſecond ſonne of Morindus, and brother vnto Gorbonianus, was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare 3686, after the building of the citie of Rome 470, after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie 255, and in the firſt yeare of Soſthenes king of Macedonia. This Archigallus (in the Engliſh chronicle called Artogaill) followed not the ſteppes of his brother, but giuing himſelfe to diſſention and ſtrife, imagined cauſes againſt his nobles, that he might diſplace them, and ſet ſuch in their romes as were men of baſe birth and of euill conditions. Alſo he ſought by vnlawfull meanes to bereaue his wealthie ſubiects of their goods and riches, ſo to inrich himſelfe and impoueriſh his people. For the which his inordinate doings, his nobles conſpired againſt him, and finallie depriued him of all his honor and kinglie dignitie, after he had reigned about the ſpace of one yeare.

*He is giuen to nourish diſſention.*

*Elidurus.*

ELidurus the third ſonne of Morindus, and brother to Archigallus, was by one conſent of the Britains choſen to reigne ouer them in his brothers ſtead, after the creation of the world 3687, and after the building of the citie of Rome 471, after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites 256, & in the firſt yeare of Soſthenes king of Macedonia. This Elidurus in the Engliſh chronicle named Heſider, or Eſider, proued a moſt righteous prince, and doubting leaſt he ſhould doo otherwiſe than became him, if he did not take care for his brother Archigallus eſtate, a man might wonder what diligence he ſhewed in trauelling with the nobles of the realme to haue his brother reſtored to the crowne againe.

Now as it chanced one day (being abroad on hunting in the wood called Calater) neare vnto Yorke, he found his brother Archigall wandering there in the thickeſt of that wilderneſſe, whom in moſt louing maner he ſecretlie conueied home to his houſe, being as then in the citie of Aldud, otherwiſe called Acliud. Shortlie after he feined himſelfe ſicke, and in all haſt ſent meſſengers about to aſſemble his barons, who being come at the day appointed, he called them one after another into his priuie chamber, and there handled them in ſuch effectuous ſort with wiſe and diſcréet words, that he got their good wils to further him to their powers, for the reducing of the kingdome eftſoones into the hands of his brother Archigallus.

*By this it ſhould ſéeme that Iclud ſhould not be in Scotland, contrarie to the Scotiſh authors.*

After this he aſſembled a councell at Yorke, where he ſo vſed the matter with the commons, that in concluſion, when the ſaid Elidurus had gouerned the land well and honourablie the ſpace of thrée yeares, he reſigned wholie his crowne and kinglie title vnto his brother Archigallo, who was receiued of the Britaines againe as king by mediation of his brother in manner as before is ſaid. ¶ A rare example of brotherlie loue, if a man ſhall reuolue in his mind what an inordinate deſire remaineth amongſt mortall men to atteine to the ſupreme ſouereintie of ruling, and to kéepe the ſame when they haue it once in poſſeſſion. He had well learned this leſſon (as may appeare by his contentation and reſignation) namelie, that

*Nec abnuendum ſi dat imperium Deus,*
*Nec appetendum,* *Sen. in Thieſt.*

otherwiſe he would not haue béene led with ſuch an equabilitie of mind. For this great good will and brotherlie loue by him ſhewed thus toward his brother, he was ſurnamed the godlie and vertuous.

*An example of brotherlie loue.*

*Archigallus again.*

WHen Archigallus was thus reſtored to the kingdome, and hauing learned by due correction that he muſt turne the leafe, and take out a new leſſon, by changing his former trade of liuing into better, if he would reigne in quietie: he became a new man, vſing himſelfe vprightlie in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, and behauing himſelfe ſo worthilie in all his doings, both toward the nobles & commons of his realme, that he was both beloued and dread of all his ſubiects. And ſo continuing the whole tearme of his life, finallie departed out of this world, after he had reigned this ſecond time the ſpace of ten yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

*Elidurus againe.*

*Matt. Weſt. Brother againſt brother.*

ELidurus brother to this Archigallus was then againe admitted king by conſent of all the Britaines, 3700 of the world. But his two yonger brethren, Vigenius and Peredurus, enuieng the happie ſtate of this worthie prince, ſo highlie for his vertue and good gouernance eſteemed of the Britains, of a grounded malice conſpired againſt him, and aſſembling an armie, leuied warre againſt him, and in a pitcht field toke him priſoner, and put him in the tower of London, there to be kept cloſe priſoner, after he had reigned now this laſt time the ſpace of one yeare.

*Elidure committed to priſon.*

*Vigenius and Peredurus.*

VIgenius and Peredurus, the yongeſt ſonnes of Morindus, and brethren to Elidurus, began to reigne iointlie as kings of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3701, after the building of Rome 485, after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites 266 complet, and in the 12 yeare of Antigonus Gonatas, the ſonne of Demetrius king of the Macedonians. Theſe two brethren in the Engliſh chronicles are named Higanius and Petitur, who (as Gal. Mon. teſtifieth) diuided the realme betwixt them, ſo that all the land from Humber weſtward fell to Vigenius, or Higanius, the other part beyond Humber northward Peredure held. But other affirme, that Peredurus onelie reigned, and held his brother Elidurus in priſon by his owne conſent, forſomuch as he was not willing to gouerne.

*Britaine diuided into two realmes.*

But Gal. Mon. ſaith, that Vigenius died after he had reigned 7 yeares, and then Peredurus ſeized all the land into his owne rule, and gouerned it with ſuch ſobrietie and wiſedome, that he was praiſed aboue all his brethren, ſo that Elidurus was quite forgotten of the Britains. But others write that he was a verie tyrant, and vſed himſelfe verie cruellie towards the lords of his land, whereupon they rebelled and ſlue him. But whether by violent hand, or by naturall ſickneſſe, he finallie departed this life, after the conſent of moſt writers, when he had reigned eight yeares, leauing no iſſue behind him to ſucceed in the gouernance of the kingdome. He builded the towne of Pikering, where his bodie was buried.

*Varietie in writers.*

*Caxton. Eth. Bur.*

ELidurus then, as ſoone as his brother Peredurus was dead, for as much as he was next heire to the crowne, was deliuered out of priſon, and now the third time admitted king of Britaine, who vſed himſelfe (as before) verie orderlie in miniſtring to all perſons right and iuſtice all the daies of his life, and laſtlie being growne to great age died, when he had reigned now this third time (after moſt concordance of writers) the tearme of foure yeares: and was buried at Caerleill.

*Elidurus the third time.*

*He is buried at Caerleill.*

A Chapter of digreſsion, ſhewing the *diuerſitie of writers in opinion, touching* the computation of yeares from the beginning *of the British kings of this Iland downewards*; ſince Gurguintus time, till the death of Elidurus; *and likewiſe till king Lud reigned in his royaltie,* with the names of ſuch kings as ruled betweene the laſt yeare of Elidurus, and the firſt of Lud.

## *The eight Chapter.*

HEre is to be noted, that euen from the beginning of the Britiſh kings, which reigned here in this land, there is great diuerſitie amongeſt writers, both touching the names, and alſo the times of their reignes, ſpeciallie till they come to the death of the laſt mentioned king Elidurus. Inſomuch that Polydor Virgil in his hiſtorie of England, finding a manifeſt error (as he taketh it) in thoſe writers whome he followeth touching the account, from the comming of Brute, vnto the ſacking of Rome by Brennus, whome our hiſtories affirme to be the brother of Beline, that to fill vp the number which is wanting in the reckoning of the yeares of thoſe kings which reigned after Brute, till the daies of the ſame Brenne & Beline, he thought good to change the order, leaſt one error ſhould follow an other, and ſo of one error making manie, he hath placed thoſe kings which after other writers ſhould ſeeme to follow Brenne and Beline, betwixt Dunuallo and Pulmucius, father to the ſaid Beline and Brenne, and thoſe fiue kings which ſtroue for the gouernement after the deceaſſe of the two brethren, Ferrex and Porrex, putting Guintoline to ſucceed after the fiue kings or rulers, and after Guintoline his wife Martia, during the minoritie of hir ſonne, then hir ſaid ſonne named Sicilius. Polydor.

After him ſucceeded theſe whoſe names follow in order, Chimarius, Danius, Porindus, Gorbonianus, Archigallo, who being depoſed, Elidurus was made king, and ſo continued till he reſtored the gouernement (as ye haue heard) to Archigallo againe, and after his death Elidurus was eftſoones admitted, and within a while againe depoſed by Vigenius and Peredurus, and after their deceaſſes the third time reſtored. Then after his deceaſſe followed ſucceſſiuelie Veginus, Porganus, Ennanus, Idmallo, Rimo, Geruntius, Catellus, Coilus, Porrex the ſecond of that name, Cherinus, Fulgentius, Eldalus, Androgeus, Vrianus and Eliud, after whom ſhould follow Dunuallo Molmucius, as in his proper place, if the order of things done, & the courſe of time ſhould be obſerued, as Polydor gathereth by the account of yeares attributed to thoſe kings that reigned before and after Dunuallo, according to thoſe authours whom (as I ſaid) he followeth, if they will that Brennus which led the Galles to Rome be the ſame that was ſonne to the ſaid Dunuallo Pulmucius, and brother to Beline.

But ſith other haue in better order brought out a perfect agréement in the account of yeares, and ſucceſſion of thoſe kings, which reigned and gouerned in this land before the ſacking of Rome; and alſo another ſuch as it is after the ſame, and before the Romans had anie perfect knowledge thereof; we haue thought good to follow them therein, leauing to euerie man his libertie to iudge as his knowledge ſhall ſerue him in a thing ſo doubtfull and vncerteine, for reaſon of variance amongſt the ancient writers in that behalfe.

And euen as there is great difference in writers ſince Gurguintus, till the death of Elidurus, ſo is there as great or rather greater after his deceaſſe, ſpeciallie till king Lud atteined the kingdome: But as maie be gathered by that which Fabian and other whome he followeth do write, there paſſed aboue 185 yeares betwixt the laſt yeare of Elidurus, and the beginning of king Lud his reigne, in the which time there reigned 32, or 33, kings, as ſome writers haue mentioned, whoſe names (as Gal. Mon. hath recorded) are theſe immediatlie here named; Regnie the ſonne of Gorbolian or Gorbonian, a worthie prince, who iuſtlie and mercifullie gouerned his people; Margan the ſonne of Archigallo a noble prince likewiſe, and guiding his ſubiects in good quiet; Emerian brother to the ſame Margan, but far vnlike to him in maners, ſo that he was depoſed in the firſt yeare of his reigne; Powallo ſonne to Vigenius; Rimo the ſonne of Peredurus; Geruntius the ſonne of Elidurus; Catell that was buried at Wincheſter; Coill that was buried at Nottingham; Porrex a vertuous and moſt gentle prince; Cherinus a drunkard; Fulginius, Eldad, and Androgeus; theſe three were ſonnes to Cherinus, and reigned ſucceſſiuelie one after another; after them a ſonne of Androgeus; then Eliud, Dedaicus, Clotinius, Gurguntius, Merianns, Bledius, Cop, Owen, Sicilius, Bledgabredus an excellent muſician: after him his brother Archemall; then Eldol, Red, Rodiecke, Samull, Peniſell, Pir, Capoir; after him his ſonne Gligweil an vpright dealing prince, and a good iuſticiarie; whom ſucceeded his ſonne Helie, which reigned 60 yeares, as the ſaid Gal. Mon. writeth, where other affirme that he reigned 40 yeares, and ſome againe ſay that he reigned but 7 moneths. Fabian. Vrianus. Lud. A worthie prince.

There is great diuerſitie in writers touching the reignes of theſe kings, and not onlie for the number of yeares which they ſhould continue in their reignes but alſo in their names: ſo that to ſhew the diuerſitie of all the writers, were but to ſmall purpoſe, ſith the doings of the ſame kings were not great by report made thereof by any approued author. But this maie ſuffice to aduertiſe you, that by conferring the yeares attributed to the other kings which reigned before them, ſince the comming of Brute, who ſhould enter this land (as by the beſt writers is gathered) about the yeare before the building of Rome 367, which was in the yeare after the creation of the world 2850 (as is ſaid) with their time, there remaineth 182 yeares to be dealt amongſt theſe 33 kings, which reigned betwixt the ſaid Elidure & Lud, which Lud alſo began his reigne after the building of the citie of Rome (as writers affirme) about 679 yeares, and in the yeare of the world 3895, as ſome that will ſeeme the preciſeſt calculators do gather. London incloſed with a wall Iohn Hard. Fabian. Gal. Mon. Mat. Weſt. The biſhops palace.

Polydor Virgil changing (as I haue ſhewed) the order of ſucceſſion in the Britiſh kings, in bringing diuerſe of thoſe kings, which after other writers followed Beline and Brenne, to preceed them ſo ſucceſſiuelie after Beline and Brenne, reherſeth thoſe that by his coniecture did by likelihood ſucceed, as thus. After the deceſſe of Beline, his ſonne Gurguntius, being the ſecond of that name, ſucceeded in gouernment of the land, and then theſe in order as they follow: Merianus, Bladanus, Capcus, Duinus, Sicilius, Bledgabredus, Archemallus, Eldorus, Rodianus, Redargius, Samulius, Peniſellus, Pyrrhus, Caporus, Dinellus, and Helie, who had iſſue, Lud, Caſſibellane, and Nennius. The name of Troinouant changed and called London

Of king Helie who gaue the name to the Ile of Elie, of king Lud, and what memorable edifices he made. London sometimes called Luds towne, his bountifull-nes, and buriall.

## The ninth Chapter.

HEre note by the waie a thing not to be forgotten, that of the foreland Helie the last of the said 32 kings, the Ile of Elie toke the name, bicause that he most commonlie did there inhabit, building in the same a goodly palace, and making great reparations of the sluces, ditches & cau-sies about that Ile, for conueiance awaie of the wa-ter, that els would sore haue indamaged the coun-trie. There be that haue mainteined, that this Ile should rather take name of the great abundance of eeles that are found in these waters and fennes wher-with this Ile is inuironed. But Humfrey Llhoyd holdeth, that it toke name of this British word He-lig, which signifieth willowes, wherwith those fennes abound.

wherof the Ile of Elie toke name.

After the decesse of the same Helie, his eldest son Lud began his reigne, in the yeere after the crea-tion of the world 3895, after the building of the ci-tie of Rome 679, before the comming of Christ 72, and before the Romanes entred Britaine 19 yeeres. This Lud proued a right worthie prince, amending the lawes of the realme that were defective, abol-shing euill customs and maners vsed amongst his people, and repairing old cities and townes which were decaied: but speciallie he delited most to beau-tifie and inlarge with buildings the citie of Troino-uant, which he compassed with a strong wall made of lime and stone, in the best maner fortified with di-uerse faire towers: and in the west part of the same wall he erected a strong gate, which he commanded to be called after his name, Luds gate, and so vnto this daie it is called Ludgate, (S) onelie drowned in pronuntiation of the word.

Lud.

A worthie prince.

London inclo-sed with a wal Iohn Hard.

In the same citie also he soiorned for the more part, by reason whereof the inhabitants increased, and manie habitations were builded to receiue them, and he himselfe caused buildings to be made betwixt London stone and Ludgate, and builded for himselfe not farre from the said gate a faire palace, which is the bishop of Londons palace beside Paules at this daie, as some thinke; yet Harison supposeth it to haue bin Bainards castell, where the blacke friers now standeth. He also builded a faire temple neere to his said palace, which temple (as some take it) was after turned to a church, and at this daie called Paules. By reason that king Lud so much esteemed that ci-tie before all other of his realme, inlarging it so greatlie as he did, and continuallie in manner re-mained there, the name was changed, so that it was called Caerlud, that is to saie, Luds towne: and after by corruption of speech it was named London.

Fabian. Gal. Mon. Matt. West.

The bishops palace.

The name of Troinouant changed and called London

Beside the princelie doings of this Lud touching the aduancement of the common wealth by studies apperteining to the time of peace, he was also strong & valiant in armes, in subduing his enimies, boun-tious and liberall both in gifts and keeping a plenti-full house, so that he was greatlie beloued of all the Britaines. Finallie, when he had reigned with great honour for the space of 11 yeeres, he died, and was buried neere Ludgate, leauing after him two sons, Androgeus and Theomancius or Tenancius.

Of Cassibellane and his noble mind, Julius Cæsar sendeth Caius Volusenus to suruey the coasts of this land, he lieth with his fleet at Calice, purposing to inuade the countrie, his attempt is be-wraied and withstood by the Britains.

## The tenth Chapter.

CAssibellane the brother of Lud was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeere of the world 3908, after the buil-ding of Rome 692, and be-fore the comming of Christ 58 complet. For lith the two sonnes of Lud were not of age able to gouerne, the rule of the land was com-mitted to Cassibellane: but yet (as some haue writ-ten) he was not created king, but rather appointed ruler & protector of the land, during the nonage of his nephewes. Now after he was admitted (by whatsoe-uer order) to the administration of the common wealth, he became so noble a prince and so bounti-ous, that his name spred farre and neere, and by his vpright dealing in seeing iustice executed he grew in such estimation, that the Britaines made small ac-count of his nephewes, in comparison of the fauour which they bare towards him. But Cassibellane ha-uing respect to his honour, least it might be thought that his nephewes were expelled by him out of their rightfull possessions, brought them vp verie honou-rablie; assigning to Androgeus, London and Kent; and to Theomantius the countrie of Cornwall. Thus farre out of the British histories, whereby it maie be gathered, that the yeeres assigned to these kings that reigned before Cassibellane, amount to the summe of 1058.

Cassibel-lane.

Gal. Mon. Matt. West. Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

Matt. West.

But whether these gouernors (whose names we haue recited) were kings, or rather rulers of the com-mon wealth, or tyrants and vsurpers of the gouern-ment by force, it is vncerteine: for not one ancient writer of anie approued authoritie maketh anie re-membrance of them: and by that which Julius Cesar writeth, it maie and doth appeere, that diuerse cities in his daies were gouerned of themselues, as heere-after it shall more plainlie appeere. Neither doth he make mention of those townes which the British hi-storie affirmeth to be built by the same kings. In deed both he and other Latine writers speake of di-uerse people that inhabited diuers portions of this land, as of the Brigantes, Trinobantes, Iceni, Si-lures, and such other like, but in what parts most of the said people did certeinlie inhabit, it is hard to auouch for certeine truth.

Polydor.

But what Iohn Leland thinketh heereof, being one in our time that curiouslie searched out old antiqui-ties, you shall after heare as occasion serueth: and likewise the opinions of other, as of Hector Boetius, who coueting to haue all such valiant acts as were atchiued by the Britains to be ascribed to his coun-triemen the Scots, draweth both the Silures and Brigantes, with other of the Britains so farre north-ward, that he maketh them inhabitants of the Sco-tish countries. And what particular names soeuer they had, yet were they all Scots with him, and knowne by that generall name (as he would per-suade vs to beleeue) saieng that they entred into Britaine out of Ireland 330 yeeres before the incar-nation of our Sauiour.

Hector Boeti-us his fault.

Neuertheles, how generall soeuer the name of Scots then was, sure it is, that no speciall men-

tion

tion of them is made by anie writer, till about 300 yeares after the birth of our sauiour. And yet the Romans, which ruled this land, and had so much adoo with the people thereof, make mention of diuerse other people, nothing so famous as Boetius would make his Scotish men euen then to be. But to leaue to the Scots the antiquitie of their originall beginning, as they and other must doo vnto vs our descent from Brute and the other Troians, sith the contrarie doth not plainelie appeare, vnlesse we shall leane vnto presumptions: now are we come to the time in the which what acts were atchiued, there remaineth more certeine record, and therefore may we the more boldlie proceed in this our historie.

More certeintie from hence forth appeareth in the historie.

Iulius Cesar

In this season that Cassibellane had roiall gouernment here in Britaine, Caius Iulius Cesar being appointed by the senat of Rome to conquer Gallia, was for that purpose created consull, and sent with a mightie army into the countrie, where after he had brought the Galles vnto some frame, he determined to assaie the winning of Britaine, which as yet the Romans knew not otherwise than by report. The chiefest cause that moued him to take in hand that enterprise, was for that he did vnderstand, that there dailie came great succours out of that Ile to those Galles that were enimies vnto the Romans. And though the season of that yere to make warre was farre spent (for summer was almost at an end) yet he thought it would be to good purpose, if he might but passe ouer thither, and learne what maner of people did inhabit there, and discouer the places, hauens, and entries apperteining to that Ile.

Cesar de bello Gal. lib. 4.

Britains vnknowne to the Romans.

Cesar de bello Gal. lib. 4.

Causes of the warre.

Cesars purpose.

Hereupon calling togither such merchants as he knew to haue had traffike thither with some trade of wares, he diligentlie inquired of them the state of the Ile: but he could not be throughlie satisfied in anie of those things that he coueted to know. Therefore thinking it good to vnderstand all things by view that might apperteine to the vse of that warre which he purposed to follow: before he attempted the same, he sent one Caius Volusenus with a gallie or light pinesse to surueie the coasts of the Ile, commanding him (after diligent search made) to returne with speed to him againe. He him selfe also drew downewards towards Bullenois, from whence the shortest cut lieth to passe ouer into Britaine.

Caius Volusenus sent ouer into Britaine.

John Leland. Polydor.

In that part of Gallia there was in those daies an hauen called *Itius Portus* (which some take to be Calice) and so the word importeth, an harbourgh as then able to receiue a great number of ships. Vnto this hauen got Cesar all the ships he could out of the next borders & parties, and those speciallie which he had prouided and put in a readinesse the last yeare for the warres (against them of Vannes in Armorica, now called Britaine in France) he caused to be brought thither, there to lie till they should hears further. In the meane time (his indeuour being knowne, and by merchants reported in Britaine) all such as were able to beare armour, were commanded and appointed to repaire to the sea side, that they might be readie to defend their countrie in time of so great danger of inuasion.

Vannes in Britane.

¶ Cesar in his commentaries agreeth not with our historiographers: for he writeth that immediatlie vpon knowledge had that he would inuade Britaine, there came to him ambassadours from diuers cities of the Ile to offer themselues to be subiects to the Romans, and to deliuer hostages. Whome after he had exhorted to continue in their good mind, he sent home againe, and with them also one Comius gouernor of Artois, commanding him to repaire vnto as manie cities in Britaine as he might, and to exhort them to submit themselues to the Romans. He maketh no mention of Cassibellane, till the second iournie that he made into the Ile, at what time the said Cassibelane was chosen (as ye shall heare) to be the generall capteine of the Britains, and to haue the whole administration of the warre for defense of the countrie: but he nameth him not to be a king. Howbeit in the British historie it is conteined, that Cesar required tribute of Cassibelane, and that he answered how he had not learned as yet to liue in seruage, but to defend the libertie of his countrie, and that with weapon in hand (if neede were) as he should well perceiue, if (blinded through couetousnesse) he should aduenture to seeke to disquiet the Britains.

Comius.

Which is more likelie in this behalfe, as appeareth by the sequel.

## Caius Volusenus discouereth to Cæsar his obseruations in the Ile of Britaine, he maketh haste to conquere it, the Britains defend their countrie against him. Cæsar after consultation had changeth his landing place, the Romans are put to hard shifts, the Britains begin to giue backe, the courage of a Roman enfigne-bearer, a sharpe encounter betweene both armies.

# The eleuenth Chapter.

Caius Volusenus within fiue daies after his departure from Cesar, returned vnto him with his gallie, and declared what he had seene touching the view which he had taken of the coasts of Britan. Cesar hauing got togither so manie saile as he thought sufficient for the transporting of two legions of souldiers, after he had ordered his businesse as he thought expedient, and gotten a conuenient wind for his purpose, did embarke himselfe and his people, and departed from Calice in the night about the third watch (which is about three or foure of the clocke after midnight) giuing order that the horsemen should take ship at an other place 8 miles aboue Calice, and follow him. Howbeit when they somewhat slacked the time, about ten of the clocke in the next day, hauing the wind at will, he touched on the coast of Britaine, where he might behold all the shore set and couered with men of warre. For the Britains hearing that Cesar ment verie shortlie to come against them, were assembled in armour to resist him: and now being aduertised of his approch to the land, they prepared themselues to withstand him.

Volusenus returneth.

Cesar with two legions of souldiers passeth ouer into Britan.

The valiant courage of an enfigne bearer.

The Britans readie to defend their countrie.

Cesar perceiuing this, determined to staie till the other ships were come, and so he lay at anchor till about 11 of the clocke, and then called a councell of the marshals and chiefe capteines, vnto whome he declared both what he had learned of Volusenus, and also further what he would haue done, willing them that all things might be ordered as the reason of warre required. And because he perceiued that this place where he first cast anchor was not meete for the landing of his people, sith (from the heigth of the cliffes that closed on ech side the narrow creeke into the which he had thrust) the Britains might annoy his people with their bowes and dartes, before they could set foote on land, hauing now the wind and tide with him, he disanchored from thence, and drew alongst the coast vnder the downes, the space of 7 or 8 miles, and there finding the shore more flat and plaine, he approched neere to the land, determining to come to the shore.

Cesar calleth a councell.

The fiercenesse of the Britains.

This was about day.

The Britains perceiuing Cesars intent, with all speed caused their horsemen and charets or wagons, which



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which Ceſar calleth Eſſeda, out of the which in thoſe daies they vſed to fight, to march forth toward the place whither they ſaw Ceſar drew, and after followed with their maine armie. Wherefore Ceſar being thus preuented, inforced yet to land with his people, though he ſaw that he ſhould haue much adoo. For as the Britains were in redineſſe to reſiſt him, ſo his great and huge ſhips could not come neere the ſhore, but were forced to keepe the deepe, ſo that the Romane ſoldiers were put to verie hard ſhift; to wit, both to leape forth of their ſhips, and being peſtered with their heauie armour and weapons, to fight in the water with their enimies, who knowing the flats and ſhelues, ſtood either vpon the drie ground, or elſe but a little waie in the ſhallow places of the water; and being not otherwiſe encumbred either with armour or weapon, but ſo as they might beſtir themſelues at will, they laid load vpon the Romans with their arrowes and darts, and forced their horſſes (being thereto inured) to enter the water the more eaſilie, ſo to annoy and diſtreſſe the Romans, who wanting experience in ſuch kind of fight, were not well able to helpe themſelues, nor to keepe order as they vſed to doo on land: wherfore they fought nothing ſo luſtilie as they were wont to doo. Ceſar perceiuing this, commanded the gallies to depart from the great ſhips, and to row hard to the ſhore, that being placed ouer againſt the open ſides of the Britains, they might with their ſhot of arrows, darts, and ſlings, remoue the Britains, and cauſe them to withdraw further off from the water ſide.

The Romans put to their ſhifts.

The Britans aſtonied.

This thing being put in execution (according to his commandement) the Britains were not a little aſtonied at the ſtrange ſight of thoſe gallies, for that they were driuen with ores, which earſt they had not ſeene, and ſhrewdlie were they galled alſo with the artillerie which the Romans diſcharged vpon them, ſo that they began to ſhrinke and retire ſomewhat backe. Herewith one that bare the enſigne of the legion ſurnamed Decima, wherein the eagle was figured, as in that which was the chiefe enſigne of the legion, when he ſaw his fellowes nothing eager to make forward, firſt beſeeching the gods that his enterpriſe might turne to the weale, profit, and honor of the legion, he ſpake with a lowd voice theſe words to his fellowes that were about him; Leape forth now euen you worthie ſouldiers (ſaith he) if you will not betraie your enſigne to the enimies: for ſurelie I will acquit my ſelfe according to my duetie both towards the common wealth, and my generall: and therewith leaping forth into the water, he marched with his enſigne ſtreight vpon the enimies. The Romans douting to loſe their enſigne, which ſhould haue turned them to great reproch, leapt out of their ſhips ſo faſt as they might, and followed their ſtandard, ſo that there enſued a ſore reencounter: and that which troubled the Romans moſt, was becauſe they could not keepe their order, neither find anie ſure footing, nor yet follow euerie man his owne enſigne, but to put themſelues vnder that enſigne which he firſt met withall after their firſt comming forth of the ſhip.

The valiant courage of an enſigne bearer.

The Britains that were inured with the ſhelues and ſhallow places of the water, when they ſaw the Romans thus diſorderlie come out of their ſhips, ran vpon them with their horſſes, and fiercelie aſſailed them, and now and then a great multitude of the Britains would compaſſe in and incloſe ſome one companie of them: and other alſo from the moſt open places of the ſhore beſtowed great plentie of darts vpon the whole number of the Romans, and ſo troubled them verie ſore.

The fiercenes of the Britains.

The Romans get to land on the Engliſh coaſt, the Britains ſend to Cæſar for a treatie of peace, they ſtaie the Romane ambaſſadour as priſoner, Cæſar demandeth hoſtages of the Britains, the Romane nauie is driuen diuers waies in a great tempeſt, the Britiſh princes ſteale out of Cæſars campe and gather a freſh power againſt the Romans, their two armies hatte a ſharpe encounter.

## The twelfe Chapter.

CEſar perceiuing the maner of this fight, cauſed his men of warre to enter into boates and other ſmall veſſels, which he commanded to go to ſuch places where moſt need appeared. And relieuing them that fought with new ſupplies, at length the Romans got to land, and aſſembling togither, they aſſailed the Britains a freſh, and ſo at laſt did put them all to flight. But the Romans could not follow the Britains farre, becauſe they wanted their horſſemen which were yet behind, & through lacking of time could not come to land. And this one thing ſeemed onelie to diſappoint the luckie fortune that was accuſtomed to follow Ceſar in all his other enterpriſes.

The Romans get to land.

The want of horſſemen.

The Britains after this flight were no ſooner got togither, but that with all ſpeed they ſent ambaſſadours vnto Ceſar to treat with him of peace, offering to deliuer hoſtages, and further to ſtand vnto that order that Ceſar ſhould take with them in anie reaſonable ſort. With theſe ambaſſadours came alſo Comius, whome Ceſar (as you haue heard) had ſent before into Britaine, whome notwithſtanding that he was an ambaſſadour, and ſent from Ceſar with commiſſion and inſtructions ſufficientlie furniſhed, yet had they ſtaied him as a priſoner. But now after the battell was ended, they ſet him at libertie, and ſent him backe with their ambaſſadours, who excuſed the matter, laieng the blame on the people of the countrie, which had impriſoned him through lacke of vnderſtanding what apperteined to the law of armes and nations in that behalfe.

The Britans ſend to Ceſar.

Comius of Arras.

Ceſar found great fault with their miſdemenor, not onelie for impriſoning his ambaſſador, but alſo for that contrarie to their promiſe made by ſuch as they had ſent to him into Gallia to deliuer hoſtages, in lieu thereof they had receiued him with warre: yet in the end he ſaid he would pardon them, and not ſeeke anie further reuenge of their follies. And herewith required of them hoſtages, of which, part were deliuered out of hand, and made promiſe that the reſidue ſhould likewiſe be ſent after, crauing ſome reſpit for performance of the ſame, becauſe they were to be fetched farre off within the countrie.

Ceſar demandeth hoſtages.

Peace being thus eſtabliſhed after the fourth day of the Romans arriuall in Britaine, the 18 ſhips which (as ye haue heard) were appointed to conuey the horſſemen ouer, loſed from the further hauen with a ſoft wind. Which when they approched ſo neere the ſhore of Britaine, that the Romans which were in Ceſars campe might ſee them, ſuddenlie there aroſe ſo great a tempeſt, that none of them was able to keepe his courſe, ſo that they were not onelie driuen in ſunder (ſome being caried againe into Gallia, and ſome weſtward) but alſo the other ſhips that lay at anchor, and had brought ouer the armie, were ſo pitifullie beaten, toſſed and ſhaken, that a great number of them did not onelie loſe their tackle, but alſo were caried by force of wind into the high ſea;

the reſt being likewiſe ſo filled with water, that they were in danger by ſinking to periſh and to be quite loſt. For the mone in the ſame night was at the full, & therefore cauſed a ſpring tide, which furthered the force of the tempeſt, to the greater perill of thoſe ſhips and gallies that lay at anchor. There was no way for the Romans to helpe the matter: wherefore a great number of thoſe ſhips were ſo bruiſed, rent and weather-beaten, that without new reparation they would ſerue to no vſe of ſailing. This was a great diſcomfort to the Romans that had brought ouer no proviſion to liue by in the winter ſeaſon, nor ſaw anie hope how they ſhould repaſſe againe into Gallia.

In the meane time the Britiſh princes that were in the Romane armie, perceiuing how greatlie this miſhap had diſcouraged the Romans, and again by the ſmall circuit of their campe, geſſing that they could be no great number, and that lacke of vittels ſore oppreſſed them, they ſtale priuilie away one after another out of the campe, purpoſing to aſſemble their powers againe, and to foreſtall the Romans from vittels, and ſo to driue the matter off till winter: which if they might doo (vanquiſhing theſe or cloſing them from returning) they truſted that none of the Romans from thenceforth would attempt eſſoines to come into Britaine. Ceſar miſtruſting their dealings, becauſe they ſtaid to deliuer the reſidue of their hoſtages, commanded vittels to be brought out of the parties adioining, and not hauing other ſtuffe to repaire his ſhips, he cauſed 12 of thoſe that were vtterlie paſt recouerie by the hurts receiued through violence of the tempeſt, to be broken, wherewith the other (in which ſome recouerie was perceiued) might be repaired and amended.

## The maner of the Britains fighting in *charets, the Romans giue a freſh ſallie to* the Britains and put them to flight, they ſue to *Ceſar for peace; what kings and their powers* were aſſiſtants to Caſſibellane in the battell *againſt Ceſar, and the maner of both peoples* encounters by the report of diuers Chronologers.

## *The xiij. Chapter.*

WHileſt theſe things were a doing, it chanced that as one of the Romane legions named the ſeuenth, was ſent to fetch in corne out of the countrie adioining (as their cuſtome was) no warre at that time being ſuſpected, or once looked for, when part of the people remained abroad in the field, and part repaired to the campe: thoſe that warded before the campe, informed Ceſar, that there appeared a duſt greater than was accuſtomed from that quarter, into the which the legion was gone to fetch in corne. Ceſar iudging therof what the matter might meane, commanded thoſe bands that warded to go with him that way forth, and appointed other two bands to come into their romes, and the reſidue of his people to get them to armor, and to follow quicklie after him.

He was not gone anie great way from the campe, when he might ſée where his people were ouermatched by the enimies, and had much a do to beare out the brunt: for the legion being thronged together, the Britains pelted them ſore with arrowes and darts on ech ſide: for ſithens there was no forrage left in anie part of the countrie about, but onelie in this place, the Britains iudged that the Romans would come thither for it: therefore hauing lodged themſelues within the woods in ambuſhes the night before; on the morrowe after when they ſaw the Romans diſperſed here & there, and buſie to cut downe the corne, they ſet vpon them on a ſudden, and ſlaieng ſome few of them, brought the reſidue out of order, compaſſing them about with their horſſemen and charets, ſo that they were in great diſtreſſe.

The maner of fight with theſe charets was ſuch, that in the beginning of a battell they would ride about the ſides and skirts of the enimies hoſt, and beſtow their darts as they ſate in thoſe charets, ſo that oftentimes with the braieng of the horſſes, and craking noiſe of the charet wheeles they diſordered their enimies, and after that they had wound themſelues in amongſt the troops of horſſemen, they would leape out of the charets and fight on foot. In the meane time thoſe that guided the charets would withdraw themſelues out of the battell, placing themſelues ſo, that if their people were ouermatched with the multitude of enimies, they might eaſilie withdraw to their charets, and mount vpon the ſame againe, by meanes wherof they were as readie to remoue as the horſſemen, and as ſtedfaſt to ſtand in the battell as the footmen, and ſo to ſupplie both duties in one. And thoſe charetmen by exerciſe and cuſtome were ſo cunning in their feat, that although their horſſes were put to run and gallop, yet could they ſtay them and hold them backe at their pleaſures, and turne and wind them to and fro in a moment, notwithſtanding that the place were verie ſteepe and dangerous: and againe they would run vp and downe verie nimblie vpon the cops, and ſtand vpon the beame, and conney themſelues quicklie againe into the charet.

Ceſar thus finding his people in great diſtreſſe and readie to be deſtroied, came in good time, and deliuered them out of that danger: for the Britains vpon his approch with new ſuccors, gaue ouer to aſſaile their enimies any further, & the Romans were deliuered out of the feare wherein they ſtood before his comming. Furthermore, Ceſar conſidering the time ſerued not to aſſaile his enimies, kept his ground, and ſhortlie after brought backe his legions into the campe.

While theſe things were thus a doing, & all the Romans occupied, the reſt that were abroad in the fields got them away. After this there followed a ſore ſeaſon of raine and fowle weather, which kept the Romans within their campe, and ſtaid the Britains from offering battell. But in the meane time they ſent meſſengers abroad into all parts of the countrie, to giue knowledge of the ſmall number of the Romans, and what hope there was both of great ſpoile to be gotten, and occaſion to deliuer themſelues from further danger for euer, if they might once expell the Romans out of their campe. Hereupon a great multitude both of horſſemen and footmen of the Britains were ſpédilie got togither, and approched the Romane campe.

Ceſar although he ſaw that the ſame would come to paſſe which had chanced before, that if the enimies were put to the repulſe, they would eaſilie eſcape the danger with ſwiftneſſe of foot; yet hauing now with him thirtie horſſemen (which Comius of Arras had brought ouer with him, when he was ſent from Ceſar as an ambaſſador vnto the Britains) he placed his legions in order of battell before his campe, and ſo comming to ſoine with the Britains, they were not able to ſuſteine the violent impreſſion of the armed men, and ſo fled. The Romans purſued them ſo farre as they were able to ouertake anie of them, and ſo ſlaieng manie of them, & burning vp all their houſes

Cæſar de bello Gallico lib. 4.

Hector Boet.

houſes all about, came backe againe to their campe. Immediatlie wherevpon, euen the ſame day, they ſent ambaſſadors to Cæſar to ſue for peace, who gladlie accepting their offer, commanded them to ſend ouer into Gallia, after he ſhould be returned thither, hoſtages in number duble to thoſe that were agréed vpon at the firſt. After that theſe things were thus ordered, Cæſar becauſe the moneth of September was well-neare halfe ſpent, and that winter haſted on (a ſeaſon not méet for his weake and bruiſed ſhips to breake the ſeas) determined not to ſtaie anie longer, but hauing wind and weather for his purpoſe, got himſelfe aboord with his people, and returned into Gallia.

Cæſar de bello Gallico lib. 4.

¶ Thus writeth Cæſar touching his firſt iournie made into Britaine. But the Britiſh hiſtorie (which Polydor calleth the new hiſtorie) declareth that Cæſar in a pitcht field was vanquiſhed at the firſt encounter, and ſo withdrew backe into France. Beda alſo writeth, that Cæſar comming into the countrie of Gallia, where the people then called Morini inhabited (which are at this day the ſame that inhabit the dioceſſe of Terwine) from whence lieth the ſhorteſt paſſage ouer into Britaine, now called England, got togither 80 ſaile of great ſhips and row galles, wherewith he paſſed ouer into Britaine, & there at the firſt being wearied with ſharpe and ſore fight, and after taken with a grieuous tempeſt, he loſt the greater part of his naule, with no ſmall number of his ſouldiers, and almoſt all his horſſemen: and therwith being returned into Gallia, placed his ſouldiors in ſtéeds to ſoiourne there for the winter ſeaſon. Thus ſaith Bede. The Britiſh hiſtorie moreouer maketh mention of three vnder-kings that aided Caſſibellane in this firſt battell fought with Cæſar, as Cridiorus *alias* Ederus, king of Albania, now called Scotland: Guitellius king of Venedocia, that is Northwales: and Britaell king of Demetia, at this day called Southwales.

The ſame hiſtorie alſo maketh mention of one Belinus that was generall of Caſſibellanes armie, and likewiſe of Nenius brother to Caſſibellane, who in fight happened to get Cæſars ſword faſtened in his ſhield by a blow which Cæſar ſtroke at him. Androgeus alſo and Tenancius were at the battell in aid of Caſſibellane. But Nenius died within 15 daies after the battell of the hurt receiued at Cæſars hand, although after he was ſo hurt, he ſlue Labienus one of the Romane tribunes: all which may well be true, ſith Cæſar either maketh the beſt of things for his owne honour, or elſe coueting to write but commentaries, maketh no account to declare the néedeles circumſtances, or anie more of the matter, than the chiefe points of his dealing.

Hector Boet.

Againe, the Scotiſh hiſtoriographers write, that when it was firſt knowne to the Britains, that Cæſar would inuade them, there came from Caſſibellane king of Britaine an ambaſſador vnto Ederus king of Scots, who in the name of king Caſſibellane required aid againſt the common enimies the Romains, which requeſt was granted, and 10 thouſand Scots ſent to the aid of Caſſibellane. At their comming to London, they were moſt ioifullie receiued of Caſſibellane, who at the ſame time had knowledge that the Romans were come on land, and had beaten ſuch Britains backe as were appointed to reſiſt their landing. Wherevpon Caſſibellane with all his whole puiſſance mightilie augmented, not onlie with the ſuccours of the Scots, but alſo of the Picts (which in that common cauſe had ſent alſo of their people to aid the Britains) ſet forward towards the place where he vnderſtood the enimies to be.

At their firſt approch togither, Caſſibellane ſent forth his horſſemen and charets called Eſſeda, by the which he thought to diſorder the araie of the enimies. Twice they incountred togither with doubtfull victorie. At length they ioined puiſſance againſt puiſſance, and fought a verie ſore and cruell battell, till finally at the ſudden comming of the Welſhmen and Corniſhmen, ſo huge a noiſe was raiſed by the ſound of bels hanging at their trappers and charets, that the Romans aſtonied therewith, were more eaſilie put to flight. The Britains, Scots, and Picts following the chaſe without order or araie, ſo that by reaſon the Romans kept themſelues cloſe togither, the Britains, Scots, & Picts did ſcarſe ſo much harme to the enimies as they themſelues receiued. But yet they followed on ſtill vpon the Romans till it was darke night.

Cæſar after he had perceiued them once withdrawne, did what he could to aſſemble his companies togither, minding the next morning to ſéeke his reuenge of the former daies diſaduantage. But forſomuch as knowledge was giuen him that his ſhips (by reaſon of a ſore tempeſt) were ſo beaten and rent, that manie of them were paſt ſeruice, he doubted leaſt ſuch newes would incourage his enimies, and bring his people into deſpaire. Wherfore he determined not to fight till time more conuenient, ſending all his wounded folks vnto the ſhips, which he commanded to be newlie rigged and trimmed. After this, kéeping his armie for a time within the place where he was incamped without iſſuing forth, he ſhortlie drew to the ſea ſide, where his ſhips laie at anchor, and there within a ſtrong place fortified for the purpoſe he lodged his hoſt, and finallie without hope to atchieue anie other exploit auaileable for that time, he tooke the ſea with ſuch ſhips as were apt for ſailing, and ſo repaſſed into Gallia, leauing behind him all the ſpoile and baggage for want of veſſels and leiſure to conuie it ouer. ¶ Thus haue the Scots in their chronicles framed the matter, more to the conformitie of the Romane hiſtories, than according to the report of our Britiſh and Engliſh writers: and therefore we haue thought good to ſhew it héere, that the diuerſitie of writers and their affections may the better apéere.

Of this ſudden departing alſo, or rather fléeing of Julius Cæſar out of Britaine, Lucanus the poet maketh mention, reciting the ſaieng of Pompeius in an oration made by him vnto his ſouldiers, wherin he reprochfullie and diſdainfullie reprooued the doings of Cæſar in Britaine, ſaieng:

*Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis.*

Cæſar taketh a new occaſion to make warre againſt the Britains, he arriueth on the coaſt without reſiſtance, the number of his ſhips, both armies incounter, why Cæſar forbad the Romans to purſue the diſcomfited Britains, he repaireth his naule, the Britains chooſe Caſſibellane their cheefe gouernour, and skirmiſh afreſh with their enimies, but haue the repulſe in the end.

## The xiiij. Chapter.

NOw will we returne to the ſequele of the matter, as Cæſar himſelfe reporteth. After his comming into Gallia, there were but two cities of all Britaine that ſent ouer their hoſtages according to their couenant, which gaue occaſion to Cæſar to picke a new quarrell againſt them, which if it had wanted, he would yet (I doubt not)

Dion Caſſius.

not) haue found some other: for his full meaning was to make a more full conquest of that Ile. Therefore purposing to passe againe thither, as he that had a great desire to bring the Britains vnder the obedience of the Romane estate, he caused a great number of ships to be prouided in the winter season and put in a readinesse, so that against the next spring there were found to be readie rigged six hundred ships, beside 28 gallies. Hereupon hauing taken order for the gouernance of Gallia in his absence, about the beginning of the spring he came to the hauen of Calice, whither (according to order by him prescribed) all his ships were come, except 40 which by tempest were driuen backe, and could not as yet come to him.

Cæsar *de bello Gallib.* 5.

After he had staied at Calice (as well for a conuenient wind, as for other incidents) certeine daies, at length when the weather so changed that it serued his purpose, he tooke the sea, & hauing with him fiue legions of souldiers, and about two thousand horsemen, he departed out of Calice hauen about sun setting with a soft southwest wind, directing his course forward: about midnight the wind fell, & so by a calme he was carried alongst with the tide, so that in the morning when the day appeared, he might behold Britaine vpon his left hand. Then following the streame as the course of the tide changed, he forced with oares to fetch the shore vpon that part of the coast, which he had discouered, and tried the last yeere to be the best landing place for the armie. The diligence of the souldiers was shewed heere to be great, who with continuall toile drone forth the heauie ships, to keepe course with the galleies, & so at length they landed in Britaine about none on the next day, finding not one to resist his comming ashore: for as he learned by certeine prisoners which were taken after his comming to land, the Britains being assembled in purpose to haue resisted him, through feare striken into their harts, at the discouering of such an huge number of ships, they forsooke the shore and got them vnto the mountaines. There were in deed of vessels one and other, what with victuellers, & those which priuat men had prouided and furnished forth for their owne vse, being ioined to the ordinarie number, at the least eight hundred saile, which appearing in sight all at one time, made a wonderfull muster, and right terrible in the eies of the Britains.

But to proceed: Cesar being got to land, incamped his armie in a place conuenient: and after learning by the prisoners, into what part the enimies were withdrawne, he appointed one Quintus Atrius to remaine vpon the safegard of the naule, with ten companies or cohorts of footmen, and three hundred horsemen: and anon after midnight marched forth himselfe with the residue of his people toward the Britains, and hauing made 12 miles of way, he got sight of his enimies host, who sending downe their horsemen and charets vnto the riuer side, skirmished with the Romans, meaning to beate them backe from the higher ground: but being assailed of the Romane horsemen, they were repelled, & tooke the woods for their refuge, wherein they had got a place verie strong, both by nature and helpe of hand, which (as was to be thought) had beene fortified before, in time of some ciuill warre amongst them: for all the entries were closed with trees which had beene cut downe for that purpose. Howbeit the souldiers of the 7 legion casting a trench before them, found meanes to put backe the Britains from their defenses, and so entring vpon them, drone them out of the woods. But Cesar would not suffer the Romans to follow the Britains, because the nature of the countrie was not knowne vnto them: and againe the day was farre spent, so that he would haue the residue thereof bestowed in fortifieng his campe.

The next day, as he had sent forth such as should haue pursued the Britains, word came to him from Quintus Atrius, that his naule by rigour of a sore and hideous tempest was greeuouslie molested, and throwne vpon the shore, so that the cabels and tackle being broken and destroied with force of the vnmercifull rage of wind, the maisters and mariners were not able to helpe the matter. Cesar calling backe those which he had sent forth, returned to his ships, and finding them in such state as he had heard, tooke order for the repairing of those that were not vtterlie destroied, and caused them so to be drawne vp to the land, that with a trench he might so compasse in a plot of ground, that might serue both for defense of his ships, and also for the incamping of those men of warre, which he should leaue to attend vpon the safegard of the same. And because there were at the least a fortie ships lost by violence of this tempest, so as there was no hope of recouerie in them, he saw yet how the rest with great labour and cost might be repaired: wherefore he chose out wights among the legions, sent for other into Gallia, and wrote ouer to such as he had left there in charge with the gouernment of the countrie, to prouide so manie ships as they could, and to send them ouer vnto him. He spent a ten daies about the repairing of his naule, and in fortifieng the campe for defense thereof, which done, he left those within it that were appointed there before, and then returned towards his enimies.

At his comming backe to the place where he had before incamped, he found them there readie to resist him, hauing their numbers hugelie increased: for the Britains hearing that he was returned with such a mightie number of ships assembled out of all parts of the land, and had by general consent appointed the whole rule and order of all things touching the warre vnto Cassiuellane or Cassibelane, whose dominion was diuided from the cities situat neere to the sea coast, by the riuer of Thames, 80 miles distant from the sea coast. This Cassibellane before time had bin at continuall warre with other rulers, and cities of the land: but now the Britains moued with the comming of the Romans, chose him to be chiefe gouernour of all their armie, permitting the order and rule of all things touching the defense of their countrie against the Romans onelie to him. Their horsemen and charets skirmished by the waie with the Romans, but so as they were put backe oftentimes into the woods and hills adioining: yet the Britains slue diuers of the Romans as they followed ante thing egerlie in the pursute.

Cassibellan as should seeme, ruled in the parties of Oxfordshire, Barkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire.

Also within a while after, as the Romans were busie in fortifieng their campe, the Britains suddenlie issued out of the woods, and fiercelie assailed those that warded before the campe, vnto whose aid Cesar sent two of the chiefest cohorts of two legions, the which being placed but a litle distance one from another, when the Romans began to be discouraged with this kind of fight, the Britains therewith burst through their enimies, and came backe from thence in safetie. That daie Quintus Laberius Durus a tribune was slaine. At length Cesar sending sundrie other cohorts to the succour of his people that were in fight, and shewdlie handled as it appeared, the Britains in the end were put backe. Nevertheless, that repulse was but at the pleasure of fortune; for they quited themselues afterwards like men, defending their territories with such munition as they had, vntill such time as either by policie or inequalitie of power they were vanquished; as you shall see after in the course of the historie. Howbeit in fine they were ouer-run and vtterlie subdued, but not without much bloudshed and slaughter.

The Romans beatie armour

The manner of the Britains in the warres.

Caius Trebonius.

Dion Cassius saith, that the Britains vanquished the Roman footmen at this time, but were put to the worst by the horsemen.

*(which is to be supposed was at Kingston) or not far from thence.

The Romans heauie armor their great *hinderance, the maner of the Britains* fighting in warre, their incounter with their *enimies, their discomfiture, the worthie stratagems* or martiall exploits of Cassibellane, *the Trinouants submission to Cæsar*, and their sute touching Mandubratius, manie of the Britains are taken and slaine of the Romans.

## The xv. Chapter.

IN all this maner of skirmishing and fight which chanced before the campe, euen in the sight and view of all men, it was perceiued that the Romans, by reason of their heauie armour (being not able either to follow the Britains as they retired, or so bold as to depart from their ensignes, except they would runne into danger of casting themselues awaie) were nothing meete to match with such kind of enimies: and as for their horsemen, they fought likewise in great hazard, bicause the Britains would oftentimes of purpose retire, and when they had trained the Romane horsemen a litle from their legions of footmen, they would leape out of their charrets and incounter with them on foot. And so the battell of horsemen was dangerous, and like in all points whether they pursued or retired.

The Romans heauie armour

This also was the maner of the Britains: they fought not close togither, but in sunder, and diuided into companies one separated from another by a good distance, and had their troopes standing in places conuenient, to the which they might retire, and so releeue one another with sending new fresh men to supplie the roomes of them that were hurt or wearie. The next day after they had thus fought before the campe of the Romans, they shewed themselues aloft on the hills, and began to skirmish with the Romane horsemen, but not so hotlie as they had done the day before. But about noone, when Cesar had sent forth three legions of footemen and all his horsemen vnder the leading of his lieutenant Caius Trebonius to fetch in forrage, they suddenlie brake out on euerie side, and set vpon the forragers. The Romans so far forth as they might, not breaking their arraie, nor going from their ensignes or guidons, gaue the charge on them, and fiercelie repelled them, so that the horsemen hauing the legions of footemen at their backs, followed the Britains so long as they might haue the said legions in sight readie to succour them if need were: by reason whereof, they slue a great number of the Britains, not giuing them leasure to recouer themselues, nor to staie that they might haue time to get out of their charrets. After this chase and discomfiture, all such as were come from other parties to the aid of their fellowes departed home, & after that day the Britains aduentured to fight against Cesar with their maine power, and withdrawing beyond the riuer of *Thames, determined to stop the enimies from passing the same, if by anie meanes they might: and whereas there was but one ford by the which they might come ouer, Cassibellane caused the same to be set full of sharpe stakes, not onlie in the middest of the water, but also at the comming forth on that side where he was lodged with his armie in good order, readie to defend the passage. Cesar learning by relation of prisoners which he tooke, what the Britains intended to do, marched forth to the riuer side, where the ford was, by the which his armie might passe the same on foot though verie hardlie. At his comming thither, he might perceiue how the Britains were readie on the further side to impeach his passage, and how that the banke at the comming forth of the water was right full of sharpe stakes, and so likewise was the channell of the riuer set with piles which were couered with the water.

The manner of the Britains in the warres.

Cassibellane as should seeme, ruled in the parties of Oxfordshire, Barkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire.

Caius Trebonius.

Dion Cassius writh, that the Britains vanquished the Roman footmen at this time, but were put to the worst by the horsemen.

*(which is to be supposed was at Kingston) or not far from thence.

These things yet staied not Cesar, who appointing his horsemen to passe on before, commanded the footemen to follow. The souldiers entring the water, waded through with such speed and violence (nothing appearing of them aboue water but their heads) that the Britains were constreined to giue place, being not able to sustaine the brunt of the Romane horsemen, and the legions of their footemen, and so abandoning the place betooke them to flight. Cassibellane not minding to trie the matter anie more by battell, sent awaie the most part of his people, but yet kept with him about a foure thousand charretmen or waggoners, and still watched what waie the Romans tooke, coasting them euer as they marched, and kept somewhat aside within the couert of woods, and other combersome places. And out of those quarters through which he vnderstood the Romans wold passe, he gathered both men and cattell into the woods & thicke forrests, leauing nothing of value abroad in the champion countrie. And when the Roman horsemen did come abroad into the countrie to seeke booties, he sent out his charrets vnto the knowne waies and passages to skirmish with the same horsemen, so much to the disaduantage of the Romans, that they durst not straie farre from their maine armie. Neither would Cesar permit them (least they might haue beene vtterlie distressed by the Britains) to depart further than the maine battels of the footemen kept pace with them, by reason whereof the countrie was not indamaged by fire and spoile, but onlie where the armie marched.

In the meane time, the Troinouants which some take to be Middlesex & Essex men, whose citie was the best fensed of all those parties, and thought to be the same that now is called London, sent ambassadours vnto Cesar, offering to submit themselues vnto him, and to obeie his ordinances, and further besought him to defend Mandubratius from the iniuries of K. Cassibellane, which Mandubratius had fled vnto Cesar into France, after that Cassibellane had slaine his father named Imanuentius, that was chiefe lord and king of the Troinouants, and so now by their ambassadors the same Troinouants requested Cesar, not onelie to receiue Mandubratius into his protection, but also to send him vnto them, that he might take the gouernment and rule of their citie into his hands. Cesar commanded them to deliuer vnto him 40 hostages, and graine for his armie, and therewith sent Mandubratius vnto them. The Troinouants accomplished his commandements with all speed, sending both the appointed number of hostages, and also graine for the armie. And being thus defended and preserued from iniurie of the souldiers, the people called Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi, submitted themselues vnto Cesar, by whom he vnderstood that the towne of Cassibellane was not far from the place where he was then incamped fensed with woodes and marishes, into the which a great number of people with their cattell and other substance was withdrawne. The Britains in those daies (as Cesar writeth) called that a towne or hold, which they had fortified with anie thicke combersome wood, with trench and rampire, into the which they vsed to get themselues for the auoiding of inuasion.

Troinouants where they inhabited.

Imanuentius.

Some take the Troinouants to be Londoners.

Cesar with his legions of souldiers therfore marched thither, and finding the place verie strong both

by nature and helpe of hand, assaulted it on two partes. The Britains defending their strength a while, at length not able longer to endure the impression of the Romans, fled out on the contrarie side of the towne where the enimies were not. Within this place a great number of cattell was found, and manie of the Britains taken by the Romans that followed them in chase, and manie also slaine.

Cassibellane dooth send vnto the foure *kings of Kent for aid against Cæsars host*, he offereth submission to Cæsar, the Britains *become his tributaries, he returneth into Gallia* with the remnant of his armie: the differing report *of Cæsars commentaries and our historiographers touching* these warlike affaires; of a sore fray with bloudshed and manslaughter vpon a light occasion; Cæsar taketh oportunitie to get the conquest of the land by the diuision betweene Cassibellane and Androgeus, the time of the Britains subiection to the Romans.

## *The xvj. Chapter.*

Foure kings in Kent.

NOw whilest these thinges passed on this sort in those parts, Cassibellane sent messengers into Kent vnto foure kings (which ruled that side of the land in those daies) Cingetorix, Carullius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, commanding them, that assembling togither their whole puissance, they should assaile the campe of the Romans by the sea side where certeine bands lay (as ye haue heard) for safegard of the naule. They according to his appointment came suddenlie thither, and by the Romans that sailed forth vpon them were sharplie fought with, and lost diuers of their men that were slaine and taken, and amongst the prisoners that the Romans toke, Cingetorix was one. When Cassibellane heard these newes, being sore troubled for these losses thus chancing one in the necke of an other, but namelie most discouraged, for that diuers cities had yeelded vnto the Romans: he sent ambassadours by means of Romius of Arras vnto Cesar, offering to submit himselfe.

Cesar meaning to winter in Gallia, and therefore because summer drew towards an end, willing to dispatch in Britaine, commanded that hostages should be deliuered, and appointed what tribute the Britains should yéerelie send vnto the Romans. He also forbad and commanded Cassibellane, that he should not in anie wise trouble or indamage Madubratius or the Londoners. After this, when he had receiued the hostages, he brought his armie to the sea, and there found his ships well repaired, decked, and in good point: therefore he commanded that they should be had downe to the sea. And because he had a great number of prisoners, and diuers of his ships were lost in the tempest, he appointed to transport his armie ouer into Gallia at two conueies, which was done with good successe about the middest of September, though the ships returning for the residue of the armie, after the first conuete, were driuen so with force of weather, that a great number of them could not come to land at the place appointed: so that Cesar was constreined to fraught those that he could get with a greater burden, and so departed from the coast of Britaine, and safelie landed with the remnant of his people in Gallia with as good spéed as he could haue desired. He thought not good to leaue anie of his people behind him, knowing that if he should so do, they were in danger to be cast awaie. And so because he could not well remaine there all the winter season for doubt of rebellion in Gallia, he was contented to take vp, and returne thither, sith he had done sufficientlie for the time, least in coueting the more, he might haue come in perill to lose that which he had alreadie obteined.

Dion Cassius.

Thus according to that which Cesar himselfe and other autentike authors haue written, was Britaine made tributarie to the Romans by the conduct of the same Cesar. ¶ But our historiers farre differ from this, affirming that Cesar comming the second time, was by the Britains with valiancie and martiall prowesse beaten and repelled, as he was at the first, and speciallie by meanes that Cassibellane had pight in the Thames great piles of trées piked with yron, through which his ships being entred the riuer, were perished and lost. And after his comming a land, he was vanquished in battell, and constrained to flée into Gallia with those ships that remained. For ioy of this second victorie (saith Galfrid) Cassibellane made a great feast at London, and there did sacrifice to the gods.

Gal. Mon. Matt. West.

At this feast there fell variance betwixt two yong gentlemen, the one named Hirilda, nephew to Cassibellane, and the other Euelie or Eweline, being of aliance to Androgeus earle of London. They fell at discord about wrestling, and after multiplieng of words, they came to dealing of blowes, by meanes whereof parts were taken, so that there ensued a sore fraie, in the which diuerse were wounded and hurt, and amongst other Hirilda the kings nephew was slaine by the hands of Eweline. The king sore displeased herewith, meant to punish Eweline according to the order of his lawes, so that he was summoned to appeare in due forme to make answer to the murder: but Eweline by the comfort of Androgeus disobeied the summons, & departed the court with Androgeus, in contempt of the king and his lawes. The king to be reuenged vpon Androgeus, gathered a power, and began to make warre vpon him.

Androgeus perceiuing himselfe not able to withstand the kings puissance, sent letters to Julius Cesar, exhorting him to returne into Britaine, and declaring the whole matter concerning the variance betwixt him and the king, promising to aid the Romans in all that he might. Julius Cesar ioifull of this message, prepared his naule, and with all spéed with a mightie host imbarked in the same, came toward Britaine: but yer he would land, doubting some treason in Androgeus, he receiued from him in hostage his sonne named Scena, and thirtie other of the best and most noble personages of all his dominion. After this he landed, and ioining with Androgeus, came into a valle néere to Canturburie, and there incamped. Shortlie after came Cassibellane with all his power of Britains, and gaue battell to the Romans. But after the Britains had long fought and knightlie borne themselues in that battell, Androgeus came with his people on a wing, and so sharplie assailed them, that the Britains were constrained to forsake the field, and toke themselues to flight. The which flight so discomforted them, that finallie they all fled, and gaue place to the Romans, the which pursued and slue them without mercie, so that Cassibellane with the residue of his people withdrew to a place of suertie, but being enuironed about with the puissance of the Romans, and of Androgeus, who had with him seuen thousand men there in the aid of the Romans, Cassibellane in the end was forced to fall to a composition, in couenanting to pate a yearelie tribute

of



So saith Campion, but Galfrid Monm. saith fiue thousand.

The stakes remained to be séene in Bedes daies.

Cornelius Tacitus, In vit. Agr.

Dion Cassius.

of three thouſand pounds. When Ceſar had ordered his buſineſſe as he thought conuenient, he returned, and with him went Androgeus, fearing the diſpleaſure of Caſſibellane.

So ſaith Campion, but Galfrid Mon. ſaith fiue thouſand.

The reuerend father Bede writing of this matter, ſaith thus: After that Ceſar being returned into Gallia, had placed his ſouldiors abroad in the countrie to ſoiorne for the winter ſeaſon, he cauſed ſhips to be made readie, to the number of 600, with the which repaſſing into Britaine, whileſt he marched forth with a mightie armie againſt the enimies, his ſhips that lay at anchor being taken with a ſore tempeſt, were either beaten one againſt another, or elſe caſt vpon the flats and ſands, and ſo broken; ſo that fortie of them were vtterlie periſhed, and the reſidue with great difficultie were repaired. The horſſemen of the Romans at the firſt encounter were put to the worſſe, and Labienus the tribune ſlaine. In the ſecond conflict he vanquiſhed the Britains, not without great danger of his people. After this, he marched to the riuer of Thames, which as then was paſſable by ford onelie in one place and not elſe, as the report goeth. On the further banke of that riuer, Caſſibellane was incamped with an huge multitude of enimies, and had pitcht and ſet the banke, and almoſt all the ford vnder the water full of ſharpe ſtakes, the tokens of which vnto this day are to be ſéene, and it ſéemeth to the beholders that euerie of theſe ſtakes are as big as a mans thigh, ſticking faſt in the bottome of the riuer cloſed with lead. This being perceiued of the Romans, and auoided, the Britains not able to ſuſteine the violent impreſſion of the Roman legions, hid themſelues in the woods, out of the which by often iſſues, they gréeuouſlie and manie times aſſailed the Romans, and did them great damage. In the meane time the ſtrong citie of Troinouant with hir duke Androgeus deliuering fortie hoſtages, yéelded vnto Ceſar, whoſe example manie other cities following, allied themſelues with the Romans, by whoſe information Ceſar with ſore fight tooke at length the towne of Caſſibellane, ſituat betwixt two marches, fenſed alſo with the couert of woods, & hauing within it great plentie of all things. After this Ceſar returned into France, and beſtowed his armie in places to ſoiorne there for the winter ſeaſon.

The ſtakes remained to be ſéene in Bedes daies.

The Scotiſh writers report, that the Britains, after the Romans were the firſt time repelled (as before ye haue heard) refuſed to receiue the aid of the Scotiſh men the ſecond time, and ſo were vanquiſhed, as in the Scotiſh hiſtorie ye may ſée more at length expreſſed. Thus much touching the war which Julius Ceſar made againſt the Britains, in bringing them vnder tribute to the Romans. But this tributarie ſubiection was hardlie maintéined for a ſeaſon.

¶ Now here is to be noted, that Ceſar did not vanquiſh all the Britains: for he came not amongſt the northerne men, onlie diſcouering and ſubduing that part which lieth towards the French ſeas: ſo that ſith other of the Roman emperors did moſt earneſtlie trauell to bring the Britains vnder their ſubiection (which were euer redie to rebell ſo manie ſundrie times) Ceſar might ſéeme rather to haue ſhewed Britaine to the Romans, than to haue deliuered the poſſeſſion of the ſame. This ſubiection, to the which he brought this Ile (what maner of one ſoeuer it was) chanced about the yeare of the world 3913, after the building of Rome 698, before the birth of our ſauior 53, the firſt and ſecond yeare of the 181 Olympiad, after the comming of Brute 1060, before the conqueſt made by William duke of Normandie 1120, and 1638 yeres before this preſent yere of our Lord 1585, after Hariſons account.

Cornelius Tacitus, In vit. Agr.

Dion Caſſius.

## The ſtate of Britaine when Cæſar offered to conquer it, and the maner of their gouernement, as diuerſe authors report the ſame in their bookes: where the contrarietie of their opinions is to be obſerued.

## The xvij. Chapter.

After that Julius Ceſar had thus made the Britains tributaries to the Romans, and was returned into Gallia, Caſſibellane reigned 7 yeares, and was vanquiſhed in the ninth or tenth yeare after he began firſt to reigne ſo that he reigned in the whole about 15 or as ſome haue 17 yeares, and then died, leauing no iſſue behind him. There hath bin an old chronicle (as Fabian recordeth) which he ſaw and followeth much in his booke, wherein is conteined, that this Caſſibellane was not brother to Lud, but eldeſt ſonne to him: for otherwiſe as may be thought (ſaith he) Ceſar hauing the vpper hand, would haue diſplaced him from the gouernement, and ſet vp Androgeus the right heire to the crowne, as ſonne to the ſaid Lud. But whatſoeuer our chronicles or the Britiſh hiſtories report of this matter, it ſhould appere by that which Ceſar writeth (as partlie ye haue heard) that Britaine in thoſe daies was not gouerned by one ſole prince, but by diuers, and that diuers cities were eſtates of themſelues, ſo that the land was diuided into ſundrie gouernements, much after the forme and maner as Germanie and Italie are in our time, where ſome cities are gouerned by one onelie prince, ſome by the nobilitie, and ſome by the people. And whereas diuers of the rulers in thoſe daies here in this land were called kings, thoſe had more large ſeigniories than the other, as Caſſibellane, who was therefore called a king.

Fabian.

Cæſar.

Caſſibellane a king.

And though we do admit this to be true, yet may it be, that in the beginning, after Brute entered the land, there was ordeined by him a monarchie, as before is mentioned, which might continue in his poſteritie manie yeares after, and yet at length before the comming of Ceſar, through ciuill diſſention, might happilie be broken, and diuided into parts, and ſo remained not onelie in the time of this Caſſibellane, but alſo long after, whileſt they liued as tributaries to the Romans, till finallie they were ſubdued by the Saxons. In which meane time, through the diſcord, negligence, or rather vnaduiſed raſhnes of writers, hard it is to iudge what may be affirmed and receiued in their writings for a truth; namelie, concerning the ſucceſſion of the kings that are ſaid to haue reigned betwixt the daies of Caſſibellane, and the comming of the Saxons. The Roman writers (and namelie Tacitus) report, that the Britains in times paſt were vnder the rule of kings, and after being made tributaries, were drawne ſo by princes into ſundrie factions, that to defend and kéepe off a common ieopardie, ſcarſelie would two or thrée cities agrée together, and take weapon in hand with one accord, ſo that while they fought by parts, the whole was ouercome. And after this ſort they ſay that Britaine was brought into the forme of a prouince by the Romans, from whom gouernors vnder the name of legats and procurators were ſent that had the rule of it.

Cor. Tacit. in vit. Iu. Agr.

But yet the ſame authors make mention of certeine kings (as hereafter ſhall appeare) who while the

the Romane emperors had the most part of the earth in subiection, reigned in Britaine. The same witnesseth Gildas, saieng: Britaine hath kings, but they are tyrants: iudges it hath, but the same are wicked, oftentimes spoiling and tormenting the innocent people. And Cesar (as ye haue heard) speaketh of foure kings that ruled in Kent, and thereabouts. Cornelius Tacitus maketh mention of Praesutagus, and Cogidunus, that were kings in Britaine: and Iuuenal speaketh of Aruiragus: and all the late writers, of Lucius. Hereby it appeareth, that whether one or mo, yet kings there were in Britain, bearing rule vnder the Romane emperors.

Gildas *in epist.*

Some take Praesutagus and Aruiragus to be one man.

Gal. Mon.

On the other part, the common opinion of our chronicle-writers is, that the chiefe gouernment remained euer with the Britains, & that the Romane senat receiuing a yearelie tribute, sent at certeine times (*Ex officio*) their emperors and lieutenants into this Ile, to represse the rebellious tumults therein begun, or to beat backe the inuasion of the enimies that went about to inuade it. And thus would these writers inferre, that the Britains euer obeied their king, till at length they were put beside the gouernement by the Saxons. But whereas in the common historie of England, the succession of kings ought to be kept, so oft as it chanceth in the same that there is not anie to fill the place, then one while the Romane emperors are placed in their steads, and another while their lieutenants, and are said to be created kings of the Britains, as though the emperors were inferiors vnto the kings of Britaine, and that the Romane lieutenants at their appointments, and not by prescript of the senat or emperours, administred the prouince.

This may suffice here to aduertise you of the contrarietie in writers. Now we will go forth in following our historie, as we haue done heretofore, sauing that where the Romane histories write of things done here by emperors, or their lieutenants, it shall be shewed as reason requireth, sith there is a great appearance of truth oftentimes in the same, as those that be authorised and allowed in the opinion of the learned.

Of Theomantius, the tearme of yeares *that he reigned, and where he was interred*; of Kymbeline, within the time of whose *gouernment Christ Iesus our sauiour was borne*, all nations content to obeie the Romane emperors *and consequentlie Britaine, the customes that* the Britaines paie the Romans as Strabo reporteth.

## *The xviij. Chapter.*

*Theomātius.*

After the death of Cassibellane, Theomantius or Tenantius the yongest sonne of Lud was made king of Britaine in the yeere of the world 3921, after the building of Rome 706, & before the comming of Christ 45. He is named also in one of the English chronicles Tormace: in the same chronicle it is conteined, that not he, but his brother Androgeus was king, where Geffrey of Monmouth & others testifie, that Androgeus abandoned the land clerelie, & continued still at Rome, because he knew the Britains hated him for treason he had committed in aiding Iulius Cesar against Cassibellane. Theomantius ruled the land in good quiet, and paid the tribute to the Romans which Cassibellane had granted, and finallie departed this life after he had reigned 22 yeares, and was buried at London.

Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

*Kymbeline.*

Kymbeline or Cimbeline the sonne of Theomantius was of the Britains made king after the decease of his father in the yeare of the world 3944, after the building of Rome 728, and before the birth of our Sauiour 33. This man (as some write) was brought vp at Rome, and there made knight by Augustus Cesar, vnder whome he serued in the warres, and was in such fauour with him, that he was at libertie to pay his tribute or not. Little other mention is made of his doings, except that during his reigne, the Sauiour of the world our Lord Iesus Christ the onelie sonne of God was borne of a virgine, about the 23 yeare of the reigne of this Kymbeline, & in the 42 yeare of the emperour Octauius Augustus, that is to wit, in the yeare of the world 3966, in the second yeare of the 194 Olympiad, after the building of the citie of Rome 750 nigh at an end, after the vniuersall floud 2311, from the birth of Abraham 2019, after the departure of the Israelits out of Egypt 1513, after the captiuitie of Babylon 535, from the building of the temple by Salomon 1034, & from the arriuall of Brute 1116, complet. Touching the continuance of the yeares of Kymbelines reigne, some writers do varie, but the best approued affirme, that he reigned 35 years and then died, & was buried at London, leauing behind him two sonnes, Guiderius and Aruiragus.

Fabian out of Guido de Columna.

Christ our sauiour borne.

3966

Strab. Goog.

¶ But here is to be noted, that although our histories do affirme, that as well this Kymbeline, as also his father Theomantius liued in quiet with the Romans, and continuallie to them paied the tributes which the Britains had couenanted with Iulius Cesar to pay, yet we find in the Romane writers, that after Iulius Cesars death, when Augustus had taken vpon him the rule of the empire, the Britains refused to paie that tribute: whereat as Cornelius Tacitus reporteth, Augustus (being otherwise occupied) was contented to winke; howbeit, through earnest calling vpon to recouer his right by such as were desirous to see the vttermost of the British kingdome; at length, to wit, in the tenth yeare after the death of Iulius Cesar, which was about the thirteenth yeare of the said Theomantius, Augustus made prouision to passe with an armie ouer into Britaine, & was come forward vpon his iournie into Gallia Celtica: or as we maie saie, into these hither parts of France.

Cor Tacitus, *in vita Iu. Agr.*

Dion Cassius.

But here receiuing aduertisements that the Pannonians, which inhabited the countrie now called Hungarie, and the Dalmatians whome now we call Slauons had rebelled, he thought it best first to subdue those rebells neere home, rather than to seeke new countries, and leaue such in hazard whereof he had present possession, and so turning his power against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, he left off for a time the warres of Britaine, whereby the land remained without feare of anie inuasion to be made by the Romans, till the yeare after the building of the citie of Rome 725, and about the 19 yeare of king Theomantius reigne, that Augustus with an armie departed once againe from Rome to passe ouer into Britaine, there to make warre. But after his comming into Gallia, when the Britains sent to him certeine ambassadours to treat with him of peace, he staied there to settle the state of things among the Galles, for that they were not in verie good order. And hauing finished there, he went into Spaine, and so his iournie into Britaine was put off till the next yeare, that is, the 726 after the building of Rome, which fell before the birth of our sauiour 25, about which time Augustus ofttimes meant the third time to haue made a voiage into Britaine, because

Guiderius.

Caligula.

He kept not promiſe with the Romans.

Thoſe of Calice and Biſkaie,

becauſe they could not agrée vpon couenants. But as the Pannonians and Dalmatians had afore-time ſtaied him, when (as before is ſaid) he meant to haue gone againſt the Britans: ſo euen now the Salaſſians (a people inhabiting about Italie and Switſerland) the Cantabrians and Aſturians by ſuch rebellious ſturrs as they raiſed, withdrew him from his purpoſed iournie. But whether this controuerſie which appeareth to fall forth betwixt the Britans and Auguſtus, was occaſioned by Kymbeline, or ſome other prince of the Britains, I haue not to anouch: for that by our writers it is reported, that Kymbeline being brought vp in Rome, & knighted in the court of Auguſtus, euer ſhewed himſelfe a friend to the Romans, & chiefly was loth to breake with them, becauſe the youth of the Britaine nation ſhould not be depriued of the benefit to be trained and brought vp among the Romans, whereby they might learne both to behaue themſelues like ciuill men, and to atteine to the knowledge of feats of warre.

But whether for this reſpect, or for that it pleaſed the almightie God ſo to diſpoſe the minds of men at that preſent, not onlie the Britains, but in manner all other nations were contented to be obedient to the Romane empire. That this was true in the Britains, it is euident enough by Strabos words, which

Strab. Goog.

" are in effect as followeth. At this preſent (ſaith he)
" certeine princes of Britaine, procuring by ambaſſa-
" dors and dutifull demeanors the amitie of the empe-
" rour Auguſtus, haue offered in the capitoll vnto the
" gods preſents or gifts, and haue ordeined the whole
" Ile in a manner to be appertinent, proper, and fami-
" liar to the Romans. They are burdened with ſore
" cuſtoms which they paie for wares, either to be ſent
" forth into Gallia, or brought from thence, which are
" commonlie yuorie veſſels, ſpheres, ouches, or eare-
" rings, and other conceits made of amber & glaſſes,
" and ſuch like manner of merchandize: ſo that now
" there is no need of anie armie or garriſon of men of
" warre to keepe the Ile, for there needeth not paſt one
" legion of footmen, or ſome wing of horſſemen, to
" gather vp and receiue the tribute: for the charges are
" rated according to the quantitie of the tributes: for
" otherwiſe it ſhould be needfull to abate the cuſtoms,
" if the tributes were alſo raiſed: and if anie violence
" ſhould be vſed, it were dangerous leaſt they might
" be prouoked to rebellion. Thus farre Strabo.

## Of Guiderius, who denied to paie tribute to the Romans, preparation for war on both ſides, of the ridiculous voiage of the Emperour Caligula againſt the Britains, his vanitie and delight in miſchiefe: Aulus Plautius a Romane ſenator accompanied with ſouldiers arriue on the Britiſh coaſts without reſiſtance, the Britains take flight and hide themſelues.

## The xix. Chapter.

Guiderius.

GUiderius the firſt ſonne of Kymbeline (of whom Hariſon ſaieth nothing) began his reigne in the ſeuententh yeere after th'incarnation of Chriſt. This Guiderius being a man of ſtout courage, gaue occaſion of breach of peace betwixt the Britains and Romans, denieng to paie them tribute, and procuring the people to new inſurrections, which by one meane or other made open rebellion, as Gyldas ſaith. Whereupon the emperour Caligula (as ſome thinke) tooke occaſion to leauie a power, and as one vtterlie miſliking the negligence (as he called it) of Auguſtus and Tiberius his predeceſſors, he ment not onlie to reduce the Iland vnto the former ſubiection, but alſo to ſearch out the vttermoſt bounds thereof, to the behoofe of himſelfe, and of the Romane monarchie.

Caligula.

Great prouiſion therefore was made by the ſaid Caligula to performe that noble enterpriſe, and this was in the fourth yeere of his reigne. The like preparation was made on the other ſide by Guiderius, to reſiſt the forren enimies, ſo that hauing all things in a readineſſe, he ceaſſed not dailie to looke for the comming of the emperour, whome he ment to receiue with hard entertainment if he durſt aduenture to ſet toward Britaine. But ſee the ſequele: the maine armie being thus in a readineſſe, departed from Rome in the 79 yeere after the building of the citie, and marching forth, at length came vnto the Belgike ſhore, from whence they might looke ouer, and behold the cliffes and coaſt of Britaine, which Caligula and his men ſtood gazing vpon with great admiration and wonder.

Dion Caſſius lib. 59.

Furthermore he cauſed them to ſtand in battell arraie vpon the coaſt, where he heard how the Britains were in a readineſſe to withſtand his entrance. But entring into his gallie, as nothing diſcouraged with theſe newes, he rowed a flight ſhot or two from the ſhore, and forthwith returned, and then going vp into an high place like a pulpit, framed and ſet vp there for the nonce, he gaue the token to fight vnto his ſouldiers by ſound of trumpet, and therewith was ech man charged to gather cockle ſhells vpon the ſhore, which he called the ſpoile of the Ocean, and cauſed them to be laid vp vntill a time conuenient. With the atchiuing of this exploit (as hauing none other wherewith to beautifie his triumph) he ſéemed greatlie exalted, thinking that now he had ſubdued the whole Ocean, and therefore highlie rewarded his ſouldiers for their paines ſuſteined in that collection of cockle ſhells, as if they had done him ſome notable péece of ſeruice. He alſo caried of the ſame ſhells with him to Rome, to the end he might there boaſt of his voyage, and brag how well he had ſped: and required therefore verie earneſtlie of haue a triumph decréed vnto him for the accompliſhment of this enterpriſe.

The ſpoile of the Ocean.

But when he ſaw the ſenat grudge at the frée & liberall granting of a grace in that behalfe, and perceiued how they refuſed to attribute diuine honors vnto him, in recompenſe of ſo fooliſh an enterpriſe, it wanted little that he had not ſlaine them euerie one. From thence therefore he went vp into a throne or royall ſeate, and calling therewith the common people about him, he told them a long tale what aduentures had chanced to him in his conqueſt of the Ocean. And when he had perceiued them to ſhout and crie, as if they had conſented that he ſhould haue béene a god for this his great trauell and valiant prowelle, he to increaſe their clamour, cauſed great quantities of gold & ſiluer to be ſcattered amongſt them, in the gathering whereof, manie were preſſed to death, and diuers alſo ſlaine with the inuenomed caltrops of iron, which he did caſt out with the ſame monie, of purpoſe to doo miſchiefe, the ſame caltrops being in forme ſmall & ſharp, ſo that by reaſon of the preaſe of people, much hurt was done by them yer they were perceiued. And this was the end of the ridiculous voiage of Caligula attempted againſt the Britains.

But after the death of this Caligula, the emperour Claudius (as Suetonius ſaith) moued warre againſt the Britains, becauſe of a ſturre and rebellion raiſed in that land, for that ſuch fugitiues as

Suetonius.

were

were fled from thence, were not againe reſtored when requeſt was made for the ſame.

Dion Caſſius. Dion Caſſius writeth, that one Bericus, being expelled out of Britaine, perſuaded the emperour Claudius to take the warre in hand at this time againſt the Britains, ſo that one Aulus Plautius a ſenatour, and as then prætor, was appointed to take the armie that ſoiourned in France then called Gallia, and to paſſe ouer with the ſame into Britaine. The ſouldiers hearing of this voiage, were loth to go with him, as men not willing to make warre in another world: and therefore delaied time, till at length one Narciſſus was ſent from Claudius, as it were to appeaſe the ſouldiers, & procure them to ſet forward. But when this Narciſſus went vp into the tribunall throne of Plautius, to declare the cauſe of his comming, the ſouldiers taking great indignation therewith cried, *O Saturnalia*, as if they ſhould haue celebrated their feaſt daie ſo called.

When the ſeruants apparelled in their maiſters robes, repreſented the roome of their maiſters, and were ſerued by them, as if they had bëene their ſeruants, and thus at length conſtreined, through verie ſhame, they agréed to follow Plautius. Herevpon being embarked, he diuided his nauie into thrée parts, to the end that if they were kept off from arriuing in one place, yet they might take land in another. The ſhips ſuffered ſome impeachment in their paſſage by a contrarie wind that droue them backe againe: but yet the marriners and men of warre taking good courage vnto them, the rather becauſe there was ſéene a fierie leame to ſhot out of the eaſt towards the weſt, which way their courſe lay, made forwards againe with their ſhips, and landed without finding anie reſiſtance. For the Britains loked not for their comming: therefore, when they heard how their enimies were on land, they got them into the woods and mariſhes, truſting that by lingering of time the Romans would be conſtreined to depart, as it had chanced in time paſt to Julius Ceſar aforeſaid.

*The end of the third booke.*

# THE FOVRTH BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

The Britains diſcomfited, ſore *wounded, ſlaine, and diſabled by* Plautius and his power, Claudius the *Romane taketh the chiefe citie of Cymbe-*beline the king of Britaine, he bereaueth *the Britains of their armour, and by* vertue of his conqueſt ouer part *of the land is ſurnamed* Britannicus.

## *The firſt Chapter.*

NOw Plautius had much adoo to find out the Britains in their lurking holes and couerts; howbeit when he had traced them out, firſt he vanquiſhed Cataractacus, and after Togodumnus the ſonnes of Cynobellinus: for their father was dead not verie long before. Theſe therefore fleeing their waies, Plautus receiued part of the people called Bodumni (which were ſubiects vnto them that were called Catuellani) into the obeiſance of the Romans: and ſo leauing there a garriſon of ſouldiors, paſſed further till he came to a riuer which could not well be paſſed without a bridge: whereupon the Britains toke ſmall regard to defend the paſſage, as though they had bëene ſure inough. But Plautius appointed a certeine number of Germans which he had there with him (being vſed to ſwim ouer riuers, although neuer ſo ſwift) to get ouer, which they did, ſleaing and wounding the Britains horſes, which were faſtened to their wagons or chariots, ſo that the Britains were not able to do anie pëece of their accuſtomed ſeruice with the ſame.

Bodumni. Catuellani.

Herewithall was Flauius Veſpaſianus (that afterwards was emperour) with his brother Sabinus ſent ouer that riuer, which being got to the further ſide, ſlue a great number of the enimies. The reſidue of the Britains fled, but the next day proffered a new battell, in the which they fought ſo ſtoutlie, that the victorie depended long in doubtfull balance, till Caius Sidius Geta being almoſt at point to be taken, did ſo handle the matter, that the Britains finallie were put to flight: for the which his valiant doings, triumphant honors were beſtowed vpon him, although he was no conſull.

The Britains after this battell, withdrew to the riuer of Thames, nëere to the place where it falleth into the ſea, and knowing the ſhallowes and firme places thereof, eaſilie paſſed ouer to the further ſide, whom the Romans following, through lacke of knowledge in the nature of the places, they fell into the mariſh grounds, and ſo came to loſe manie of their

Dion Caſſius. Suetonius.

their men, namelie of the Germans, which were the first that passed ouer the riuer to follow the Britains, partlie by a bridge which lay within the countrie ouer the said riuer, and partlie by swimming, and other such shift as they presentlie made.

Togodumnus. The Britains hauing lost one of their rulers, namelie Togodumnus (of whom ye haue heard before) were nothing discouraged, but rather more egerlie set on reuenge. Plautius perceiuing their fiercenesse, went no further, but staid and placed garrisons in steeds where need required, to keepe those places which he had gotten, and with all speed sent aduertisement vnto Claudius, according to that he had in commandement, if anie vrgent necessitie should so moue him. Claudius therefore hauing all things before hand in a readinesse, straightwaies vpon the receiuing of the aduertisement, departed from Rome, and came by water vnto Ostia, and from thence vnto Massilia, and so through France sped his iournies till he came to the side of the Ocean sea, and then imbarking himselfe with his people, passed ouer into Britaine, and came to his armie which abode his comming neere the Thames side, where being ioined, they passed the riuer againe, fought with the Britains in a pitcht field, and getting the victorie, take the towne of Camelodunum (which some count to be Colchester) being the chiefest citie apperteining vnto Cynobelinus. He reduced also manie other people into his subiection, some by force, and some by surrender, whereof he was called oftentimes by the name of emperour, which was against the ordinance of the Romans: for it was not lawfull for anie to take that name vpon him oftener than once in anie one voiage. Moreouer, Claudius take from the Britains their armor and weapons, and committed the gouernment of them vnto Plautius, commanding him to endeuour himselfe to subdue the residue.

Dion Cassius. Thus hauing brought vnder a part of Britaine, and hauing made his abode therin not past a fortene daies, he departed and came backe againe to Rome with victorie in the first month after his setting forth from thence, giuing after his returne, to his sonne, the surname of Britannicus. This warre he finished in maner as before is said, in the fourth yeere of his reigne, which fell in the yeere of the world 4011, after the birth of our Sauiour 44, and after the building of Rome 79.

Suetonius.

## The diuerse opinions and variable reports of writers touching the partile conquest of this Iland by the Romans, the death of Guiderius.

## *The second Chapter.*

THere be that write, how Claudius subdued and added to the Romane empire, the Iles of Orknie situate in the north Ocean beyond Britaine: which might well be accomplished either by Plautius, or some other his lieutenant: for Plautius indeed for his noble prowesse and valiant acts atchiued in Britaine, afterwards triumphed. Titus the sonne of Uespasian also wan no small praise for deliuering his father out of danger in his time, being beset with a companie of Britains, which the said Titus bare downe, and put to flight with great slaughter. Beda following the authoritie of Suetonius, writeth breefelie of this matter, and saith, that Claudius passing ouer into this Ile, to the which neither before Julius Cesar, neither after him anie stranger durst come, within few daies receiued the most part of the countrie into his subiection without battell or bloudshed.

Gyldas also writing of this reuolting of the Britains, saith thus: When information thereof was giuen to the senate, and that hast was made with a speedie armie to reuenge the same, there was no warlike nauie prepared in the sea to fight valiantlie for the defense of the countrie, no square battell, no right wing, nor anie other prouision appointed on the shore to be seene, but the backes of the Britains in stead of a shield are shewed to the persecutors, and their necks readie to be cut off with the sword through cold feare running through their bones, which stretched forth their hands to be bound like womanlie creatures; so that a common prouerbe followed thereof, to wit, That the Britains were neither valiant in warre, nor faithfull in peace: and so the Romans fleaing manie of the rebels, reseruing some, and bringing them to bondage, that the land should not lie altogither vntilled and desert, returned into Italie out of that land which was void of wine and oile, leauing some of their men there for gouernors to chastise the people, not so much with an armie of men, as with scourge and whip, and if the matter so required, to applie the naked sword vnto their sides: so that it might be accounted Rome and not Britaine. And what coine either of brasse, siluer or gold there was, the same to be stamped with the image of the emperour. Thus farre Gildas.

In the British historie we find other report as thus, that Claudius at his comming aland at Dorchester, besieged that towne, to the rescue whereof came Guiderius, and giuing battell to the Romans, put them to the worse, till at length one Hamo, being on the Romans side, changed his shield and armour, apparelling himselfe like a Britaine, and so entring into the thickest preasse of the British host, came at length where the king was, and there slue him. But Aruiragus perceiuing this mischiefe, to the end the Britains should not be discouraged therewith, caused himselfe to be adorned with the kings cote-armor, and other abiliments, and so as king continued the fight with such manhood, that the Romans were put to flight. Claudius retired backe to his ships, and Hamo to the next woods, whom Aruiragus pursued, and at length droue him vnto the sea side, and there slue him yer he could take the hauen which was there at hand; so that the same take name of him, and was called a long time after, Hamons hauen, and at length by corruption of speach it was called Hampton, and so continueth vnto this day, commonlie called by the name of Southhampton. Thus haue you heard how Guiderius or Guinderius (whether you will) came to his end, which chanced (as some write) in the 28 yeere of his reigne.

Gal. Mon. Matth. West.

Hampton, why so called.

## Aruiragus the Britaine & Claudius the Romane with their armies doo incounter, a composition concerning mariage concluded betweene them, Claudius returneth to Rome.

## *The third Chapter.*

ARuiragus the youngest son of Kymbeline, and brother to Guinderius (because the same Guinderius left no issue to succeed him) was admitted king of Britaine in the yeere of our Lord 45, or rather 46.

*Aruiragus.* Hector Boet.

This

This Aruiragus, otherwise called by the Britains Meuricus or Mauns, of Tacitus Pasutagus, is also named Armiger in the English chronicle, by which chronicle (as appeareth) he bare himselfe right manfullie against Claudius and his Romans in the war which they made against him: in so much that when Claudius had renewed his force and woone Porchester, and after came to besiege Winchester (in the which Aruiragus as then was inclosed) Aruiragus assembling his power, was readie to come forth and giue Claudius battell: whereupon Claudius doubting the sequele of the thing, sent messengers vnto Aruiragus to treat of concord, and so by composition the matter was taken vp, with condition, that Claudius should giue his daughter Genilla in marriage vnto Aruiragus, & Aruiragus should acknowledge to hold his kingdome of the Romans.

Caxton.

Gal. Mon.

Ranulfus Cestrensis.

Some write that Claudius in fauour of the valiant prowesse which he saw & found in Aruiragus, honored not onlie him with the mariage of his daughter the said Gentilla, but also to the end to make the towne more famous where this marriage was solemnized, he therefore called it Claudiocestria, after his name, the which in the British tong was called before that daie Caerleon, and after Glouernia, of a duke that ruled in Demetia that hight Glunie, but now it is called Glocester.

Other there be that write, how Claudius being vanquished in battell by Aruiragus, was compelled by the said Aruiragus to giue vnto him his said daughter to wife, with condition as before is mentioned: and that then Aruiragus was crowned king of Britaine. But Suetonius maie seeme to reproue this part of the British historie, which in the life of Claudius witnesseth, that he had by three wiues onlie three daughters, that is to saie, Claudia, Antonia, and Octauia: and further, that reputing Claudia not to be his, caused hir to be cast downe at the doore of his wife Herculanilla, whome he had forsaken by waie of diuorcement: & that he bestowed his daughter Antonia first on C. Pompeius Magnus, and after on Faustus Silla, verie noble yong gentlemen; and Octauia he matched with Nero his wiues son. Whereby it should appeare, that this supposed marriage betwixt Aruiragus and the daughter of Claudius is but a feined tale.

Suetonius.

¶ And heere to speake my fansie also what I thinke of this Aruiragus, and other the kings (whome Galfrid and such as haue followed him do register in order, to succeed one after another) I will not denie but such persons there were, and the same happilie bearing verie great rule in the land, but that they reigned as absolute kings ouer the whole, or that they succeeded one after another in manner as is auouched by the same writers, it seemeth most vnlike to be true: for rather it maie be gessed by that, which as well Gyldas as the old approued Romane writers haue written, that diuerse of these kings liued about one time, or in times greatlie differing from those times which in our writers we find noted. As for example, Iuuenal maketh this Aruiragus of whom we now intreat, to reigne about Domitians time. For my part therefore, sith this order of the British kinglie succession in this place is more easie to be flatlie denied and vtterlie reproued, than either wiselie defended or trulie amended, I will referre the reforming therof vnto those that haue perhaps seene more than I haue, or more deepelie considered the thing, to trie out an vndoubted truth: in the meane time, I haue thought good, both to shew what I find in our histories, and likewise in forren writers, to the which we thinke (namelie in this behalfe, whilest the Romans gouerned there) we maie safelie giue most credit, do we otherwise neuer so much content our selues with other vaine and fond conceits.

To proceed yet with the historie as we find it by our writers set forth: it is reported, that after the solemnization of this marriage, which was done with all honour that might be deuised, Claudius sent certeine legions of souldiers forth to go into Ireland to subdue that countrie, and returned himselfe to Rome.

Legions & souldiers sent into Ireland.

## 10 Aruiragus denieth subiection to the Romans, *Vespasian is sent to represse him* and his power, the Romane host is kept backe *from landing, queene Genissa pacifieth them* after a sharpe conflict: & what the Romane writers say of Vespasians being in Britaine, the end of Aruiragus.

## *The fourth Chapter.*

When did king Aruiragus ride about to view the state of his realme, repairing cities and townes decaied by the warre of the Romans, and saw his people gouerned with such iustice and good order, that he was both feared and greatlie beloued: so that in tract of time he grew verie welthie, and by reason thereof fell into pride, so that he denied his subiection to the Romans. Whereupon Claudius appointed Vespasian with an armie to go as lieutenant into Britaine. This iournie was to him the beginning of his aduancement to that honour, which after to him most luckilie befell. But if we shall credit our Britaine writers, he gained not much at Aruiragus hands, for where he would haue landed at Sandwich or Richborough, Aruiragus was readie to resist him, so as he durst not once enter the hauen: for Aruiragus had there such a puissant number of armed men, that the Romans were afraid to approch the land.

Vespasian in Britaine. Cornel. Tacit. in vit. Agr. lib. 5. & li. 6. Gal. Mon. Rutupium.

Vespasian therefore withdrew from thence, and coasting westward, landed at Totnesse, and coming to Excester, besieged that citie: but about the seuenth day after he had planted his siege, came Aruiragus, and gaue him battell, in the which both the armies susteined great losse of men, and neither part got anie aduantage of the other. On the morrow after queene Genilla made them friends, and so the warres ceassed for that time, by hir good mediation.

¶ But seeing (as before I haue said) the truth of this historie maie be greatlie mistrusted, ye shall heare what the Romane writers saie of Vespasianus being heere in Britaine, beside that which we haue alreadie recited out of Dion in the life of Guiderius.

In the dates of the emperor Claudius, through fauour of Narcissus (one that might do all with Claudius) the said Vespasian was sent as coronell or lieutenant of a legion of souldiers into Germanie, and being remoued from thence into Britaine, he fought thirtie seuerall times with the enimies, and brought vnto the Romane obeisance two most mightie nations, and aboue twentie townes, togither with the Ile of Wight; and these exploits he atchiued, partlie vnder the conduct of Aulus Plautius ruler of Britaine for the emperor Claudius, and partlie vnder the same emperor himselfe. For as it is euident by writers of good credit, he came first ouer into Britaine with the said Aulus Plautius, and serued verie valiantlie vnder him, as before in place we haue partlie touched. By Tacitus it appeareth, that he was called to be partener in the gouernment of things in Britaine

Vespasian.

Suetonius. Sabellicus.

Britaine with Claudius, and had such successe, as it appéered to what estate of honour he was predestinate, hauing conquered nations, and taken kings prisoners. But now to make an end with Aruiragus: when he perceiued that his force was too weake to preuaile against the Romane empire, and that he should striue but in vaine to shake the yoke of subiection from the necks of the Britains, he made a finall peace with them in his old age, and so continued in quiet the residue of his reigne, which he lastlie ended by death, after he had gouerned the land by the space of thirtie yéeres, or but eight and twentie, as some other imagine. He died in the yéere of Grace 73, as one author affirmeth, and was buried at Glocester.

Gal. Mon.

72. Matth. Westm.

## Ioseph of Arimathia came into Britane *and Simon Zelotes, the antiquitie of christian* religion, Britaine gouerned by Lieute*nants and treasurers of the Romane emperors, the* exploits of Ostorius Scapula and the men of Ox*fordshire, he vanquisheth the Welshmen,* appeaseth the Yorkshiremen, and brideleth the rage of the Silures.

## *The fift Chapter.*

IN the daies of the said Aruiragus, about the yeare of Christ 53, Ioseph of Arimathia, who buried the bodie of our sauiour, being sent by Philip the Apostle (as Iohn Bale following the authoritie of Gildas and other British writers reciteth) after that the Christians were dispersed out of Gallia, came into Britaine with diuers other godlie christian men, & preaching the gospell there amongst the Britains, & instructing them in the faith and lawes of Christ, conuerted manie to the true beliefe, and baptised them in the wholsome water of regeneration, & there continued all the residue of his life, obteining of the king a plot of ground where to inhabit, not past a foure miles from Wells, and there with his fellowes began to laie the first foundation of the true and perfect religion, in which place (or néere thereunto) was afterward erected the abbeie of Glastenburie.

Polydorus.

Nicephorus writeth in his second booke and fourth chapter, that one Simon Zelotes came likewise into Britaine. And Theodoretus in his 9. booke *De curandis Græcorum affectibus*, sheweth that Paule being released of his second imprisonment, and suffered to depart from Rome, preached the gospell to the Britains and to other nations in the west. The same thing in manner doth Sophronius the patriarch of Ierusalem witnesse. Tertullian also maie be a witnesse of the ancientnes of the faith receiued here in Britaine, where he writing of these times saith: Those places of the Britains, to the which the Romans could not approch, were subiect vnto Christ, as were also the countries of Sarmatia, Dacia, Germania, Scithia, and others. Thus it maie appeare, that the christian religion was planted here in this land shortlie after Christes time, although it certeinlie appeareth not who were the first that preached the gospell to the Britains, nor whether they were Greeks or Latins.

Treasurers or receiuers.

Cornelius Tacitus writeth, that the Romane emperours in this season gouerned this land by lieutenants and treasurers, the which were called by the name of legats and procurators, thereby to kéepe the vnrulie inhabitants the better in order.

And Aulus Plautius a noble man of Rome of the order of consuls, was sent hither as the first legat or lieutenant (in maner as before ye haue heard) & after him Ostorius Scapula, who at his comming found the Ile in trouble, the enimies hauing made inuasion into the countrie of those that were friends to the Romans, the more presumptuouslie, for that they thought a new lieutenant, with an armie to him vnacquainted and come ouer now in the beginning of winter, would not be hastie to march forth against them. But Ostorius vnderstanding that by the first successe and chance of warre, feare or hope is bred and augmented, hasted forward to encounter with them, and such as he found abroad in the countrie he slue out right on euerie side, and pursued such as fled, to the end they should not come togither againe. Now for that a displeasing and a doubtfull peace was not like to bring quietnesse either to him or to his armie, he tooke from such as he suspected, their armour. And after this, he went about to defend the riuers of Anon & Seuerne, with placing his souldiers in camps fortified néere to the same. But the Orfordshire men and other of those parties would not suffer him to accomplish his purpose in anie quiet sort, being a puissant kind of people, and not hitherto weakened by warres: for they willinglie at the first had ioined in amitie with the Romans. The countries adioining also being induced by their procurement, came to them, & so they chose forth a plot of ground, fensed with a mightie ditch, vnto the which there was no waie to enter but one, & the same verie narrow, so as the horsemen could not haue anie easie passage to breake in vpon them. Ostorius, although he had no legionarie souldiers, but certeine bands of aids, marched forth towards the place within the which the Britains were lodged, and assaulting them in the same, brake through into their campe, where the Britains being impeached with their owne inclosures which they had raised for defense of the place, knowing how that for their rebellion they were like to find small mercie at the Romans hands, when they saw now no waie to escape, laid about them manfullie, and shewed great proofe of their valiant stomachs.

Iulus Plautius.

Ostorius Scapula.

Cor. Tacitus lib. 12.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12.

In this battell, the sonne of Ostorius the lieutenant deserued the price and commendation of preseruing a citizen out of the cruell enimies hands. But now with this slaughter of the Orfordshire men, diuers of the Britains that stood doubtfull what waie to take, either to rest in quiet, or to moue warres, were contented to be conformable vnto a reasonable order of peace, in so much that Ostorius lead his armie against the people called Cangi, who inhabited that part of Wales now called Denbighshire, which countrie he spoiled on euerie side, no enimie once daring to encounter him: & if anie of them aduentured priuilie to set vpon those which they found behind, or on the outsids of his armie, they were cut short yer they could escape out of danger. Wherevpon he marched straight to their campe and giuing them battell, vanquished them: and vsing the victorie as reason moued him, he lead his armie against those that inhabited the inner parts of Wales, spoiling the countrie on euerie side. And thus sharplie pursuing the rebels, he approched néere vnto the sea side, which lieth ouer against Ireland. While this Romane capteine was thus occupied, he was called backe by the rebellion of the Yorkshire men, whome forthwith vpon his comming vnto them, he appeased, punishing the first authors of that tumult with death.

which was a certaine crowne, to be set on his head called *ciuica corona*.

Cangi.

In the meane time, the people called Silures, being a verie fierce kind of men, and valiant, prepared

Cor. Tacitus. lib. 12.

pared to make warre against the Romans, for they might not be bowed neither with roughnesse, nor yet with anie courteous handling, so that they were to be tamed by an armie of legionarie souldiers to be brought among them.

Therefore to restraine the furious rage of those people and their neighbours, Ostorius peopled a towne nére to their borders, called Camelodunum with certeine bands of old souldiers, there to inhabit with their wiues and children, according to such maner as was vsed in like cases of placing naturall Romans in anie towne or citie, for the more suertie and defense of the same. Here also was a temple builded in the honor of Claudius the emperour, where were two images erected, one of the goddesse Victoria, and an other of Claudius himselfe.

The coniectures of writers touching *the situation of Camelodunum supposed to* be Colchester, of the Silures a people spoken *of in the former chapter, a foughten field betwene* Caratacus the British prince, and Ostorius *the Romaine, in the confines of Shropshire; the Britains* go miserablie to wracke, Caratacus is deliuered to the Romans, his wife and daughter are taken prisoners, his brethren yeeld themselues to their enimies.

## *The sixt Chapter.*

BVt now there resteth a great doubt among writers, where this citie or towne called Camelodunum did stand, of some (and not without good ground of probable coniectures gathered vpon the aduised consideration of the circumstances of that which in old authors is found written of this place) it is thought to be Colchester.

Camelodunum, Colchester.

But verelie by this place of Tacitus it maie rather seeme to be some other towne, situat more westward than Colchester, sith a colonie of Romane souldiers were planted there to be at hand, for the repressing of the vnquiet Silures, which by consent of most writers inhabited in Southwales, or nére the Welsh marshes.

Silures where they inhabited.

There was a castell of great fame in times past that hight Camaletum, or in British Caermalet, which stood in the marshes of Summersetshire: but sith there is none that hath so written before this time, I will not saie that happilie some error hath growne by mistaking the name of Camelodunum for this Camaletum, by such as haue copied out the booke of Cornelius Tacitus; and yet so it might be doon by such as found it short or vnperfectlie written, namelie, by such strangers or others, to whom onelie the name of Camelodunum was onelie knowne, and Camaletum peraduenture neuer seene nor heard of. As for example, an Englishman that hath heard of Waterford in Ireland, and not of Werford, might in taking forth a copie of some writing easilie commit a fault in noting the one for the other. We find in Ptolomie Camedolon to be a citie belonging to the Trinobants, and he maketh mention also of Camelodunum, but Humfrey Lhoyd thinketh that he meaneth all one citie.

Notwithstanding Polydor Virgil is of a contrarie opinion, supposing the one to be Colchester indeed, and the other that is Camelodunum to be Doncaster or Pontfret. Leland esteeming it to be certeinelie Colchester taketh the Iceni men also to be the Northfolke men. But howsoeuer we shall take this place of Tacitus, it is euident inough that Camelodunum stood not farre from the Thames. And therefore to seeke it with Hector Boetius in Scotland, or with Polydor Virgil so far as Doncaster or Pontfret, it maie be thought a plaine error.

But to leaue each man to his owne iudgement in a matter so doubtfull, we will proceed with the historie as touching the warres betwixt the Romans and the Silurians, against whome (trusting not onelie vpon their owne manhood, but also vpon the high prowesse & valiancie of Caratacus) Ostorius set forward. Caratacus excelled in fame aboue all other the princes of Britaine, aduanced thereto by manie doubtfull aduenturss and manie prosperous exploits, which in his time he had atchiued: but as he was in policie and aduantage of place better prouided than the Romans: so in power of souldiers he was ouermatched. And therefore he remoued the battell into the parts of that countrie where the Ordouices inhabited, which are thought to haue dwelled in the borders of Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, which people together with other that misliked of the Romane gouernment, be ioined in one, and chose a plot of ground for his aduantage, determining there to trie the vttermost hazard of battell.

Cornelius Tacitus Annal. lib. 12.

Cornelius Tacitus lib. Annal.

Hu. Lhoyd

The place which he thus chose was such, as the entries, the backwaies, and the whole situation thereof made for the Britains aduantage, and cleane contrarie to the Romans, as inclosed among high hils. And if there were anie easie passage to enter it vpon anie side, the same was shut vp with mightie huge stones in manner of a rampire, and afore it there ran a riuer without anie certeine ford to passe ouer it. This place is supposed to lie in the confines of Shropshire aloft vpon the top of an high hill there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, hauing three entries into it, not directlie one against an other, but aslope. It is also (they saie) compassed about with two riuers, to wit, on the left hand with the riuer called Clun, & on the right hand with an other called Teuid. On their sides thereof the clime is verie steepe and headlong, and no waie easie to come or reach vnto it, but onelie one.

Caratac hauing thus fortified himselfe within this place, and brought his armie into it: to encourage his people, he exhorted them to shew their manhood, affirming that to be the day, and that armie to be the same wherein should appeare the beginning either of libertie then to be recouered, or else of perpetuall bondage for euer to be sustained. He rehersed also specially by name those their elders, which had resisted Julius Cesar, by whose high valiancie they liued free from the bloudie thraldome and tributes of the Romans, and enioied their wiues and children safe and vndefiled. Thus discoursing of manie things with them, in such hope of assured victorie, that they began to raise their cries, eth one for him selfe, declaring that he was bound by the dutie he owght to the gods of his countrie, not to shrinke for feare of anie wounds or hurts that might chance vnto them by the enimies weapon.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12. Caratacs name renowmed.

This chéerefulnesse of the Britains greatlie astonished the Romane lieutenant. The hideous course also of the riuer before his face, the fortifications and craggie higth of the hils, all set full of enimies readie to beat him backe, put him in great feare: for nothing he saw afore him, but that which séemed dreadfull to those that should assaile. But the souldiers yet séemed to be verie desirous of battell, requesting him to bring them to it, protesting that nothing was able to resist the force of noble prowes. Herewith the capteins and tribunes discoursing the like, pricked forward the earnest willes which their souldiers

souldiers had to fight.

Ostorius perceiuing such courage and readie wils in the men of warre, as well souldiers as capteins, began to bestirre himselfe, and left nothing vndone that might serue to set forward their earnest desire to battell. And hauing aduisedlie considered which waies were hard and impossible to be entered vpon, and which were most easie for his people to find passage by, he led them forth, being most earnestlie bent to cope with the enimie.

Cornelius Tacitus Annal. lib. 12.

Now hauing passed the water without any great difficultie, but comming to the rampire, he lost manie of his people, so long as the fight was continued with shot and casting of darts: but after that the Romans couering themselues with their targets, came once close togither, and approched vnder the rampire, they remoued away the stones which the Britains had roughlie couched togither, and so came to ioine with them at handblowes. The Britains being vnarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to the top of the hilles, but as well their enimies that were light armed, as the other with heauie armour, followed and brake in among them, so as the Britains could not turne them anie way to escape, for the light armed men with shot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, sought to make slaughter and wracke of them on ech side, so that this was a verie dolefull day to the Britains.

The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken prisoners, and his brethren also yelded themselues. He himselfe escaped, and committing his person vnto the assurance & trust of Cartemandua queene of the Brigants, was by hir delinered into the hands of the Romans. All this happened about nine yeres after the warres in Britaine first began.

## The name of Caratacus famous in Italie, *the maner how he and his alies were led* captiues by the Romans in triumph, his courage *and manlie speech to the emperour Claudius*, whereby he and his obteine mercie and pardon: *the Britains vndertake a new reuenge a-*gainst the Romans; the cause why the Silures hated the Romans, Ostorius Scapula dieth, the citie of Chester builded.

## *The seuenth Chapter.*

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12. Caratakes name renowmed.

THe name of Caratacus being brought out of the Iles was alreadie spred ouer the prouinces adioining, and began now to grow famous through Italie. Men therefore were desirous to see what maner of man he was that had so manie yeares set at naught the puissant force of the empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much spoken of, insomuch that the emperour whilest he went about to preferre his owne honour, aduanced the glorie of him also that was vanquished: for the people were called forth as vnto some great notable sight or spectacle. The pretorian bands stood in order of battell armed in the field that laie before their lodgings, through which field Caratake shuld come. Then passed by the traine of his friends and seruants; and such armor, riches, iewels, and other things as had beene gotten in those warres, were borne forward, and openlie shewed, that all men might behold the same.

After these followed his brethren, wife, and daughters: and last of all came Caratacus himselfe, whose countenance was nothing like to theirs that went afore him. For whereas they fearing punishment for their rebellion with wailefull countenance craued mercie, he neither by countenance nor words shewed anie token of a discouraged mind, but being presented before the emperour Claudius sitting in his tribunall seat, he vttered this speach as followeth.

„ If there had beene in me so much moderation in
„ time of prosperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth
„ and puissance, I had come to this citie rather as a
„ friend than as a capteine: neither should I haue
„ thought scorne, being borne of most noble parents,
„ and ruling ouer many people, to haue accepted peace
„ by waie of ioining with you in league. My present
„ estate as it is to me reprochfull, so to you it is hono-
„ rable. I had at commandement, horsses, men, ar-
„ mor, and great riches; what maruell is it if I were
„ loth to forgo the same? For if you shall loke to go-
„ uerne all men, it must needs follow that all men
„ must be your slaues. If I had at the first yelded my
„ selfe, neither my power nor your glorie had beene set
„ forth to the world, & vpon mine execution I should
„ straight haue beene forgotten. But if you now grant
„ me life, I shall be a witnesse for euer of your merci-
„ full clemencie.

The emperour with these words being pacified, granted life both to Caratake, and also to his wife and brethren, who being losed from their bands, went also to the place where the empresse Agrippina sat (not farre off) in a chaire of estate, whom they reuerenced with the like praise and thanks as they had done before to the emperour. After this the senat was called togither, who discoursed of manie things touching this honourable victorie atchiued by the taking of Caratake, esteeming the same no lesse glorious, than when P. Scipio shewed in triumph Siphax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perses, or other Romane capteins anie such king whom they had vanquished.

Siphax. L. Paulus.

Hereupon it was determined, that Ostorius should enter the citie of Rome with triumph like a conqueror, for such prosperous successe as hitherto had followed him: but afterwards his proceedings were not so luckie, either for that after Caratake was remoued out of the waie, or bicause the Romans (as though the warre had beene finished) looked negligentlie to themselues, either else for that the Britains taking compassion of the miserable state of Caratake, being so worthie a prince, through fortunes froward aspect cast into miserie, were more earnestlie set to reuenge his quarrell. Hereupon they incompassed the maister of the campe, and those legionarie bands of souldiers which were left amongst the Silures to fortifie a place there for the armie to lodge in: and if succour had not come out of the nert townes and castels, the Romans had beene destroied by siege. The head capteine yet, and eight centurions, and euerie one else of the companies being most forward, were slaine. Shortlie after they set vpon the Romane forragers, and put them to flight, and also such companies of horssemen as were appointed to gard them. Hereupon Ostorius set forth certeine bands of light horssemen, but neither could be staie the flight by that meanes, till finallie the legions entred the battell, by whose force they were staid, and at length the Romans obteined the better: but the Britains escaped by flight without great losse, by reason the date was spent.

After this, manie bickerings chanced betwixt the Britains and Romans, & oftentimes they wrought their feats more like the trade of them that vse to rob by the high waies, than of those that make open warre, taking their enimies at some aduantage

in woods and bogs, as hap or force ministred occasion vpon malice conceiued, or in hope of prey, sometimes by commandement, and sometimes without either commandement or knowledge of capteine or officer.

At one time the Britains surprised two bands of footmen that were with the Romans in aid, and sent forth to forreie abroad vnaduisedlie, through couetousnesse of the capteins. This feat was atchiued by the Silures also, the which in bestowing prisoners and part of the spoile vpon other of their neighbours, procured them likewise to rebell against the Romans, and to take part with them. The Silures were the more earnestlie set against the Romans, by occasion of words which the emperor Claudius had vttered in their disfauour, as thus: that euen as the Sicambres were destroied and remoued into Gallia, so likewise must the Silures be dealt with, and the whole nation of them extinguished. These words being blowne abroad, and knowne ouer all, caused the Silures to conceiue a wonderfull hatred against the Romans, so that they were fullie bent, either to reteine their libertie, or to die in defense thereof vpon the enimies sword.

In the meane time Ostorius Scapula departed this life, a right noble warrior, and one who by litle & litle insuing the steps of Aulus Plautius his predecessor, did what he could to bring the Ile into the forme of a prouince, which in part he accomplished.

W.H. in his chronologie. There be some led by coniecture grounded vpon good aduised considerations, that suppose this Ostorius Scapula began to build the citie of Chester after the ouerthrow of Caratacus: for in those parties he fortified sundrie holds, and placed a number of old souldiers either there in that selfe place, or in some other neere thereunto by waie of a colonie. And for so much (saie they) as we read of none other of anie name thereabouts, it is to be thought that he planted the same in Chester, where his successors did afterwards vse to harbour their legions for the winter season, and in time of rest from iournies which they haue to make against their common enimies.

In deed it is a common opinion among the people there vnto this daie, that the Romans built those vaults or tauerns (which in that citie are vnder the ground) with some part of the castell. And verelie as Ran. Hig. *alias* Cestrensis. Ranulfe Higden saith, a man that shall view and well consider those buildings, maie thinke the same to be the worke of Romans rather than of anie other people. That the Romane legions did make their abode there, no man seene in antiquities can doubt thereof, for the ancient name Caer leon ardour deuy, that is, The citie of legions vpon the water of Dee, proueth it sufficientlie enough.

Corn. Tacit. But to returne vnto Ostorius Scapula, we find in Corn. Tacitus, that during his time of being lieutenant in this Ile, there were certeine cities giuen vnto one Cogidune a king of the Britains, who continued faithfull to the Romans vnto the daies of the remembrance of men liuing in the time of the said Cornelius Tacitus, who liued and wrote in the emperor Domitianus time. This was done after an old receiued custom of the people of Rome, to haue both subiects and kings vnder their rule and dominion, as who so shall note the acts and deeds of the Roman emperours from C. Julius Cesar (who chased Pompeie out of Italie, and was the first that obteined the Romane empire to himselfe; of whom also the princes and emperours succeeding him were called Cesars) to Octauian, Tiberius, Caligula, &c: maie easilie marke and obserue. For they were a people of singular magnanimitie, of an ambitious spirit, greedie of honour and renowme, and not vnaptlie termed *Romani rerum domini, &c.*

Cogidune a king in Britaine.

A. Didius is sent to supplie Ostorius *his roome in Britaine, the trecherie and le-* cherie of queene Cartimanda, Venutius kee-*peth the kingdome in spite of the Romans*, by what meanes their confines in this Ile were inlarged;

*the error of Hector Boetius and others touching* the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants notified, the Britains giue the Romans a shamefull ouerthrow.

## *The eight Chapter.*

A. Didius lieutenant. After the decease of Ostorius Scapula, one A. Didius was sent to supplie his roome, but yer he could come, things were brought out of order, and the Britains had vanquished the legion whereof Manlius Valens had the conduct: this victorie was set forth by the Britains to the vttermost, that with the bruit thereof they might strike a feare into the lieutenants hart, now vpon his first comming ouer. And he himselfe reported it by letters to the emperour after the largest manner, to the end that if he appeased the matter, he might win the more praise; or if he were put to the worst, and should not preuaile, that then his excuse might seeme the more reasonable and worthie of pardon. The Silures were they that had atchiued this victorie, and kept a fowle stur ouer all the countries about them, till by the comming of Didius against them, they were driuen backe and repelled.

The error of Hector Boetius.

But herewith began trouble to be raised in another part: for after that Caratac was taken, the chiefest and most skillfull capteine which the Britains had, was one Venutius, a ruler of the people named Iugants, a man that remained a long time faithfull to the Romans, and by their power was defended from his enimies, who had married with Cartimanda queene of the Brigants or Yorkeshire men. This Cartimanda (as ye haue heard) had deliuered Caratac into the Romans hands, thereby ministring matter for the emperour Claudius to triumph, by which pleasure she wed to the Romans, she increased thorough their friendship in power and wealth, whereof followed riotous lust to satisfie hir wanton appetite, so as she falling at square with hir husband, married Vellocatus, one of his esquires, to whom she gaue hir kingdome, and so dishonoured hir selfe. Heere vpon insued cruell warre, in so much that in the end Venutius became enimie also to the Romans. But first they tugged togither betwixt themselues, & the queene by a craftie policie found meanes to catch the brother and cosens of Venutius, but hir enimies nothing therewith discouraged, but kindled the more in wrath against hir, ceassed not to go forward with their purpose.

Venutius ruler of the Iugants.

Cartimanda.

Vellocatus.

Many of the Brigants disdaining to be subiect vnto a womans rule that had so reiected hir husband, reuolted vnto Venutius: but yet the queenes sensuall lust mixed with crueltie, mainteined the adulterer. Venutius therefore calling to him such aid as he could get, and strengthened now by the reuolting of the Brigants, brought Cartimanda to such a narrow point, that she was in great danger to fall into the hands of hir enimies: which the Romans forseeing, vpon suit made, sent certeine bands of horsemen and footmen to helpe hir. They had diuerse incounters with the enimies at the first, with doubtfull successe: but at length they preuailed, and so deliuered the queene out of perill, but the kingdome remained to Venutius: against whom the Romans were

Venutius keepeth the kingdome in despite of the Romans.

A note to be considered in the reading of Hect. Boetius

Cor. Tac. lib. annal. 15.

were constreined still to mainteine warre.

About the same time, the legion also which Cesius Nasica led, got the vpper hand of those Britains against whom he was sent. For Didius being aged, and by victories past inough renowmed, thought it sufficient for him to make warre by his capteins, so to staie and keepe off the enimie. Certeine castels and holds in deed he caused to be built and fortified, further within the countrie than had beene afore attempted by anie of his predecessors, and so thereby were the confines of the Romans in this Ile somewhat inlarged. Thus haue ye heard with what successe the Britains mainteined warre in defense of their libertie against the Romans, whilest Claudius ruled the empire (according to the report of the Romane writers.)

¶ But here you must note, that Hector Boetius, following the authoritie of one Veremond a Spaniard, of Cornelius Hibernicus, & also of Campbell, remoueth the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants, so farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitants of those countries which the Scots haue now in possession, and were euen then inhabited (as he affirmeth) partlie by the Scots, and partlie by the Picts (as in the Scotish historie ye may see more at large) so that what notable feat soeuer was atchiued by the old Britains against the Romans, the same by him is ascribed to the Scots and Picts throughout his whole historie, whereas (in verie truth) forsomuch as may be gathered by coniecture and presumption of that which is left in writing by ancient authors, the Brigants inhabited Yorkshire, the Silures Wales and the Marches, and the Nouants the countrie of Cumberland.

The errour of Hector Boetius.

But forsomuch as he hath diligentlie gathered in what maner the warres were mainteined by those people against the Romans, and what valiant exploits were taken in hand and finished thorough their stoutnesse and valiancie, ye may there read the same, and iudge at your pleasure what people they were whome he so much praiseth: aduertising you hereof by the way, that as we haue before expressed, none of the Romane writers mentioneth any thing of the Scots, nor once nameth them, till the Romane empire began to decay, about the time of the emperor Constantius, father of Constantine the great: so that if they had béene in this Ile then so famous both in peace and warre, as they are reported by the same Boetius; maruell might it séeme, that the Romane writers would so passe them ouer with silence.

I note to be considered in the reading of Hect. Boetius

Cor. Tac. lib. annal. 15.

After the death of Claudius the emperor of Rome, Claudius Domitianus Nero succéeded him in gouernement of the empire. In the seuenth yéere of whose reigne, which was after the incarnation 53, the Romans receiued a great ouerthrow in Britaine, where neither the lieutenant A. Didius Gallus (whom in this place Cornelius Tacitus calleth Aluitus) could during the time of his rule do no more but hold that which was alreadie gotten, beside the building of certeine castels (as before ye haue heard) neither his successor Veranmius, beating and forreieng the woods, could atchiue anie further enterprise, for he was by death preuented, so as he could not proceed forward with his purpose touching the warres which he had ment to haue followed, whose last words (in his testament expressed) detected him of manifest ambition: for adding manie things by way of flatterie to content Neros mind, he wished to haue liued but two yéeres longer, in which space he might haue subdued prouinces vnto his dominion, meaning therby the whole Ile of Britaine. But this was a Romans brag, sauouring rather of ambition than of truth or likelihood.

## The gouernment of P. Suetonius in this Iland, he inuadeth Anglesey, and winneth it, a strange kind of women, of the Druides, the Britains lament their miserie and seruitude, and take aduise by weapon to redresse it against the Romans their enimies.

## The ninth Chapter.

P. Suetonius his lieutenant.

But now when this great losse chanced to the Romans Paulinus Suetonius did gouerne here as lieutenant, a man most plentifullie furnished with all gifts of fortune and vertue, and therewith a right skilfull warrior. This Suetonius therefore wishing to tame such of the Britains as kept out, prepared to assaile the Ile of Anglesey, a countrie full of inhabitants, and a place of refuge for all outlawes and rebels. He builded certeine brigantins with flat kéeles to serue for the ebbes and shallow shelues here and there, lieng vncertelnlie in the straits which he had to passe. The footmen ferried ouer in those vessels, the horsemen following by the fords, and swimming when they came into the deepe, got likewise to the shore, where stood in order of battell an huge number of armed men close togither, redie to beat backe the Romans, and to staie them from comming to land. Amongst the men, a number of women were also running vp and downe as they had béene out of their wits, in garments like to wild roges, with their haire hanging downe about their shoulders, and bearing firebrands in their hands. There was also a companie of their priests or philosophers called Druides, who with stretched forth hands towards heauen, thundered out curssings against the Romans in most bitter wise.

Anglesey inuaded.

A strange maner of women.

The Druids.

The souldiers were so amazed with the strangenesse of this sight, that (as men benummed of their lims and senses) they suffred themselues to be woumded and slaine like senseless creatures, till by the calling vpon of their generall, and ech one incouraging other in no wise to feare a sort of mad & distract women, they preassed forward vnder their ensignes, bearing downe such as stood in their way, and with their owne fire smoldered and burnt them to ashes.

To conclude, the Romane lieutenant got possession of the whole Ile, wherein he placed garisons of men of warre to kéepe the people there in subiection. He also caused their woods to be cut downe, that were consecrated to their gods, within the which they were accustomed to sacrifice such as they toke prisoners, and by the view of their intrailes, in dismembring them, to learne of their gods some oracles and such other things as should come to passe.

Anglesey won by the Romans.

woods cut downe.

But now in the meane time, whilest Paulinus was abroad about this enterprise, the Britains began to conferre togither of their great and importable miseries, of their grieuous state of seruitude, of their iniuries and wrongs, which they dailie sustcined: how that by sufferance they profited nothing, but still were oppressed with more heauie burthens. Ech countrie in times past had onelie one king to rule them: now had they two, the lieutenent by his capteins and souldiers spilling their bloud, and the procurator or receiuer (as we may call him) bereauing them of their goods and substance. The concord or discord betwirt those that were appointed to rule ouer them, was all alike hurtfull vnto the subiects, the lieutenant oppressing them by his capteins and men of warre, and the procurator or receiuer by force

Lieutenant & procurator.

and reprochfull demeanours, polling them by insufferable exactions.

There was nothing free from the couetous extortion and filthie concupiscence of these vnsatiable persons, for in these daies (say they) the greatest spoiler is the valiantest man, and most commonlie our houses are robbed and ransacked by a sort of cowardlie raskals that haue no knowledge of anie warlike feats at all. Our children are taken from vs, we are forced to go to the musters, and are set forth to serue in forren parties, as those that are ignorant which way to spend our liues in the quarell of our owne countrie. What a number of souldiers haue beene transported ouer from hence to serue in other lands, if a iust account were taken thereof? The Germans by manhood haue cast (said they) from their shoulders the heauie yoke of bondage, and are not defended as we are with the maine Ocean sea, but onelie with a riuer. Where the Britains haue their countrie, their wiues and parents, as iust causes of war to fight for: the Romans haue none at all, but a couetous desire to gaine by rapine, and to satisfie their excessiue lusts.

They might easilie be compelled to depart the countrie, as Julius Cesar was, if the Britains would shew some proofe of the noble prowesse that was euidentlie found in their worthie ancestors, and not shrinke or quaile in courage for the misaduenture that should happilie chance by fighting one battell or two. Greatest force and constancie alwaies remaineth with those that seek to deliuer themselues from miserie. Now appeared it that the gods had taken some pitie of the poore Britains, who by their diuine power did withhold the chiefe capteine of the Romans with his armie, as it were banished in an other Iland. Let vs then (said they) take the opportunitie of time and good occasion offered, and forthwith proceed in our businesse: for lesse danger it is manfullie to aduenture, and to go forward with our purpose, than to be bewraied and taken in these our consultations. Thus hauing taken aduise togither, and wholie misliking their present state, they determined to take weapon in hand, and so by force to seeke for reformation.

Occasion not to be neglected.

A catalog of causes or greeuances inciting the Britains to rebell against the Romans, wherein is shewed what iniuries they susteined: of diuers strange wonders and apparitions; the chiefe cause of the Britains insurging against the Romans, they admitted as well women as men to publike gouernement. A description of queene Voadicia, hir personage and maner of attire.

## The tenth Chapter.

Cor. Tac. lib. 14

THe Britains indeed were occasioned to do as they purposed, thorough manie euill parts practised by the Romans greatlie to their griefs and displeasures. For whereas Prasutagus (who is supposed by Hector Boetius to be Aruiragus, king of the people called Iceni) had made the emperour and two of his owne daughters his heires, supposing by that meane to haue his kingdome and familie preserued from all iniurie: it happened quite contrarie to that his expectation. For his kingdome was spoiled by the Romane capteins, his wife named Voadicia beaten by the souldiers, his daughters rauished, the peeres of the realme bereft of their goods, and the kings friends made and reputed as bondslaues.

Prasutagus.

The Oxfordshire and Glocestershire men.

Voadicia *alias* Vnduica.

There was also an other great cause that stirred the Britains to this rebellion, which was the confiscating of their goods: for whereas Claudius himselfe had pardoned the chiefest persons of the forfeitures, Decianus Catus the procurator of that Ile maintained that the same ought to be renewed againe. To this an other griefe was added, that where Seneca had lent to the nobilitie of the Ile, foure hundred sestercies, ech hundred being 500000 pounds starling, or thereabout, vpon great interest, he required the whole summe togither by great rigor and violence, although he forced them at the first to take this monie to vsurie. Dion Cassius. Vsurie.

Also such old souldiers as were placed by waie of a colonie, to inhabit the towne of Camelodunum, expelled manie of the Britains out of their houses, droue them out of their possessions and lands, and accounted the Britains as slaues, and as though they had bene captiue prisoners or bondmen. Besides this, the temple there that was built in honor of Claudius, as an altar of eternall rule and gouernment, was serued with preests, the which vnder colour of religion did spoile, consume and deuoure the goods of all men.

Moreouer, such strange sights and wonders as chanced about the same time, pricked the Britains the rather forward. For the image of the goddesse Victoria in the temple at Camelodunum, slipping downe, turned hir backe (as who should saie she gaue place as vanquished) to the enimies. Also in the hall where the courts of iustice were kept, there was a maruellous great noise heard, with much laughing, and a sturre in the theatre, with great weeping and lamentable howling, at such time as it was certeinlie knowne that there was no creature there to make anie noise. The sea at a spring tide appeared of a bloudie colour, and when the tide was gone backe, there were seene on the sands the shapes & figures of mens bodies. Women also as rauished of their wits, and being as it were in a furie, prophesied that destruction was at hand, so that the Britains were put greatlie in hope, and the Romans in feare. Dion Cassius. Strange wonders. Dion Cassius.

But those things, whether they chanced by the craft of man, or illusion of the diuell; or whether they proceeded of some naturall cause, which the common people oftentimes taketh superstitiouslie, in place of strange wonders signifieng things to follow, we would let passe, least we might be thought to offend religion; the which teaching all things to be done by the prouidence of God, despiseth the vaine predictions of haps to come, if the order of an historie (saith Polydor Virgil) would so permit, the which requireth all things to be written in maner as they fall out and come to passe. Polydor.

But the Britains were chiefelie moued to rebellion by the iust complaint of Voadicia, declaring how vnseemelie she had beene vsed and intreated at the hands of the Romans: and because she was most earnestlie bent to seeke reuenge of their iniuries, and hated the name of the Romans most of all other, they chose hir to be capteine (for they in rule and gouernement made no difference then of ser, whether they committed the same to man or woman) and so by a generall conspiracie, the more part of the people hauing also allured the Esser men vnto rebellion, rose and assembled themselues togither to make warre against the Romans. There were of them a hundred and twentie thousand got togither in one armie vnder the leading of the said Voadicia, or Vnduica (as some name hir.) Cor. Tac. li. 12. Voadicia by Dion Cassius is called Vnduica.

The ancient Britains admitted as well women as men to publike gouernment.

She therefore to encourage hir people against the enimies,

enimies, mounted vp into an high place raiſed vp of turfes & ſods made for the nonce, out of the which ſhe made a long & verie pithie oration. Hir mightie tall perſonage, comelie ſhape, ſeuere countenance, and ſharpe voice, with hir long and yellow treſſes of heare reaching downe to hir thighes, hir braue and gorgeous apparell alſo cauſed the people to haue hir in great reuerence. She ware a chaine of gold, great and verie maſſie, and was clad in a loſe kirtle of ſundrie colours, and aloft therevpon ſhe had a thicke Iriſh mantell: hereto in hir hand (as hir cuſtome was) ſhe bare a ſpeare, to ſhew hirſelfe the more dreadfull.

## The oration of queene Voadicia full of *prudence and ſpirit to the Britains*, for their encouragement againſt the Romans, *wherein ſhe rippeth vp the vile ſeruitude and* ſhamefull wrongs which their enimies inflicted *vpon them, with other matters verie motiue*, both concerning themſelues and their enimies, hir ſupplication and praier for victorie.

## *The eleuenth Chapter.*

NOw Voadicia being prepared (as you heare) ſet forth with ſuch maieſtie, that ſhe greatlie incouraged the Britains; vnto whome for their better animating and emboldening, ſhe vttered this gallant oration in manner and forme following.

The oration of Voadicia.

I doo ſuppoſe (my louers and friends) that there is no man here but doth well vnderſtand how much libertie and freedome is to be preferred before thraldome and bondage. But if there haue bene anie of you ſo deceiued with the Romane perſuaſions, that ye did not for a time ſee a difference betweene them, and iudged whether of both is moſt to be deſired: now I hope that hauing tried what it is to be vnder both, ye will with me reforme your iudgement, and by the harmes alreadie taken, acknowledge your ouerſight, and forſake your former error. Againe, in that a number of you haue raſhlie preferred an externall ſouereignetie before the cuſtomes and lawes of your owne countrie, you doo at this time (I doubt not) perfectlie vnderſtand how much free pouertie is to be preferred before great riches, wherevnto ſeruitude is annexed; and much wealth in reſpect of captiuitie vnder forren magiſtrats, wherevpon ſlaverie attendeth. For what thing (I beſeech you) can there be ſo vile & grieuous vnto the nature of man, that hath not happened vnto vs, ſithens the time that the Romans haue bene acquainted with this Iland?

Are we not all in manner bereaued of our riches & poſſeſſions? Doo not we (beſide other things that we giue, and the land that we till for their onelie profit) paie them all kinds of tributs, yea for our owne carcaſes? How much better is it to be once aloft and fortunate in deed, than vnder the forged and falſe title of libertie, continuallie to paie for our redemption a freedome? How much is it more commendable to loſe our liues in defenſe of our countrie, than to carie about not ſo much as our heads toll free, but dailie oppreſſed & laden with innumerable exactions? But to what end doo I remember and ſpeake of theſe things, ſince they will not ſuffer by death to become free? For what and how much we paie for them that are dead, there is not one here but he doth well vnderſtand. Among other nations ſuch as are brought into ſeruitude, are alwaies by death diſcharged of their bondage: onelie to the Romans the dead doo ſtill liue, and all to increaſe their commoditie and gaine.

If anie of vs be without monie (as I know not well how and which way we ſhould come by anie) then are we left naked, & ſpoiled of that which remaineth in our houſes, & we our ſelues as men left deſolate & dead. How ſhall we looke for better dealing at their hands hereafter, that in the beginning deale ſo vncourteouſlie with vs: ſince there is no man that taketh ſo much as a wild beaſt, but at the firſt he will cheriſh it, and with ſome gentleneſſe win it to familiaritie? But we our ſelues (to ſaie the trueth) are authors of our owne miſchiefe, which ſuffered them at the firſt to ſet foot within our Iland, and did not by and by driue them backe as we did Ceſar, or ſlue them with our ſwords when they were yet farre off, and that the aduenturing hither was dangerous: as we did ſometime to Auguſtus and Caligula.

We therefore that inhabit this Iland, which for the quantitie thereof maie well be called a maine, although it be inuironed about with the Ocean ſea, diuiding vs from other nations, ſo that we ſeeme to liue vpon an other earth, & vnder a ſeuerall heauen: we, euen we (I ſaie) whoſe name hath beene long kept hid from the wiſeſt of them all, are now contemned and troden vnder foot, of them who ſtudie nothings elſe but how to become lords & haue rule of other men. Wherefore my welbeloued citizens, friendes, and kinſfolkes (for I thinke we are all of kin, ſince we were borne and dwell in this Ile, and haue one name common to vs all) let vs now, euen now (I ſaie, becauſe we haue not done it heretofore, and whileſt the remembrance of our ancient libertie remaineth) ſticke togither, and performe that thing which doth perteine to valiant and hardie courages, to the end we maie inioie, not onelie the name of libertie, but alſo freedome it ſelfe, and thereby leaue our force and valiant acts for an example to our poſteritie: for if we which haue beene liberallie and honeſt maner brought vp, ſhould vtterlie forget our priſtinate felicitie: what may we hope for in thoſe that ſhall ſucéed vs, and are like to be brought vp in miſerie and thraldome?

I doo not make rehearſall of theſe things vnto you, to the end I would prouoke you to miſlike of this preſent eſtate of things (for well I know you abhorre it ſufficientlie alreadie) neither to put you in feare of thoſe things that are likelie to fall hereafter (becauſe you doo feare and ſée them verie well before hand) but to the end I maie giue you heartie thankes and worthie commendations, for that of your owne accord and meanes you determine ſo well to prouide for things neceſſarie (thereby to helpe both me and your ſelues with willing minds) as men that are nothing in doubt of all the Romane puiſſance.

If you conſider the number of your enimies, it is not greater than yours: if you regard their ſtrength, they are no ſtronger than you: and all this doth eaſilie appéere by the baſſinets, habergeons, & greues wherewith you be armed; and alſo by the walls, ditches and trenches that you haue made for your own defenſe, to kéepe off their excurſions, who had rather fight with vs a farre off, than cope & deale with vs at hand ſtrokes, as our cuſtome of the warres and martiall diſcipline doth require. Wherefore we doo ſo farre exceed them in force, that in mine opinion, our armie is more ſtrong than ſtone walls, and one of our targets worth all the armour that they doo beare vpon them: by meanes whereof, if the victorie be ours, we ſhall ſone make them captiues: or if we loſe the field, we ſhall eaſilie eſcape the danger.

Further-

"Furthermore, if after the fight we shall indeuour
"to meet anie where, we haue the marishes heere be-
"neath to hide vs in, and the hils round about to keepe
"them off, so that by no meanes they shall haue their
"purpose of vs, whereas they being ouercharged with
"heauie armour, shall neither be able to follow, if we
"flee; nor escape out of our danger, if they be put to
"flight: if they happen to breake out at anie time as
"desirous to make a rode, they returne by and by to
"their appointed places, where we maie take them as
"birds alreadie in cage. In all which things, as they
"are farre inferior to vs, so most of all in this, that they
"can not indure hunger, thirst, cold, heat, and sunne-
"shine, as we can do.

"In their houses also and tents, they make much ac-
"count of their baked meates, wine, oile, and abroad
"of the shadow, that if anie of these do faile them,
"they either die forthwith, or else in time they lan-
"guish and consume: whereas to vs euerie hearbe and
"root is meat, euerie iuice an oile, all water plea-
"sant wine, and euerie tree an house. Beside this, there
"is no place of the land vnknowne to vs, neither yet
"vnfriendlie to succour vs at need; whereas to the
"Romans they are for the most part vnknowne and
"altogither dangerous, if they should stand in need:
"we can with ease swim ouer euerie riuer both naked
"and clad, which they with their great ships are scarse
"able to performe. Wherefore with hope and good
"lucke let vs set vpon them couragiouslie, and teach
"them to vnderstand, that since they are no better
"than harts and foxes, they attempt a wrong match,
"when they indeuour to subdue the greehounds and
"the woolues. With which words the queene let an
hare go out of hir lap, as it were thereby to giue pro-
gnostication of hir successe, which comming well to
passe, all the companie shouted, and cried out vpon
such as not long before had done such violence to so
noble a personage. Presentlie vpon this action, Bo-
adicia calling them togither againe, proceeded for-
ward with hir praier, which she made before them
all, holding vp hir hands after this manner:

"I giue thee thanks O Adraste, and call vpon thee
"thou woman of women, which reignest not ouer the
"burthen-bearing Aegyptians, as Nitocris; neither
"ouer their merchants, as doth Semiramis, for these
"trifles we haue learned latelie of the Romans: nei-
"ther ouer the people of Rome, as a litle heeretofore
"Messalina, then Agrippina, and now Nero, who is
"called by the name of a man, but is in deed a verie
"woman, as doth appeere by his voice, his harpe, and
"his womans attire: but I call vpon thee as a god-
"desse which gouernest the Britains, that haue learn-
"ned not to till the field, nor to be handicrafts men,
"but to lead their liues in the warres after the best
"manner: who also as they haue all other things, so
"haue they likewise their wiues and children com-
"mon, whereby the women haue the like audacitie
"with the men, and no lesse boldnesse in the warres
"than they.

"Therefore sithens I haue obteined a kingdome a-
"mong such a mightie people, I beseech thee to grant
"them victorie, health, and libertie, against these con-
"tentious, wicked, and vnsatiable men (if they maie
"be called men, which vse warme bathings, delicate
"fare, hot wines, sweet oiles, soft beds, fine musicke,
"and so vnkindlie lusts) who are altogither giuen to
"couetousnesse and crueltie, as their doings do de-
"clare. Let not I beseech thee, the Neronian or Domi-
"tian tyrannie anie more preuaile vpon me, or (to
"saie truth) vpon thee, but let them rather serue thee,
"whose heauie oppression thou hast borne withall a
"long season, and that thou wilt still be our helper on-
"lie, our defender, our fauourer, and our furtherer, O
"noble ladie, I hartilie beseech thee.

## Queene Voadicia marcheth against the *Romans, to whom she giueth a shamefull* and bloudie ouerthrow without anie *motion of mercie, dredfull examples* of the Britains crueltie indifferentlie *executed without exception* of age or sex.

## *The twelfe Chapter.*

When Voadicia had made an end of hir praier, she set forward against hir enimies, who at that time were destitute in deed of their lieutenant Paulinus Suetonius, being as then in Anglesey (as before ye haue heard.) Wherefore the Romans that were in Camelodunum sent for aid vnto Catus Decianus the procurator, that is, the emperours agent, treasurer, or receiuer, for in that citie (although it were inhabited by Romans) there was no great garrison of able men. Whereupon the procurator sent them such aid as he thought he might well spare, which was not past two hundred men, and those not sufficientlie furnished either with weapon or armour.

Corn. Tacit. Catus Decianus procurator.

The citie was not compassed with anie rampire or ditch for defense, such as happilie were priuie to the conspiracie, hauing put into the heads of the Romans that no fortification needed: neither were the aged men nor women sent awaie, whereby the yong able personages might without trouble of them the better attend to the defense of the citie: but euen as they had beene in all suertie of peace, and free from suspicion of anie warre, they were suddenlie beset with the huge armie of the Britains, and so all went to spoile and fire that could be found without the inclosure of the temple, into the which the Romane souldiers (striken with sudden feare by this sudden comming of the enimies) had thronged themselues. Where being assieged by the Britains, within the space of two daies the place was wonne, and they that were found within it, slaine euerie mothers sonne.

After this, the Britains incouraged with this victorie, went to meet with Petus Cerealis lieutenant of the legion, surnamed the ninth, and boldlie incountering with the same legion, gaue the Romans the ouerthrow, and slue all the footmen, so that Cerealis with much adoo escaped with his horsemen, and got him backe to the campe, and saued himselfe within the trenches. Catus the procurator being put in feare with this ouerthrow, and perceiuing what hatred the Britains bare towards him, hauing with his couetousnesse thus brought the warre vpon the head of the Romans, got him ouer into Gallia.

But Suetonius aduertised of these doings, came backe out of Anglesey, and with maruellous constancie marched through the middest of his enimies to London, being as then not greatlie peopled with Romans, though there was a colonie of them, but full of merchants, and well prouided of victels: he was in great doubt at his comming thither, whether he might best staie there as in a place most conuenient, or rather seeke some other more easie to be defended. At length considering the small number of his men of warre, and remembring how Cerealis had sped by his too much rashnesse, he thought better with the losing of one towne to saue the whole, than to put all in danger of irrecouerable losse. And therewith nothing moued at the praier & teares of them which besought him of aid and succour, he departed,

and



80000. faith Dion.

The Britains were at that time 230000. men, (as Dion writeth.)

Corn. Tacit. li. 15. Dion Cassius.

and thoſe that would go with him be receiued into his armie, thoſe that taried behind were oppreſſed by the enimies: and the like deſtruction happened to them of Uerolanium, a towne in thoſe daies of great fame, ſituat neere to the place where the towne of Saint Albons now ſtandeth.

The Britains leauing the caſtels and fortreſſes vnaſſaulted, followed their gaine in ſpoiling of thoſe places which were eaſie to get, and where great plentie of riches was to be found, vſing their victorie with ſuch crueltie, that they ſlue (as the report went) to the number of 70 thouſand Romans, and ſuch as tooke their part in the ſaid places by the Britains thus won and conquered. For there was nothing with the Britains but ſlaughter, fire, gallowes, and ſuch like, ſo earneſtlie were they ſet on reuenge. They ſpared neither age nor ſex: women of great nobilitie and worthie fame they tooke and hanged vp naked, and cutting off their paps, ſowed them to their mouthes, that they might ſéeme as if they ſucked and fed on them; and ſome of their bodies they ſtretched out in length, and thruſt them on ſharpe ſtakes. All theſe things they did in great deſpite whileſt they ſacrificed in their temples, and made feaſts, namelie in the wood conſecrated to the honour of Andates, for ſo they called the goddeſſe of victorie whom they worſhipped moſt reuerentlie.

80000. ſaith Dion.

## P. Suetonius the Romane with a freſh power aſſalteth the Britains, whoſe armie conſiſted as well of women as men: queene Uoadicia incourageth hir ſouldiers, ſo dooth Suetonius his warriors, both armies haue a ſharpe conflict, the Britains are diſcomfited and miſerablie ſlaine, the queene dieth, Penius Poſthumus killeth himſelfe, the Britains are perſecuted with fire, ſword, and famine, the grudge betweene Caſſicianus and Suetonius, whome Polycletus is ſent to reconcile, of his traine, and how the Britains repined at him.

# The xiij. Chapter.

IN this meane time there came ouer to the aid of Suetonius, the legion ſurnamed the 14, and other bands of ſouldiers and men of warre, to the number of ten thouſand in the whole, whereupon (chieflie becauſe vittels began to faile him) he prepared to giue battell to his enimies, and choſe out a plot of ground verie ſtrong within ſtraits, and backed with a wood, ſo that the enimies could not aſſault his campe but on the front: yet by reaſon of their great multitude and hope of victorie conceiued by their late proſperous ſucceſſe, the Britains vnder the conduct of queene Uoadicia aduentured to giue battell, hauing their women there to be witneſſes of the victorie, whome they placed in charrets at the vttermoſt ſide of their field.

The Britains were at that time 230000. men, (as Dion writeth.)

Uoadicia, or Boudicia (for ſo we find hir written by ſome copies, and Bonuica alſo by Dion) hauing hir daughters afore hir, being mounted into a charret, as ſhe paſſed by the ſouldiers of ech ſundrie countrie, told them it was a thing accuſtomed among the Britains to go to the warres vnder the leading of women; but ſhe was not now come forth as one borne of ſuch noble anceſtors as ſhe was deſcended from, to fight for hir kingdome and riches; but as one of the meaner ſort, rather to defend hir loſt libertie, and to reuenge hir ſelfe of the enimie, for their crueltie ſhewed in ſcourging hir like a vagabond, and ſhamefull deflouring of hir daughters: for the licentious luſt of the Romans was ſo farre ſpred and increaſed, that they ſpared neither the bodies of old nor yong, but were readie moſt ſhamefullie to abuſe them, hauing whipped hir naked being an aged woman, and forced hir daughters to ſatiſfie their filthie concupiſcence: but (ſaith ſhe) the gods are at hand readie to take iuſt reuenge.

Corn. Tacit. li. 15. Dion Caſſius.

The legion that preſumed to incounter with vs is ſlaine and beaten downe. The reſidue keepe them cloſe within their holds, or elſe ſéeke waies how to flée out of the countrie: they ſhall not be once able ſo much as to abide the noiſe and clamor of ſo manie thouſands as we are héere aſſembled, much leſſe the force of our great puiſſance and dreadfull hands. If ye therefore (ſaid ſhe) would wey and conſider with your ſelues your huge numbers of men of warre, and the cauſes why ye haue moued this warre, ye would ſurelie determine either in this battell to die with honour, or elſe to vanquiſh the enimie by plaine force, for ſo (quoth ſhe) I being a woman am fullie reſolued, as for you men ye maie (if ye liſt) liue and be brought into bondage.

Neither did Suetonius ceaſſe to exhort his people: for though he truſted in their manhood, yet as he had diuided his armie into three battels, ſo did he make vnto ech of them a ſeuerall oration, willing them not to feare the ſhrill and vaine menacing threats of the Britains, ſith there was among them more women than men, they hauing no ſkill in warrelike diſcipline, and hereto being naked without furniture of armour, would forthwith giue place when they ſhould féele the ſharpe points of the Romans weapons, and the force of them by whom they had ſo often béene put to flight. In manie legions (ſaith he) the number is ſmall of them that win the battell. Their glorie therefore ſhould be the more, for that they being a ſmall number ſhould win the fame due to the whole armie, if they would (thronging together) beſtow their weapons freélie, and with their ſwords and targets preaſſe forward vpon their enimies, continuing the ſlaughter without regard to the ſpoile, they might aſſure themſelues when the victorie was once atchiued to haue all at their pleaſures.

Such forwardneſſe in the ſouldiers followed vpon this exhortation of the couragious generall, that euerie one prepared himſelfe ſo readilie to do his dutie, and that with ſuch a ſhew of ſkill and experience, that Suetonius hauing conceiued an aſſured hope of good lucke to follow, cauſed the trumpets to ſound to the battell. The onſet was giuen in the ſtraits, greatlie to the aduantage of the Romans, being but a handfull in compariſon to their enimies. The fight in the beginning was verie ſharpe and cruell, but in the end the Britains being a let one to another (by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the place) were not able to ſuſteine the violent force of the Romans their enimies, ſo that they were conſtreind to giue backe, and ſo being diſordered were put to flight, and vtterlie diſcomfited.

There were ſlaine of the Britains that day few leſſe than 80000 thouſand, as Tacitus writeth. For the ſtraits being ſtopped with the charrets, ſtaied the flight of the Britains, ſo as they could not eaſilie eſcape: and the Romans were ſo ſet on reuenge, that they ſpared neither man nor woman, ſo that manie were ſlaine in the battell, manie amongſt the charrets, and a great number at the woods ſide, which way they made their flight, and manie were taken priſoners. Thoſe that eſcaped, would haue fought a new battell, but in the meane time Uoadicia, or Bonnica deceaſſed of a naturall infirmitie, as Dion Caſſius writeth, but other ſay that ſhe poiſoned hir ſelfe, and ſo died, becauſe ſhe would not

80000. Britains ſlaine.

not come into the hands of hir bloodthirstie enimies. There died of the Romans part in this most notable battell 400, and about the like number were grieuouslie hurt and most pitifullie wounded.

Penius Posthumus maister of the campe of the second legion, vnderstanding the prosperous successe of the other Romane capteins, because he had defrauded his legion of the like glorie, and had refused to obeie the commandements of the generall, contrarie to the vse of warre, slue himselfe.

After this all the Romane armie was brought into the field to make an end of the residue of the warre. And the emperour caused a supplie to be sent out of Germanie being 2000 legionarie souldiers, and 8 bands of aids, with 1000 horsemen, by whose comming the bands of the ninth legion were supplied with legionarie souldiers, and those bands and wings of horsemen were appointed to places where they might winter; and such people of the Britains as were either enimies, or else stood in doubt whether to be friends or enimies in deed, were persecuted with fire and sword.

But nothing more afflicted them than famine, for whilest euerie man gaue himselfe to the warre, and purposed to haue liued vpon the prouision of the Romans and other their enimies, they applied not themselues to tillage, nor to anie husbanding of the ground, and long it was yer they (being a fierce kind of people) fell to embrace peace, by reason that Julius Classicianus, who was sent into Britaine as successor to Catus, fell at square with Suetonius, and by his priuat grudge hindered the prosperous successe of publike affaires. He sticked not to write to Rome, that except an other were sent to succeed in the roome that Suetonius did beare, there would be no end of the warres. Hereupon one Polycletus, which sometime had been a bondman, was sent into Britaine, as a commissioner, to surueie the state of the countrie, to reconcile the legat and procurator, & also to pacifie all troubles within the Ile.

The port which Polycletus bare was great, for he was furnished with no small traine that attended vpon him, so that his presence seemed verie dreadfull to the Romans. But the Britains that were not yet pacified, thought great scorne to see such honorable capteins and men of warre as the Romans were to, submit themselues to the order of such a one as had been a bondslaue.

Penius Posthumus sleeth himselfe.

Julius Classicianus procurator.

## In what state the Iland stood whiles Aruiragus reigned; the dissolute and loose gouernement of Petronius Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus, and Victius Volanus, three lieutenants in Britaine for the Romane emperours, of Julius Frontinus who vanquished the Silures.

## The xiiij. Chapter.

*Petronius Turpilianus lieutenant.*

In place of Suetonius, was Petronius Turpilianus (who had latelie been consull) appointed to haue the gouernance of the armie in Britaine, the which neither troubling the enimie, nor being of the enimie in anie wise troubled or prouoked, did colour slouthfull rest with the honest name of peace and quietnesse, and so sat still without exploiting anie notable enterprise.

*Trebellius Maximus lieutenant.*

After Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus was made lieutenant of Britaine, who likewise with courteous demeanour sought to keepe the Britains in rest rather than by force to compell them. And now began the people of the Ile to beare with pleasant faults and flattering vices, so that the ciuill warres that chanced in those daies after the death of the emperour Nero at home, might easilie excuse the slouthfulnesse of the Romane lieutenants.

Moreouer, there rose dissention amongest their men of warre, which being vsed to lie abroad in the field, could not agree with the idle life; so that Trebellius Maximus was glad to hide himselfe from the sight of the souldiers being in an vprore against him, till at length humbling himselfe vnto them further than became his estate, he gouerned by waie of intreatie, or rather at their courtesie. And so was the commotion staied without bloudshed, the armie as it were hauing by couenant obteined to liue licentiouslie, and the capteine suertie to liue without danger to be murthered.

*Victius Volanus lieutenãt.*

NEither Victius Volanus that succeeded Maximus whilest the time of the ciuill warres as yet endured, did trouble the Britains, vsing the same slacknesse and slouth that the other lieutenants had vsed before him, and permitted the like licence to the presumptuous souldiers: but yet was Volanus innocent as touching himselfe, and not hated for anie notable crime or vice: so that he purchased fauour, although authoritie wanted.

But after that the emperour Uespasianus had subdued his aduersaries, and atteined the imperiall gouernment, as well ouer Britaine as ouer other parts of the world, there were sent hither right noble capteins, with diuers notable bands of souldiers, and Petilius Cerialis being appointed lieutenant, put the Britains in great feare, by inuading the Brigants the mightiest nation of all the whole Iland, and fighting manie battels, and some right bloudie with those people, he subdued a great part of the countrie at the last. Cor. Tacitus.

*Iulius Frontinus lieutenãt.*

After him succeeded as lieutenant of Britaine, one Julius Frontinus, who vanquished and brought to the Romane subiection by force of armes the people called Silures, striuing not onelie against the stout resistance of the men, but also with the hardnesse & combersome troubles of the places.

¶ Thus may you perceiue in what state this Ile stood in the time that Aruiragus reigned in the same, as is supposed by the best histories of the old Britains: so that it may be thought that he gouerned rather a part of this land, than the whole, and bare the name of a king, the Romans not hauing so reduced the countrie into the forme of a prouince, but that the Britains bare rule in diuerse parts thereof, and that by the permission of the Romans, which neuertheless had their lieutenants and procuratours here, that bare the greatest rule vnder the aforesaid emperours. Polydor. Matth. West.

## The state of this Iland vnder Marius the sonne of Aruiragus, the comming in of the Picts with Roderike their king, his death in the field, the Picts and Scots enter into mutuall aliance, the monument of Marius, his victorie ouer the Picts, his death and interrement.

## The xv. Chapter.

*Marius.*

After the decease of Aruiragus, his sonne Marius succeeded him in the estate, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 73. In the old English chronicle he is fondlie called Westmer, & was a verie wise man, gouerning the Britains

Hector Boetius saith this Marius was a Romane. 73

Roderike king of Picts slaine.

Matt. West. Thus find we in the British and English histories touching this Marius.

Britains in great proſperitie, honour and wealth.

In the time of this mans reigne, the people called Picts inuaded this land, who are iudged to be deſcended of the nation of the Scithians, neare kinſmen to the Goths, both by countrie and maners, a cruell kind of men and much giuen to the warres. This people with their ringleader Roderike, or (as ſome name him) Londorike, entering the Ocean ſea after the maner of rouers, arriued on the coaſts of Ireland, where they required of the Scots new ſeats to inhabit in: for the Scots which (as ſome thinke) were alſo deſcended of the Scithians, did as then inhabit in Ireland: but doubting that it ſhould not be for their profit to receiue ſo warlike a nation into that Ile, feining as it were a friendſhip, and excuſing the matter by the narrowneſſe of the countrie, declared to the Picts, that the Ile of Britaine was not farre from thence, being a large countrie and a plentifull, and not greatly inhabited: wherefore they counſelled them to go thither, promiſing vnto them all the aid that might be.

Of theſe you maie reade more in pag. 9.

Matth. Weſt.

The Picts more deſirous of ſpoile than of rule or gouernment, without delaie returned to the ſea, and ſailed towards Britaine, where being arriued, they firſt inuaded the north parts thereof, and finding there but few inhabiters, they began to waſt and forrey the countrie: whereof when king Marius was aduertiſed, with all ſpeed he aſſembled his people, and made towards his enimies, and giuing them battell, obteined the victorie, ſo that Roderike was there ſlaine in the field, and his people vanquiſhed.

Roderike king of Picts ſlaine.

Vnto thoſe that eſcaped with life, Marius granted licence that they might inhabit in the north part of Scotland called Catneſſe, being as then a countrie in maner deſolate without habitation: whereupon they withdrew thither, and ſetled themſelues in thoſe parties. And becauſe the Britains diſdained to grant vnto them their daughters in mariage, they ſent vnto the Scots into Ireland, requiring to haue wiues of their nation. The Scots agreed to their requeſt, with this condition, that where there wanted lawfull iſſue of the kings linage to ſucceed in the kingdome of the Picts, then ſhould they name one of the womans ſide to be their king: which ordinance was receiued and obſerued euer after amongſt the Picts, ſo long as their kingdome endured.

Thus the Picts next after the Romans were the firſt of anie ſtrangers that came into this land to inhabit as moſt writers affirme, although the Scotiſh chronicles auouch the Picts to be inhabiters here before the incarnation of our ſauiour. But the victorie which Marius obteined againſt their king Roderike, chanced in the yeere after the incarnation 87. In remembrance of which victorie, Marius cauſed a ſtone to be erected in the ſame place where the battell was fought, in which ſtone was grauen theſe words, Marij victoria. The Engliſh chronicle ſaith that this ſtone was ſet vp on Stanemoore, and that the whole countrie thereabout taking name of this Marius, was Weſtmaria, now called Weſtmerland.

Polydor. Matth. Weſt.

King Marius hauing thus ſubdued his enimies, and eſcaped the danger of their dreadfull inuaſion, gaue his mind to the good gouernement of his people, and the aduancement of the common wealth of the realme, continuing the reſidue of his life in great tranquillitie, and finallie departed this life, after he had reigned (as moſt writers ſay) 52, or 53 yeeres. Howbeit there be that write, that he died in the yeere of our Lord 78, and ſo reigned not paſt fiue or ſix yeeres at the moſt. He was buried at Caerleill, leauing a ſonne behind him called Coill.

Marc. Weſt. Thus find we in the Britiſh and Engliſh hiſtories touching this Marius.

Humfrey Lhoyd ſeemeth to take this man and his father Aruiragus to be all one perſon, whether moued thereto by ſome catalog of kings which he ſaw, or otherwiſe, I cannot affirme: but ſpeaking of the time when the Picts and Scots ſhould firſt come to ſettle themſelues in this land, he hath theſe words; Neither was there anie writers of name, that made mention either of Scots or Picts before Veſpaſianus time, about the yeere of the incarnation 72: at what time Peurig or Maw, or Aruiragus reigned in Britaine, in which time our annales do report, that a certeine kind of people liuing by piracie and rouing on the ſea, came forth of Sueden, or Norwaie, vnder the guiding of one Rhithercus, who landed in Albania, waſting all the countrie with robbing and ſpoiling ſo farre as Caerleill, where he was vanquiſhed in battell, and ſlaine by Puragus, with a great part of his people; the reſidue that eſcaped by flight, fled to their ſhips, and ſo conueied themſelues into the Iles of Orkney and Scotland, where they abode quietlie a great while after.

Thus farre haue I thought good to ſhew of the foreſaid Lhoyds booke, for that it ſeemeth to carie a great likelihood of truth with it, for the hiſtorie of the Picts, which vndoubtedlie I thinke were not as yet inhabiting in Britaine, but rather firſt placing themſelues in the Iles of Orkney, made inuaſion into the maine Ile of Britaine afterwards, as occaſion was offred. In the Britiſh tong they are called Pightiaid, that is Pightians, and ſo likewiſe were they called in the Scotiſh, and in their owne tong. Now will we ſhew what chanced in this Ile, during the time of the foreſaid Marius his ſuppoſed reigne, as is found in the Romane hiſtories.

## Iulius Agricola is deputed by Veſpaſian to gouerne Britaine, he inuadeth the Ile of Angleſey, the inhabitants yeeld vp themſelues, the commendable gouernement of Agricola, his worthie practiſes to traine the Britains to ciuilitie, his exploits fortunatelie atchiued againſt diuerſe people, as the Irith, &c.

# The 16. Chapter.

After Iulius Frontinus, the emperor Veſpaſian ſent Julius Agricola to ſucceed in the gouernement of Britaine, who comming ouer about the midſt of ſummer, found the men of warre thorough want of a lieutenant negligent inough, as thoſe that looking for no trouble, thought themſelues out of all danger, where the enimies neuertheleſſe watched vpon the next occaſion to worke ſome diſpleaſure, and were readie on ech hand to moue rebellion. For the people called Ordonices, that inhabited in the countrie of Cheſhire, Lancaſhire and part of Shropſhire, had latelie before ouerthrowne, and in maner vtterlie deſtroied a wing of ſuch horſſemen as ſoiourned in their parties, by reaſon whereof all the prouince was brought almoſt into an aſſured hope to recouer libertie.

Iulius Agricola lieutenant

Cor. Tacit. in vit. Agr.

The firſt yeere of Agricola his gouernement.

Agricola vpon his comming ouer, though ſummer was now halfe paſt, and that the ſouldiers lodging here & there abroad in the countrie, were more diſpoſed to take reſt, than to ſet forward into the field againſt the enimies, determined yet to reſiſt the preſent danger: and therewith aſſembling the men of warre of the Romans, and ſuch other aids as he might make, he inuaded their countrie that had donie this foreſaid diſpleaſure, and ſlue the moſt part of all the inhabitants thereof. Not thus contented (for that he thought good to follow the ſteps of fauourable

rable fortune, and knowing that as the begining proued, so would the whole sequele of his affaires by likelihod come to passe) he purposed to make a full conquest of the Ile of Anglesey, from the conquest whereof the Romane lieutenant Paulinus was called backe by the rebellion of other of the Britains, as before ye haue heard.

The Ile of Anglesey.

But whereas he wanted ships for the furnishing of his enterprise, his wit and policie found a shift to supplie that defect: for chosing out a piked number of such Britains as he had there with him in aid, which knew the fords and shallow places of the streames there, and withall were verie skilfull in swimming (as the maner of the countrie then was) he appointed them to passe ouer on the sudden into the Ile, onelie with their horsses, armor, and weapon: which enterprise they so spedilie, and with so good successe atchiued, that the inhabitants much amazed with that doing (which looked for a navie of ships to haue transported ouer their enimies by sea, and therefore watched on the coast) began to thinke that nothing was able to be defended against such kind of warriors that got ouer into the Ile after such sort and maner.

Anglesey yeelded to Agricola.

And therefore making sute for peace, they deliuered the Ile into the hands of Agricola, whose fame by these victories dailie much increased, as of one that tooke pleasure in trauell, and attempting to atchiue dangerous enterprises, in stead whereof his predecessors had delighted, to shew the maiesties of their office by vaine brags, statelie ports, and ambitious pomps. For Agricola turned not the prosperous successe of his procedings into vanitie, but rather with neglecting his fame, increased it to the vttermost, among them that iudged what hope was to be looked for of things by him to be atchiued, which with silence kept secret these his so worthie doings.

Moreouer, perceiuing the nature of the people in this Ile of Britaine, and sufficientlie taught by other mens example, that armor should little auaile where iniuries followed to the disquieting of the people, he

Agricola his good gouernment.

thought best to take away and remoue all occasions of warre. And first beginning with himselfe and his souldiers, tooke order for a reformation to be had in his owne household, yeelding nothing to fauor, but altogither in respect of vertue, accounting them most faithfull which therein most excelled. He sought to know all things, but not to dow otherwise than reason moued, pardoning small faults, and sharpelie punishing great and heinous offenses, neither yet deliting alwaies in punishment, but oftentimes in repentance of the offendor. Exactions and tributes he lessened, qualifieng the same by reasonable equitie. And thus in reforming the state of things, he wan him great praise in time of peace, the which either by negligence or sufferance of the former lieutenants, was euer feared, and accounted worse than open warre. This was his practise in the winter time of his first yeere.

His diligence.

But when summer was come, he assembled his armie, and leading forth the same, trained his souldiers in all honest warlike discipline, commending the good, and reforming the bad and vnrulie. He himselfe to giue example, tooke vpon him all dangers that came to hand, and suffered not the enimies to liue in rest, but wasted their countries with sudden inuasions. And when he had sufficientlie chastised them, and put them in feare by such manner of dealing, he spared them, that they might againe conceiue some hope of peace. By which meanes manie countries which vnto those daies had kept themselues out of bondage, laid rancor aside, and deliuered pledges, and further were contented to suffer castels to be builded within them, and to be kept with garrisons, so that no part of Britaine was free from the Romane power, but stood still in danger to be brought vnder more and more.

The second yeere of Agricola his gouernment.

In the winter following, Agricola tooke paines to reduce the Britains from their rude manners and customs, vnto a more ciuill sort and trade of liuing, that changing their naturall fiercenesse and apt disposition to warre, they might through taking pleasures be so inured therewith, that they should desire to liue in rest and quietnesse: and therefore he exhorted them priuilie, and holpe them publikelie to build temples, common halls where plees of law might be kept, and other houses, commending them that were diligent in such dooings, and blaming them that were negligent, so that of necessitie they were driuen to striue who should preuent ech other in ciuilitie. He also procured that noble mens sonnes should learne the liberall sciences, and praised the nature of the Britains more than the people of Gallia, because they studied to atteine to the knowledge of the Romane eloquence. By which meanes the Britains in short time were brought to the vse of good and commendable manners, and sorted themselues to go in comelie apparell after the Romane fashion, and by little and little fell to accustome themselues to fine fare and delicate pleasures, the readie prouokers of vices, as to walke in galleries, to wash themselues in bathes, to vse banketting, and such like, which amongst the vnskilfull was called humanitie or courtesie, but in verie deed it might be accounted a part of thraldome and seruitude, namelie being two excessiuelie vsed.

The fourthe practises of Agricola to traine the Britains to ciuilitie.

The first yeere of Agricola his gouernment.

In the third yeere of Agricola his gouernment in Britaine, he inuaded the north parts thereof (vnknowne till those daies of the Romans) being the same where the Scots now inhabit: for he wasted the countrie vnto the water of Tay, in such wise putting the inhabitants in feare, that they durst not once set vpon his armie, though it were so that the same was verie sore disquieted and vexed by tempest and rage of weather. Whereupon finding no great let or hinderance by the enimies, he builded certeine castels and fortresses, which he placed in such conuenient steeds, that they greatlie annoied his aduersaries, and were so able to be defended, that there was none of those castels which he builded, either won by force out of the Romans hands, or giuen ouer by composition, for feare to be taken: so that the same being furnished with competent numbers of men of warre, were safelie kept from the enimies, the which were dailie vexed by the often issues made forth by the souldiers that laie thus in garrison within them: so that where in times past the said enimies would recouer their losses susteined in summer by the winters aduantage, now they were put to the worse, and kept backe as well in the winter as in the summer.

The third yeere.

The water of Tay.

In the fourth summer, after that Agricola was appointed vnto the rule of this land, he went about to bring vnder subiection those people, the which before time he had by incursions and forreies sore vexed and disquieted: and therevpon comming to the waters of Clide and Longhleuen, he built certeine fortresses to defend the passages and entries there, driuing the enimies beyond the same waters, as it had beene into a new Iland.

The fourth yeere of Agricola his gouernment.

Clota.
Bodotria.

In the fift summer, Agricola causing his ships to be brought about, and appointing them to arriue on the north coasts of Scotland, he passed with his armie ouer the riuer of Clide; and subdued such people as inhabited those further parts of Scotland, which till those daies had not beene discouered by the Romans. And because he thought it should serue well to purpose, for some conquest to be made of Ireland, if that part of Scotland which boordereth on the Irish

The fift yeere.

seas

seas might be kept in due obedience, he placed garrisons of souldiers in those parties, in hope verelie vpon occasion to passe ouer into Ireland, and for the more easie aduancement of his purpose therein, he interteined with honourable prouision one of the kings of Ireland, which by ciuill discord was expelled and driuen out of his countrie. In deed Agricola perceiued, that with one legion of souldiers, and a small aid of other men of warre, it should be an easie matter to conquer Ireland, and to bring it vnder the dominion of the Romans: which enterprise he iudged verie necessarie to be exploited, for better keeping of the Britains in obedience, if they should see the iurisdiction of the Romans euerie where extended, and the libertie of their neighbours suppressed.

An Irish king expelled out of his countrie.

In the first summer of Agricola his gouernment, he proceeded in subduing the furthermost parts of Scotland northwards, causing his nauie to keepe course against him by the coast as he marched forth by land, so that the Britains perceiuing how the secret hauens and crékes of their countries were now discouered, and that all hope of refuge was in maner cut off from them, were in maruellous feare. On the other part the Romans were sore troubled with the rough mounteins and craggie rocks, by the which they were constreined to passe beside the dangerous riuers, lakes, woods, streicts, and other cumbersome waies and passages.

The first yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

The danger also of them that were in the ships by sea was not small, by reason of winds and tempests, and high spring tides, which tossed and turmoiled their vessels verie cruellie: but by the painfull diligence of them that had béene brought vp and inured with continuall trauell and hardnesse, all those discommodities were ouercome to their great reioising, when they met and fell in talke of their passed perils. For oftentimes the armie by land incamped so by the shore, that those which kept the sea came on land to make merrie in the campe, and then ech one would recount to others the aduentures that had happened, as the manner is in semblable cases.

## The Britains of Calenderwood assalt *the Romans vpon aduantage, bloudie battels* fought betwixt them, great numbers slaine *on both sides, the villanous dealing of certeine* Dutch souldiers against their capteins and fellowes *in armes, the miserie that they were driuen vnto by famine* to eate one another, a sharpe conflict betweene the Romans and Britains, with the losse of manie a mans life, and effusion of much bloud.

## *The xvij. Chapter.*

Calender-wood.

THe Britains that inhabited in those daies about the parts of Calenderwood, perceiuing in what danger they were to be vtterlie subdued, assembled themselues togither, in purpose to trie the fortune of battell: whereof Agricola being aduertised, marched forth with his armie diuided in three battels, so that the enimies doubting to trie the matter in open field, espied their time in the night, and with all their whole puissance set vpon one of the Romane legions, which they knew to be most féeble and weake, trusting by a camisado to distresse the same: and first sleaing the watch, they entred the campe, where the said legion laie, and finding the souldiers in great disorder, betwixt sléepe and feare, began the fight euen within the campe.

Agricola had knowledge of their purposed intent, and therefore with all spéed hasted forth to come to the succours of his people, sending first his light horsemen, and certeine light armed footmen to assaile the enimies on their backs, and shortlie after approched with his whole puissance, so that the Romane standards beginning to appéere in sight by the light of the daie that then began to spring, the Britains were sore discouraged, and the Romans renewing their force, fiercelie preassed vpon them, so that euen in the entrie of the campe, there was a sore conflict, till at length the Britains were put to flight and chased, so that if the marshes and woods had not saued them from the pursute of the Romans, there had béene an end made of the whole warre euen by that one daies worke. But the Britains escaping as well as they might, and reputing the victorie to haue chanced not by the valiancie of the Romane soldiers, but by occasion, and the prudent policie of their capteine, were nothing abashed with that their present losse, but prepared to put their youth againe into armour: and thereupon they remoued their wiues and children into safe places, and then assembling the chiefest gouernours togither, concluded a league amongst themselues, ech to aid other, confirming their articles with doing of sacrifice (as the manner in those daies was.)

The seuenth yeare.

The same summer, a band of such Dutch or Germaine souldiers as had béene leuied in Germanie & sent ouer into Britaine to the aid of the Romans, attempted a great and wonderfull act, in sleaing their capteine, and such other of the Romane souldiers which were appointed to haue the training and leading of them, as officers and instructors to them in the feats of warre: and when they had committed that murther, they got into three pinesses, and became rouers on the coasts of Britaine, and incountring with diuerse of the Britains that were readie to defend their countrie from spoile, oftentimes they got the vpper hand of them, and now and then they were chased awaie, insomuch that in the end they were brought to such extremitie for want of vittels, that they did eate such amongst them as were the weakest, and after, such as the lot touched, being indifferentlie cast amongst them: and so being caried about the coasts of Britaine, & losing their vessels through want of skill to gouerne them, they were reputed for robbers, and thereupon were apprehended, first by the Suabeners, and shortlie after by the Frizers, the which sold diuerse of them to the Romans and other, whereby the true vnderstanding of their aduentures came certeinlie to light.

The eight yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

In summer next following, Agricola with his armie came to the mounteine of Granziben, where he vnderstood that his enimies were incamped, to the number of 30 thousand and aboue, and dailie there came to them more companie of the British youth, and such aged persons also as were lustie and in strength, able to weld weapon and beare armour. Amongst the capteins the chiefest was one Galgagus whom the Scotish chronicles name Gald. This man as chiefteine and head capteine of all the Britains there assembled, made to them a pithie oration, to incourage them to fight manfullie, and likewise did Agricola to his people: which being ended, the armies on both sides were put in order of battell. Agricola placed 8 thousand footmen of strangers which he had there in aid with him in the midst, appointing three thousand horsemen to stand on the sides of them as wings. The Romane legions stood at their backs in stéed of a bulwarke. The Britains were imbattelled in such order, that their fore ward stood in the plaine ground, and the other on the side of an hill, as though they had risen on heigth one ranke aboue another. The midst of the field was couered with their chartets

Galgagus whome the Scots name Gald and will néeds haue him a Scotish man.

Corn. Tacit.

rets and horsemen. Agricola doubting by the huge multitude of enimies, least his people should be assailed not onlie afront, but also vpon euerie side the battels, he caused the ranks so to place themselues, as their battels might stretch farre further in breadth than otherwise the order of warre required: but he toke this to be a good remedie against such inconuenience as might haue followed, if the enimie by the narrownesse of the fronts of his battels should haue hemmed them in on ech side.

This done, and hauing conceiued good hope of victorie, he alighted on foot, and putting his horsse from him, he stood before the standards as one not caring for anie danger that might happen. At the first they bestowed their shot and darts freelie on both sides. The Britains aswell with constant manhood, as skilfull practise, with broad swords and little round bucklers auoided and beat from them the arrowes and darts that came from their enimies, and therewithall paid them home againe with their shot and darts, so that the Romans were neere hand oppressed therewith, bicause they came so thicke in their faces, till at length Agricola caused three cohorts of Hollanders, & two of Lukeners to presse forward, & ioine with them at hand-strokes, so as the matter might come to be tried with the edge of the sword, which thing as to them (being inured with that kind of fight) it stood greatlie with their aduantage, so to the Britains it was verie dangerous, that were to defend themselues with their mightie huge swords and small bucklers. Also by reason their swords were broad at the ends, and pointlesse, they auailed little to hurt the armed enimie. Wherevpon when the Hollanders came to ioine with them, they made fowle worke in sleaing and wounding them in most horrible wise.

Betaui.

Congri.

Hollanders.

The horsemen also that made resistance they pulled from their horsses, and began to clime the hill vpon the Britains. The other bands desirous to match their fellowes in helping to atchiue the victorie, followed the Hollanders, and beat downe the Britains where they might approch to them: manie were ouerrun and left halfe dead, and some not once touched with anie weapon, were likewise ouerpressed, such hast the Romans made to follow vpon the Britains. Whilest the British horsemen fled, their charets ioined themselues with their footmen, and reskuing the battell, put the Romans in such feare, that they were at a sudden stay: but the charets being troubled with preasse of enimies, & vneuennesse of the ground, they could not worke their feat to anie purpose, neither had that fight anie resemblance of a battell of horsemen, when ech one so encumbred other, that they had no rome to stirre themselues. The charets oftentimes wanting their guiders were caried awaie with the horsses, that being put in feare with the noise and stur, ran hither and thither, bearing downe one another, and whomsoeuer else they met withall.

Now the Britains that kept the top of the hils, and had not yet fought at all, despising the small number of the Romans, began to come downewards and to cast about, that they might set vpon the backs of their enimies, in hope so to make an end of the battell, and to win the victorie: but Agricola doubting no lesse, but that some such thing would come to passe, had aforehand foreséene the danger, and hauing reserued foure wings of horsemen for such sudden chances, sent them forth against those Britains, the which horsemen with full randon charging vpon them as they rashlie came forwards, quicklie disordered them and put them all to flight, and so that purposed deuise and policie of the Britains turned to their owne hinderance. For their horsemen by their capteins appointment trauersing ouerthwart by the fronts of them that fought, set vpon that battell of the Britains which they found before them. Then in those open and plaine places a greeuous & heauie sight it was to behold, how they pursued, wounded, and toke their enimies: and as they were aduised of other to slea those that they had before taken, to the end they might ouertake the other, there was nothing but fleeing, taking, and chasing, slaughter, spilling of bloud, scattering of weapons, grunting and groning of men and horsses that lay on the ground, gasping for breath, & readie to die.

The Britains now and then as they saw their aduantage, namelie when they approched neere to the woods, gathered themselues togither, and set vpon the Romans as they followed vnaduisedlie, and further (through ignorance of the places) than stood with their suertie, insomuch that if Agricola had not prouided remedie, and sent forth mightie bands of light armed men both on foot and horsseback to close in the enimies, and also to beat the wood, some greater losse would haue followed through too much boldnes of them that too rashlie pursued vpon the Britains: who when they beheld the Romans thus to follow them in whole troops and good order of battell, they slipt awaie and toke them to flight, ech one seeking to saue himselfe, and kept not togither in plumps as before they had done. The night made an end of the chase which the Romans had followed till they were throughlie wearied. There were slaine of the Britains that day 10000, and of the Romans 340, among whom Aulus Atticus a capteine of one of the cohorts or bands of footmen was one, who being mounted on horsseback (through his owne too much youthfull courage, and fierce vnrulines of his horsse) was caried into the middle throng of his enimies, and there slaine.

Ten thousand Britains slaine.

Aulus Atticus slaine.

## The lamentable distresse and pitifull perplexitie of the Britains after their ouerthrow, Domitian enuieth Agricola the glorie of his victories, he is subtilie depriued of his deputiship, and Cneus Trebellius surrogated in his roome.

## The xviij. Chapter.

THe night insuing the foresaid ouerthrow of the Britains was spent of the Romans in great ioy & gladnes for the victorie atchiued. But among the Britains there was nothing else heard but mourning and lamentation, both of men and women that were mingled togither, some busie to beare away the wounded, to bind and dresse their hurts; other calling for their sonnes, kinsfolkes and friends that were wanting. Manie of them forsoke their houses, and in their desperate mood set them on fire, and chosing forth places for their better refuge and safegard, forthwith misliking of the same, left them and sought others: herewith diuerse of them toke counsell togither what they were best to do, one while they were in hope, an other while they fainted, as people cast into vtter despaire: the beholding of their wiues and children oftentimes moued them to attempt some new enterprise for the preseruation of their countrie and liberties. And certeine it is that some of them slue their wiues and children, as moued thereto with a certeine

Britains, as Scots, neither yet Picts.

Hector Boet.

Cor. Tacitus.

An hauen called Trutulensis, peraduenture Rutupensis.

Cneus Trebellius alias Salustius Lucullus as some thinke.

Fabian.

certeine fond regard of pitie to rid them out of further miſerie and danger of thraldome.

The nert day the certeintie of the victorie more plainlie was diſcloſed, for all was quiet about, and no noiſe heard anie where: the houſes appeared burning on ech ſide, and ſuch as were ſent forth to diſcouer the countrie into euerie part thereof, ſaw not a creature ſtirring, for all the people were auoided and withdrawne a farre off.

When Agricola had thus ouerthrowne his enimies in a pitcht field at the mountaine of Granziben, and that the countrie was quite rid of all appearance of enimies: bicauſe the ſummer of this eight yeere of his gouernement was now almoſt ſpent, he brought his armie into the confines of the Horreſtians, which Hector Boet. inhabited the countries now called Angus & Merne, Cor. Tacitus. and there intended to winter, and toke hoſtages of the people for aſſurance of their loialtie and ſubiection. This done, he appointed the admirall of the naule to ſaile about the Ile, which accordinglie to his commiſſion in that point receiued, luckilie accompliſhed his enterpriſe, and brought the naule about againe into an hauen called Trutulenſis.

In hauen called Trutulenſis, peraduenture Rutupenſis.

In this meane time, whiles Julius Agricola was thus occupied in Britaine, both the emperour Veſpaſianus, and alſo his brother Titus that ſucceeded him, departed this life, and Domitianus was elected emperor, who hearing of ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe as Agricola had againſt the Britains, did not ſo much reioiſe for the thing well done, as he enuied to conſider what glorie and renowme ſhould redound to Agricola thereby, which he perceiued ſhould much darken the glaſſe of his fame, hauing a priuate perſon vnder him, who in worthineſſe of noble exploits atchiued, farre excelled his doings.

To find remedie therefore herein, he thought not good to vtter his malice as yet, whileſt Agricola remained in Britaine with an armie, which ſo much fauoured him, and that with ſo good cauſe, ſith by his policie and noble conduct the ſame had obteined ſo manie victories, ſo much honor, and ſuch plentie of ſpoiles and booties. Wherevpon to diſſemble his intent, he appointed to reuoke him forth of Britaine, as it were to honor him, not onelie with deſerued triumphs, but alſo with the lieutenantſhip of Syria, which as then was void by the death of Atilius Rufus. Thus Agricola being countermanded home to Rome, deliuered his prouince vnto his ſucceſſor Cneus Trebellius, appointed thereto by the emperour Domitianus, in good quiet and ſafegard.

Cneus Trebellius alias Saluſtius Lucullus as ſome thinke.

¶ Thus may you ſee in what ſtate Britaine ſtood in the daies of king Marius, of whome Tacitus maketh no mention at all. Some haue written, that the citie of Cheſter was builded by this Marius, though other (as before I haue ſaid) thinke rather that it was the worke of Oſorius Scapula their legat. Touching other the doings of Agricola, in the Scotiſh chronicle you maie find more at large ſet forth: for that which I haue written heere, is but to ſhew what in effect Cornelius Tacitus writeth of that which Agricola did here in Britaine, without making mention either of Scots or Picts, onelie naming them Britains, Horreſtians, and Calidoneans, who inhabited in thoſe daies a part of this Ile which now we call Scotland, the originall of which countrie, and the inhabitants of the ſame, is greatlie controuerſed among writers; diuerſe diuerſlie deſcanting therevpon, ſome fetching their reaſon from the etymon of the word which is Greeke, ſome from the opening of their anceſtors as they find the ſame remaining in records; other ſome from comparing antiquities togither, and aptlie collecting the truth as neere as they can. But to omit them, and returne to the continuation of our owne hiſtorie.

Fabian.

Of Coillus the ſonne of Marius, his *education in Rome, how long he reigned*: of Lucius his ſonne and ſucceſſor, what time *he aſſumed the gouernment of this land, he was an* open profeſſor of chriſtian religion, he and his *familie are baptiſed, Britaine receiueth the faith, 3 archbiſhops* and 28 biſhops at that time in this Iland, weſtminſter church and S. Peters in Cornehill builded, diuers opinions touching the time of Lucius his reigne, of his death, and when the chriſtian faith was receiued in this Iland.

## *The 19. Chapter.*

*Coillus.*

COillus the ſonne of Marius was after his fathers deceaſſe made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 125. This Coillus or Coill was brought vp in his youth amongſt the Romans at Rome, where he ſpent his time not vnprofitablie, but 125

applied himſelfe to learning & ſeruice in the warres, by reaſon whereof he was much honored of the Romans, and he likewiſe honored and loued them, ſo that he paied his tribute truelie all the time of his reigne, and therefore liued in peace and good quiet. He was alſo a prince of much bountie, and verie liberall, whereby he obteined great loue both of his nobles and commons. Some ſaie, that he made the towne of Colcheſter in Eſſex, but others write, that Coill which reigned next after Aſclepiodotus was the firſt founder of that towne, but by other it ſhould ſeeme to be built long before, being called Camelodunum. Finallie when this Coill had reigned the ſpace of 54 yeares, he departed this life at Yorke, leauing after him a ſonne named Lucius, which ſucceeded in the kingdome.

Colcheſter built.

*Lucius.*

LUcius the ſonne of Coillus, whoſe ſurname (as ſaith William Hariſon) is not certain, began his reigne ouer the Britains about the yeare of our Lord 180, as Fabian following the authoritie of Peter Pictauienſis ſaith, although other writers ſeeme to diſagree in that account, as by the ſame Fabian in the table before his booke partlie appeareth, wherevnto Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis affirmeth, that this Lucius was borne in the yeare of our Lord 115, and was crowned king in the yeare 124, as ſucceſſor to his father Coillus, which died the ſame yeare, being of great age yet the ſaid Lucius was borne. It is noted by antiquaries, that his entrance was in the 4132 of the world, 916 after the building of Rome, 220 after the comming of Ceſar into Britaine, and 165 after Chriſt, whoſe accounts I follow in this treatiſe. 165

This Lucius is highlie renowmed of the writers, for that he was the firſt king of the Britains that receiued the faith of Jeſus Chriſt: for being inſpired by the ſpirit of grace and truth, euen from the beginning of his reigne, he ſomewhat leaned to the fauoring of Chriſtian religion, being moued with the manifeſt miracles which the Chriſtians dailie wrought in witneſſe and proofe of their ſound and perfect doctrine. For euen from the daies of Joſeph of Arimathia and his fellowes, or what other godlie men firſt taught the Britains the goſpell of our Sauiour, there remained amongeſt the ſame Britains ſome chriſtians which ceaſed not to teach and preach the word of God moſt ſincerelie vnto them: but yet no king amongſt them openlie profeſſed that religion, till at length this Lucius perceiuing not onelie ſome of the Romane lieutenants in Britaine as Trebellius and Pertinax, with others, to haue

submitted themselues to that profession, but also the emperour himselfe to begin to be fauorable to them that professed it, he toke occasion by their good example to giue eare more attentiuelie vnto the gospell, and at length sent vnto Eleutherius bishop of Rome two learned men of the Britishe nation, Eluane and Peduine, requiring him to send some such ministers as might instruct him and his people in the true faith more plentifullie, and to baptise them according to the rules of christian religion.

¶ The reuerend father Iohn Iewell, sometime bishop of Salisburie, writeth in his * replie vnto Hardings answer, that the said Eleutherius, for generall order to be taken in the realme and churches héere, wrote his aduice to Lucius in maner and forme following. "You haue receiued in the kingdome of Britaine, by Gods mercie, both the law and faith of Christ; ye haue both the new and the old testament, out of the same through Gods grace, by the aduise of your realme make a law, and by the same through Gods sufferance rule you your kingdome of Britaine, for in that kingdome you are Gods vicar."

*Fol.119.

Herevpon were sent from the said Eleutherius two godlie learned men, the one named Fugatius, and the other Damianus, the which baptised the king with all his familie and people, and therewith remoued the worshipping of idols and false gods, and taught the right meane and waie how to worship the true and immortall God. There were in those daies within the bounds of Britaine 28 Flamines, & three Archflamines, which were as bishops and archbishops, or superintendents of the pagan or heathen religion, in whose place (they being remoued) were instituted 28 bishops & three archbishops of the christian religion. One of the which archbishops held his sée at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerleon Arwiike in Glamorganshire. Vnto the archbishop of London was subiect Cornewall, and all the middle part of England, euen vnto Humber. To the archbishop of Yorke all the north parts of Britaine from the riuer of Humber vnto the furthest partes of Scotland. And to the archbishop of Caerleon was subiect all Wales, within which countrie as then were seuen bishops, where now there are but foure. The riuer of Seuern in those daies diuided Wales (then called Cambria) from the other parts of Britaine. Thus Britaine partlie by the meanes of Ioseph of Arimathia (of whome ye haue heard before) & partlie by the wholesome instructions & doctrines of Fugatius and Damianus, was the first of all other regions that openlie receiued the gospell, and continued most stedfast in that profession, till the cruell furie of Diocletian persecuted the same, in such sort, that as well in Britaine as in all other places of the world, the christian religion was in manner extinguished, and vtterlie destroied.

Britaine receiueth the faith.

Matth. West.

Iosephus of Arimathia.

There be that affirme, how this Lucius should build the church of saint Peter at Westminster, though manie attribute that act vnto Sibert king of the east Saxons, and write how the place was then ouergrowne with thornes and bushes, and thereof toke the name, and was called Thorney. They ad moreouer that Thomas archbishop of London preached, read, and ministred the sacraments there to such as made resort vnto him. Howbeit by the tables hanging in the reuestrie of saint Paules at London, and also a table sometime hanging in saint Peters church in Cornehill, it should séeme that the said church of saint Peter in Cornehill was the same that Lucius builded. But herein (saith Harison *anno mundi* 4174) doth lie a scruple. Sure Cornell might some be mistaken for Thorney, specially in such old records, as time, age, & euill handling haue oftentimes defaced.

Polydor. Westminster Church built.

But howsoeuer the case standeth, truth it is, that Lucius reioising much, in that he had brought his people to the perfect light and vnderstanding of the true God, that they néeded not to be deceiued anie longer with the craftie temptations and feigned miracles of wicked spirits, he abolished all prophane worshippings of false gods, and conuerted all such temples as had béene dedicated to their seruice, vnto the vse of christian religion: and thus studieng onlie how to aduance the glorie of the immortall God, and the knowledge of his word, without seeking the vaine glorie of worldlie triumph, which is got with slaughter and bloudshed of manie a giltlesse person, he left his kingdome; though not inlarged with broder dominion than he receiued it, yet greatlie augmented and inriched with quiet rest, good ordinances, and (that which is more to be estéemed than all the rest) adorned with Christes religion, and perfectlie instructed with his most holie word and doctrine. He reigned (as some write) 21 yeares, though other affirme but twelue yeares. Againe, some testifie that he reigned 77, others 54, and 43.

Polydor. Fabian. Iohn Hard.

Moreouer here is to be noted, that if he procured the faith of Christ to be planted within this realme in the time of Eleutherius the Romane bishop, the same chanced in the daies of the emperour Marcus Aurelius Antonius; and about the time that Lucius Aurelius Commodus was ioined and made partaker of the empire with his father, which was seuen yéere after the death of Lucius Aelius, Aurelius Verus, and in the 177 after the birth of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, as by some chronologies is easie to be collected. For Eleutherius began to gouerne the sée of Rome in the yéere 169, according to the opinion of the most diligent chronographers of our time, and gouerned fiftéene yéeres and thirtéene daies. And yet there are that affirme, how Lucius died at Glocester in the yéere of our Lord 156. Other say that he died in the yere 201, and other 208. So that the truth of this historie is brought into doubt by the discord of writers, concerning the time and other circumstances, although they all agrée that in this kings daies the christian faith was first by publike consent openlie receiued and professed in this land, which as some affirme, should chance in the twelfe yéere of his reigne, and in the yéere of our Lord 177. Other iudge that it came to passe in the eight yeere of his regiment, and in the yéere of our Lord 188, where other (as before is said) alledge that it was in the yéere of the Lord 179. Nauclerus saith, that this happened about the yeare of our Lord 156. And Henricus de Herfordea supposeth, that it was in the yéere of our Lord 169, and in the nintéenth yéere of the emperor Marcus Antonius Verus: and after other, about the first yéere of the emperor Commodus.

Gal. Mon. Matth. West.

Polydor.

Nauclerus. Hen. Herf.

But to conclude, king Lucius died without issue, by reason whereof after his decease the Britains fell at variance, which continued about the space of fiftéene yéeres (as Fabian thinketh) howbeit the old English chronicle affirmeth, that the contention betwirt them remained fiftie yéeres, though Harding affirmeth but foure yéeres. And thus much of the Britains, and their kings Coilus and Lucius. Now it resteth to speake somewhat of the Romans which gouerned here in the meane while. After that Agricola was called backe to Rome, the Britains (and namelie those that inhabited beyond Tweed) partlie being weakned of their former strength, and partlie in consideration of their pledges, which they had deliuered to the Romans, remained in peace certeine yéeres.

Fabian.

Caxton. Iohn Hard.

The

Cneus Trebellius lieutenant.

The wall of Adrian built. Spartianus.

Lollius Vrbicus lieutenant.

Iulius Capitol. Another wall built.

Calphurnius Agricola. Of the doings of this Calphurnius in Britaine ye may read more in the Scotish chronicle.

The Britains after the deceaſſe of Lucius (*who died without iſſue*) *rebell a*gainſt the Romans, the emperor Adrian com*ming in his owne perſon into Britaine appeaſeth* the broile, they go about to recouer their libertie a*gainſt the Romans, but are ſuppreſſed by Lollius the Ro*mane lieutenant; the vigilanteſſe or wakefulneſſe of Marcellus, and his policie to keepe the ſouldiers waking, the Britains being ruled by certaine meane gentlemen of Perhennis appointing doo falſelie accuſe him to the emperor Commodus, he is mangled and murthered of his ſouldiers.

## *The xx. Chapter.*

*Cneus Trebellius lieutenant.*

IN the meane time the Romane lieutenant Cneus Trebellius that ſucceeded Julius Agricola, could no, foreſee all things ſo preciſelie but that the ſouldiers waxing vnrulie by reaſon of long reſt, fell at variance among themſelues, and would not in the end obey the lieutenant, but diſquieted the Britains beyond meaſure. Wherefore the Britains perceiuing themſelues ſore oppreſſed with intollerable bondage, and that dailie the ſame increſed, they conſpired togither, vpon hope to recouer libertie, and to defend their countrie by all meanes poſſible, and herewith they toke weapon in hand againſt the Romans, and boldlie aſſailed them: but this they did yet warilie, and ſo, that they might flie vnto the woods and bogs for refuge vpon neceſſitie, according to the maner of their countrie. Herevpon diuers ſlaughters were commited on both parties, and all the countrie was now readie to rebell: whereof when the emperour Adrian was aduertiſed from Trebellius the lieutenant, with all conuenient ſpeed he paſſed ouer into Britaine, and quieted all the Ile, vſing great humanitie towards the inhabitants; and making ſmall account of that part where the Scots now inhabit, either bicauſe of the barrenneſſe thereof, or for that by reaſon of the nature of the countrie he thought it would be hard to be kept vnder ſubiection, he deuiſed to diuide it from the reſidue of Britaine, and ſo cauſed a wall to be made from the mouth of Tine vnto the water of Eſke, which wall conteined in length 30 miles.

*The wall of Adrian built. Spartianus.*

After this, the Britains bearing a malicious hatred towards the Romane ſouldiers, and repining to be kept vnder the bond of ſeruitude, eftſoones went about to recouer libertie againe. Whereof aduertiſement being giuen, the emperour Pius Antoninus ſent ouer Lollius Urbicus as lieutenant into Britaine, who by ſundrie battels ſtriken, conſtreined the Britains to remaine in quiet, and cauſing thoſe that inhabited in the north parts to remoue further off from the confines of the Romane prouince, raiſed another wall beyond that which the emperor Adrian had made, as is to be ſuppoſed, for the more ſuertie of the Romane ſubiects againſt the inuaſion of the enimies. But yet Lollius did not ſo make an end of the warrs, but that the Britains ſhortlie after attempted afreſh, either to reduce their ſtate into libertie, or to bring the ſame into further danger.

*Lollius Urbicus lieutenant.*

*Iulius Capitol.*

*Another wall built.*

*Calphurnius Agricola.*

Of the doings of this Calphurnius in Britaine ye may read more in the Scotiſh Chronicle.

WHerevpon Marcus Antonius that ſucceeded Pius, ſent Calphurnius Agricola to ſucceed Lollius in the gouernement of Britaine, the which eaſilie ouercame and ſubdued all his enimies. After this there chanced ſome trouble in the daies of the emperour Commodus the ſon of Marcus Antonius and his ſucceſſor in the empire: for the Britans that dwelled northwards, beyond Adrians wall, brake through the ſame, and ſpoiled a great part of the countrie, againſt whom the Romane lieutenant for that time being come forth, gaue them battell: but both he and the Romane ſouldiers that were with him, were beaten downe and ſlaine. Dion Caſſius

With which newes Commodus being ſore amazed, ſent againſt the Britains one Ulpius Marcellus, a man of great diligence and temperance, but therewith rough and nothing gentle. He vſed the ſame kind of diet that the common ſouldiers did vſe. He was a captaine much watchfull, as one contented with verie little ſleepe, and deſirous to haue his ſouldiers alſo vigilant and carefull to keepe ſure watch in the night ſeaſon. Euerie morning he would write twelue tables, ſuch as they vſed to make on the lind tree, and deliuering them to one of his ſeruants, appointed him to beare them at ſeuerall houres of the night to ſundrie ſouldiers, whereby ſuppoſing that their generall was ſtill watching and not gone to bed, they might be in doubt to ſleepe. *Vlpius Marcellus lieutenant.*

And although of nature he could well abſteine from ſleepe, yet to be the better able to forbeare it, he vſed a maruellous ſpare kind of diet: for to the end that he would not fill himſelfe too much with bread, he would eat none but ſuch as was brought to him from Rome; ſo that more than neceſſitie compelled him he could not eat, by reaſon that the ſtaleneſſe toke awaie the pleaſant taſt thereof, and leſſe prouoked his appetite. He was a maruellous contemner of monie, ſo that bribes might not moue him to do otherwiſe than dutie required. This Marcellus being of ſuch diſpoſition, ſore afflicted the Britains, and put them oftentimes to great loſſes: through fame whereof, Cõmodus enuieng his renowme was after in mind to make him away, but yet ſpared him for a further purpoſe, and ſuffered him to depart.

*Perhennis capteine of the emperours gard.*

After he was remoued from the gouernment of Britaine, one Perhennis capteine of the emperors gard (or pretorian ſouldiers as they were then called) bearing all the rule vnder the emperor Commodus, appointed certeine gentlemen of meane calling to gouerne the armie in Britaine. Which fond ſubſtituting of ſuch petie officers to ouerſee and ouerrule the people, was to them an occaſion of hartgrudge, and to him a meanes of finall miſchefe: both which it is likelie he might haue auoided, had he beene prouident in his deputation. For the ſouldiers in the ſame armie grudging and repining to be gouerned by men of baſe degree, in reſpect of thoſe that had borne rule ouer them before, being honorable perſonages, as ſenators, and of the conſular dignitie, they fell at ſquare among themſelues, and about fifteene hundred of them departed towards Rome to exhibit their complaint againſt Perhennis: for whatſoeuer was amiſſe, the blame was ſtill laid to him. They paſſed forth without impeachment at all, and comming to Rome, the emperour himſelfe came forth to vnderſtand what they meant by this their comming in ſuch ſort from the place where they were appointed to ſerue. Their anſwer was, that they were come to informe him of the treaſon which Perhennis had deuiſed to his deſtruction, that he might make his ſon emperor. To the which accuſation when Commodus too lightlie gaue eare, & beleeued it to be true, namelie, through the ſetting on of one Cleander, who hated Perhennis, for that he bridled him from doing diuerſe vnlawfull acts, which he went about vpon a wilfull mind (without all reaſon and modeſtie) to practiſe; the matter was ſo handled in the end, that Perhennis was deliuered to the ſouldiers, who cruellie mangled him, and preſentlie put him to a pitifull death. *Aelius Lampridius.*

Pertinax is ſent as lieutenant into Britaine, *he is in danger to be ſlaine of the* ſouldiers, he riddeth himſelfe of that perilous *office: Albinus with an armie of Britains fighteth* againſt Seuerus and his power neere to Lions, *Seuerus is ſlaine in a conflict againſt the Picts, Geta* and Baſſianus two brethren make mutuall warre for the regiment of the land, the one is ſlaine, the other ruleth.

## The xxj. Chapter.

Pertinax lieutenant of Britaine.

NOw will we ſaie ſomewhat of the tumults in Britaine. It was thought needfull to ſend ſome ſufficient capteine of authoritie thither; and therefore was one Pertinax that had béene conſull and ruler ouer foure ſeuerall conſular prouinces, appointed by Commodus to go as lieutenant into that Ile, both for that he was thought a man moſt meet for ſuch a charge, and alſo to ſatiſfie his credit, for that he had béene diſcharged by Perhennis of bearing anie rule, and ſent home into Liguria where he was borne, and there appointed to remaine. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, pacified the armie, but not without danger to haue béene ſlaine by a mutinie raiſed by one of the legions: for he was ſtricken downe, and left for dead among the ſlaine carcaſſes. But he worthilie reuenged himſelfe of this iniurie. At length, hauing chaſtiſed the rebels, and brought the Ile into meetelie good quiet, he ſued and obteined to be diſcharged of that roome, becauſe as he alledged, the ſouldiers could not brooke him, for that he kept them in dutifull obedience, by correcting ſuch as offended the lawes of armes.

The lieutenant in danger.

*Clodius Albinus lieutenãt.*

THen was Clodius Albinus appointed to haue the rule of the Romane armie in Britaine: whoſe deſtruction when Seuerus the emperour ſought, Albinus perceiued it quicklie: and therefore chooſing forth a great power of Britains, paſſed with the ſame ouer into France to encounter with Seuerus, who was come thither towards him, ſo that néere to the citie of Lions they ioined in battell and fought right ſore, in ſo much that Seuerus was at point to haue receiued the ouerthrow by the high proweſſe and manhood of the Britains: but yet in the end Albinus loſt the field, and was ſlaine. Then Heraclitus as lieutenant began to gouerne Britaine (as writeth Spartianus) being ſent thither by Seuerus for that purpoſe before. And ſuch was the ſtate of this Ile about the yeare of our Lord 195. In which ſeaſon, becauſe that king Lucius was dead, and had left no iſſue to ſucceéd him, the Britains (as before ye haue heard) were at variance amongſt themſelues, and ſo continued till the comming of Seuerus, whome the Britiſh chronographers affirme to reigne as king in this Ile, & that by right of ſucceſſion in bloud, as deſcended of Androgeus the Britaine, which went to Rome with Julius Ceſar, as before ye haue heard.

*Seuerus.*

THis Seuerus as then emperour of Rome, began to rule this Ile (as authors affirme) in the yeare of our Lord 207, and gouerned the ſame 4 yeares and od moneths. At length hearing that one Fulgentius as then a leader of the Picts was entred into the borders of his countrie on this ſide Durham, he raiſed an hoſt of Britains and Romans, with the which he marched towards his enimies: and méeting with the ſaid Fulgentius in a place néere vnto Yorke, in the end after ſore fight Seuerus was ſlaine, when he had ruled this land for the ſpace almoſt of fiue yeares, as before is ſaid, and was after buried at Yorke, leauing behind him two ſonnes, the one named Geta, and the other Baſſianus. This Baſſianus being borne of a Britiſh woman, ſucceéded his father in the gouernement of Britaine, in the yeare of the incarnation of our Lord 211. The Romans would haue had Geta created king of Britaine, bearing more fauour to him becauſe he had a Romane ladie to his mother: but the Britains moued with the like reſpect, held with Baſſianus. And thervpon warre was raiſed betwixt the two brethren, who comming to trie their quarrell by battell, Geta was ſlaine, and Baſſianus with aid of the Britains remained victor, and ſo continued king, till at length he was ſlaine by one Carauſius a Britaine, borne but of low birth, howbeit right valiant in armes, and therefore well eſtéemed. In ſomuch that obteining of the ſenat of Rome the kéeping of the coaſts of Britaine, that he might defend the ſame from the malice of ſtrangers, as Picts and others, he drew to him a great number of ſouldiers and ſpeciallie of Britains, to whome he promiſed that if they would make him king, he would cléerelie deliuer them from the oppreſſion of the Romane ſeruitude. Wherevpon the Britains rebelling againſt Baſſianus, ioined themſelues to Carauſius, who by their ſupport vanquiſhed and ſlue the ſaid Baſſianus, after he had reigned 6 or (as ſome affirme) 30 yeares.

The emperour Seuerus arriueth in Britaine.

¶ Thus farre out of the Engliſh and Britiſh writers, the which how farre they varie from likelihood of truth, you ſhall heare in the next chapter what the approued hiſtoriographers, Greekes and Latines, writing of theſe matters, haue recorded. Herodianus.

The ambitious mind of the old emperour *Seuerus, he arriueth in Britaine with* a mightie power to ſuppreſſe the rebellious *Britains, the emperours politike prouiſion for his* ſouldiers in the fens and bogs: the agilitie of the Britains, *their nimbleneſſe, the painting of their bodies with* diuerſe colours, their furniture, their great ſufferance of hunger, cold, &c: diuerſe conflicts betweene the Romans and the Britains, their ſubtile traines to deceiue their enimies, the Romans pitifullie diſtreſſed, Seuerus conſtreineth the Caledonians to conclude a league with him; he falleth ſicke, his owne ſonne practiſeth to make him away: the Britains begin a new rebellion, the cruell commandement of Seuerus to kill and ſlea all that came to hand without exception, his age, his death, and ſepulchre: Baſſianus ambitiouſlie vſurpeth the whole regiment, he killeth his brother Geta, and is ſlaine himſelfe by one of his owne ſouldiers.

Herodianus.

He meaneth of the north Britains or ſauage Britains as we may call them.

## The xxij. Chapter.

The furniture of the ſauage Britains.

THe emperour Seuerus receiuing aduertiſment from the lieutenant of Britaine, that the people there moued rebellion, & waſted the countrie with roads and forrates, ſo that it was néedful to haue the prince himſelfe to come thither with a great power to reſiſt the enimies, he of an ambitious mind reioiſed not a little for thoſe newes, becauſe he ſaw occaſion offered to aduance his renowme and fame with increaſe of new victories now in the weſt, after ſo manie triumphs purchaſed and got by him in the eaſt and north parts of the world. Hérevpon though he was of great age, yet

yet the desire that he had still to win honour, caused him to take in hand to make a iournie into this land, and so being furnished of all things necessarie, he set forwards, being carried for the more part in a litter for his more ease: for that besides his feebleness of age, he was also troubled with the gout. He took with him his two sonnes, Antoninus Bassianus and Geta, vpon purpose as was thought, to auoid occasions of such inconuenience as he perceiued might grow by discord moued betwixt them through flatterers and malicious sycophants, which sought to set them at variance: which to bring to passe, he perceiued there should want no meane whilest they continued in Rome, amidst such pleasures & idle pastimes as were dailie there frequented: and therefore he caused them to attend him in this iournie into Britaine, that they might learne to liue soberlie, and after the manner of men of warre.

Antoninus and Geta.

The emperour Seuerus arriueth in Britaine.

Seuerus being thus on his iournie towards Britaine, staied not by the waie, but with all diligence sped him forth, and passing the sea verie swiftlie, entred this Ile, and assembled a mightie power togither, meaning to assaile his enimies, and to pursue the warre against them to the vttermost. The Britains greatlie amazed with this sudden arriuall of the emperour, and hearing that such preparation was made against them, sent ambassadours to him to intreat of peace, and to excuse their rebellious doings. But Seuerus delaieng time for answere, as he that was desirous to atchiue some high enterprise against the Britains, for the which he might deserue the surname of Britannicus, which he greatlie coueted, still was busie to prepare all things necessarie for the warre; and namelie, caused a great number of bridges to be made to lay ouer the bogs and mareshes, so that his souldiers might haue place to stand vpon, and not to be incumbered for lacke of firme ground when they should cope with their enimies: for the more part of Britaine in those daies (as Herodianus writeth) was full of fens & maresh ground, by reason of the often flowings and washings of the sea tides: by the which maresh grounds the enimies being thereto accustomed, would run and swim in the waters, and wade vp to the middle at their pleasure, going for the more part naked, so that they passed not on the mud and mires, for they knew not the vse of wearing cloths, but ware hoopes of iron about their middles and necks, estæming the same as an ornament and token of riches, as other barbarous people did gold.

Herodianus.

He meaneth of the north Britains or sauage Britains as we may call them.

Moreouer they marked, or (as it were) painted their bodies in diuerse sorts and with sundrie shapes and figures of beasts and fowles, and therefore they vsed not to weare anie garments, that such painting of their bodies might the more apparantlie be seene, which they estéemed a great brauerie.

They were as the same Herodianus writeth, a people giuen much to war, and delighted in slaughter and bloudshed, vsing none other weapons or armour but a slender buckler, a iaueline, and a sword tied to their naked bodies: as for headpéece or habergeon, they estéemed not, bicause they thought the same should be an hinderance to them when they should passe ouer anie maresh, or be driuen to swim anie waters, or flée to the bogs.

The furniture of the sauage Britains.

Moreouer, to suffer hunger, cold, and trauell, they were so vsed and inured therewith, that they would not passe to lie in the bogs and mires couered vp to the chin, without caring for meate for the space of diuerse daies togither: and in the woods they would liue vpon roots and barks of trées. Also they vsed to prepare for themselues a certeine kind of meate, of the which if they receiued but so much as amounted to the quantitie of a beane, they would thinke themselues satisfied, and féele neither hunger nor thirst. The one halfe of the Ile or little lesse was subiect vnto the Romans, the other was gouerned of themselues, the people for the most part hauing the rule in their hands.

Seuerus therefore meaning to subdue the whole, and vnderstanding their nature, and the manner of their making warre, prouided him selfe of all things expedient for the annoiance of them and helpe of his owne souldiers, and appointing his sonne Geta to remaine in that part of the Ile which was subiect to the Romans, he tooke with him his other sonne Antoninus, and with his armie marched forth, and entred into the confines of the enimies, and there began to waste and forrey the countrie, whereby there insued diuerse conflicts and skirmishes betwixt the Romans and the inhabitants, the victorie still remaining on the Romans side: but the enimies easilie escaped without anie great losse vnto the woods, mountains, bogs, and such other places of refuge as they knew to be at hand, whither the Romans durst not follow, nor once approch, for feare to be intrapped and inclosed by the Britains that were readie to returne and assaile their enimies vpon euerie occasion of aduantage that might be offered.

This maner of dealing sore troubled the Romans, and so hindered them in their proceedings, that no spéedie end could be made of that warre. The Britains would oftentimes of purpose laie their cattell, as oxen, kine, shéepe, and such like, in places conuenient, to be as a stale to the Romans; and when the Romans should make to them to fetch the same a waie, being distant from the residue of the armie a good space, they would fall vpon them and distresse them. Beside this, the Romans were much annoied with the vnwholesomnesse of the waters which they were forced to drinke, and if they chanced to straie abroad, they were snapped vp by ambushes which the Caledonians laid for them, and when they were so féeble that they could not through want of strength kéepe pace with their fellowes as they marched in order of battell, they were slaine by their owne fellowes, least they should be left behind for a prey to the enimies. Hereby there died in this iournie of the Romane armie, at the point of fiftie thousand men: but yet would not Seuerus returne, till he had gone through the whole Ile, and so came to the vttermost parts of all the countrie now called Scotland, and at last backe againe to the other part of the Ile subiect to the Romans, the inhabitants whereof are named (by Dion Cassius) *Meatæ*. But first he forced the other, whom the same Dion nameth Caledonij, to conclude a league with him, vpon such conditions, as they were compelled to depart with no small portion of the countrie, and to deliuer vnto him their armour and weapons.

Dion Cassius.

In the meane time, the emperour Seuerus being worne with age fell sicke, so that he was constreined to abide at home within that part of the Ile which obeied the Romans, and to appoint his sonne Antoninus to take charge of the armie abroad. But Antoninus not regarding the enimies, attempted little or nothing against them, but sought waies how to win the fauour of the souldiers and men of warre, that after his fathers death (for which he dailie looked) he might haue their aid and assistance to be admitted emperour in his place. Now when he saw that his father bare out his sickenesse longer time than he would haue wished, he practised with physicians and other of his fathers seruants to dispatch him by one meane or other.

Whilest Antoninus thus negligentlie looked to his charge, the Britains began a new rebellion, not onlie those that were latelie ioined in league with the

emperour,

emperour, but the other also which were subiects to the Romane empire. Seuerus toke such displeasure, that he called togither the souldiers, and commanded them to inuade the countrie, and to kill all such as they might meet within anie place without respect, and that his cruell commandement he expressed in these verses taken out of Homer:

Iliados. 3.

*Nemo manus fugiat vestras, cædémque cruentam,*
*Non fœtus grauida mater quem gessit in aluo*
*Horrendam effugiat cædem.*

But while he was thus disquieted with the rebellion of the Britains, and the disloiall practises of his sonne Antoninus, which to him were not vnknowne, (for the wicked sonne had by diuers attempts discouered his traitorous and vnnaturall meanings) at length, rather through sorrow and griefe, than by force of sickenesse, he wasted awaie, and departed this life at Yorke, the third daie before the nones of Februarie, after he had gouerned the empire by the space of 17 yeares, 8 moneths, & 33 daies. He liued 65 yeres, 9 moneths, & 13 daies: he was borne the third ides of April. By that which before is recited out of Herodian and Dion Cassius, of the maners & vsages of those people, against whome Seuerus held warre here in Britaine, it maie be coniectured, that they were the Picts, the which possessed in those daies a great part of Scotland, and with continuall incursions and rodes wasted and destroied the borders of those countries which were subiect to the Romans. To keepe them backe therefore and to represse their inuasions, Seuerus (as some write) either restored the former wall made by Adrian, or else newlie built an other ouerthwart the Ile, from the east sea to the west, conteining in length 232 miles. This wall was not made of stone, but of turfe and earth supported with stakes and piles of wood, and defended on the backe with a deepe trench or ditch, and also fortified with diuerse towers and turrets built & erected vpon the same wall or rampire so neere togither, that the sound of trumpets being placed in the same, might be heard betwixt, and so warning giuen from one to another vpon the first descrieng of the enimies.

Herodianus. Dion Cassius. Eutropius. Dion Cassius. Eutropius. Orosius. Dion Cassius. Beda. Hector Boecius.

Seuerus being departed out of this life in the yere of our Lord 211, his son Antoninus otherwise called also Bassianus, would faine haue vsurped the whole gouernment into his owne hands, attempting with bribes and large promises to corrupt the minds of the souldiers: but when he perceiued that his purpose would not forward as he wished in that behalfe, he concluded a league with the enimies, and making peace with them, returned backe towards Yorke, and came to his mother and brother Geta, with whome he toke order for the buriall of his father. And first his bodie being burnt (as the maner was) the ashes were put into a vessell of gold, and so conueied to Rome by the two brethren and the empresse Julia, who was mother to Geta the ponger brother, and mother in law to the elder, Antoninus Bassianus, & by all meanes possible sought to maintaine loue and concord betwixt the brethren, which now at the first toke vpon them to rule the empire equallie togither. But the ambition of Bassianus was such, that finallie vpon desire to haue the whole rule himselfe, he found meanes to dispatch his brother Geta, breaking one daie into his chamber, and slaieng him euen in his mothers lap, and so possessed the gouernment alone, till at lengh he was slaine at Edessa a citie in Mesopotamia by one of his owne souldiers, as he was about to vntrusse his points to doo the office of nature, after he had reigned the space of 6 yeares, as is aforesaid. Where we are to note Gods iudgment, prouiding that he which had shed mans bloud, should also die by the sword.

Polydorus. Herodianus. 211

Sextus Aurelius.

Of Carausius an obscure Britaine, what countries he gaue the Picts, and whereupon, his death by Alectus his successor, the Romans foiled by Asclepiodotus duke of Cornewall, whereof Walbrooke had the name, the couetous practise of Carausius the vsurper.

## The xxiij. Chapter.

Carausius a Britan of vnknowne birth, as witnesseth the British histories, after he had vanquisht & slaine Bassianus (as the same histories make mention) was of the Britains made king and ruler ouer them, in the yeare of our Lord 218, as Galfridus saith: but W. H. noteth it to be in the yeare 286. This Carausius either to haue the aid & support of the Picts, as in the British historie is conteined, either else to be at quietnesse with them, being not otherwise able to resist them, gaue to them the countries in the south parts of Scotland, which ioine to England on the east marshes, as Mers, Louthian, and others.

Carausius. 218 Galfrid. Polychron. Fabian.

¶ But here is to be noted, that the British writers affirme, that these Picts which were thus placed in the south parts of Scotland at this time, were brought ouer out of Scithia by Fulgentius, to aid him against Seuerus, and that after the death of Seuerus and Fulgentius, which both died of hurts receiued in the batell fought betwixt them at Yorke: the Picts toke part with Bassianus, and at length betraied him in the battell which he fought against Carausius: for he corrupting them by such subtile practises as he vsed, they turned to his side, to the ouerthrow and vtter destruction of Bassianus: for the which traitorous part they had those south countries of Scotland giuen vnto them for their habitation. But by the Scotish writers it should appeare, that those Picts which aided Fulgentius and also Carausius, were the same that long before had inhabited the north parts of Britaine, now called Scotland. But whatsoeuer they were, truth it is (as the British histories record) that at length one Alectus was sent from Rome by the senat with 3 legions of souldiers to subdue Carausius, which he did, and slue him in the field, as the same histories make mention, after he had reigned the space of 7, or 8, yeares: and in the yeare of our saluation two hundred, ninetie, three.

Galfridus.

Alectus in hauing vanquished and slaine Carausius toke vpon him the rule and gouernment of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 293. This Alectus, when he had restored the land to the subiection of the Romans, did vse great crueltie against such Britains as had maintained the part of Carausius, by reason whereof he purchased much euill will of the Britains, the which at length conspired against him, and purposing to chase the Romans altogither out of their countrie, they procured one Asclepiodotus (whome the British chronicles name duke of Cornewall) to take vpon him as chiefe captaine that enterprise. Whereupon the same Asclepiodotus assembling a great armie, made such sharpe warres on the Romans, that they being chased from place to place, at length withdrew to the citie of London, and there held them till Asclepiodotus came thither, and prouoked Alectus and his Romans so much, that in the end they issued forth of the citie, and gaue battell to the Britans, in the which much people on both parts were slaine, but the great-

*Alectus.* Of whom the British histories doo report after their maner. 293.

test

test number died on the Romans side: and amongst others, Alectus himselfe was slaine. the residue of the Romans that were left aliue, retired backe into the citie with a capteine of theirs named Liuius Gallus, and defended themselues within the walles for a time right valiantlie. Thus was Alectus slaine of the Britains, after he had reigned (as some suppose) about the terme of six yeares, or (as some other write) three yeares.

Fabian. Matth. West.

*Asclepiodotus.* Gal. Mon. Mat. West.

Asclepiodotus, duke of Cornewall, began his reigne ouer the Britains in the yeare of our Lord 232. After he had vanquished the Romans in battell, as before is recited, he laid his siege about the citie of London, and finallie by knightlie force entred the same, and slue the forenamed Liuius Gallus neere vnto a broke, which in those daies ran through the citie, & threw him into the same broke: by reason whereof long after it was called Gallus or Wallus broke. And at this present the streete where the same broke did run, is called Walbroke.

Walbroke.

Then after Asclepiodotus had ouercome all his enimies, he held this land a certeine space in good rest and quiet, and ministred iustice vprightlie, in rewarding the good, and punishing the euill. Till at length, through slanderous tongs of malicious persons, discord was raised betwixt the king and one Coill or Coilus, that was gouernour of Colchester: the occasion whereof appeareth not by writers. But whatsoeuer the matter was, there insued such hatred betwixt them, that on both parts great armies were raised, and meeting in the field, they fought a sore and mightie battell, in the which Asclepiodotus was slaine, after he had reigned 30 yeares. Thus haue Geffrey of Monmouth and our common chroniclers written of Carausius, Alectus, and Asclepiodotus, which gouerned heere in Britaine.

Asclepiodotus slaine. Matt. West. hath x. yeares.

Eutropius.

But Eutropius the famous writer of the Romane histories, in the acts of Diocletian hath in effect these words. About the same time Carausius, the which being borne of most base offspring, atteined to high honour and dignitie by order of renowmed chiualrie & seruice in the warres, receiued charge at Bolein, to keepe the seas quiet alongst the coasts of Britaine, France, and Flanders, and other countries thereabouts, bicause the Frenchmen, which yet inhabited within the bounds of Germanie, and the Saxons sore troubled those seas. Carausius taking oftentimes manie of the enimies, neither restored the goods to them of the countrie from whome the enimies had bereft the same, nor yet sent anie part therof to the emperours, but kept the whole to his owne vse. Wherupon when suspicion arose, that he should of purpose suffer the enimies to passe by him, till they had taken some prises, that in their returne with the same he might incounter with them, and take that from them which they had gotten (by which subtile practise he was thought greatly to haue inriched himselfe) Maximianus that was fellow in gouernment of the empire with Diocletianus, remaining then in Gallia, and aduertised of these doings, commanded that Carausius should be slaine, but he hauing warning thereof rebelled, and vsurping the imperiall ornaments and title, got possession of Britaine, against whom (being a man of great experience in all warlike knowledge) when warres had beene attempted and followed in vaine, at length a peace was concluded with him, and so he enioied the possession of Britaine by the space of seuen yeres, & then was slaine by his companion Alectus, the which after him ruled Britaine for the space of three yeres, and was in the end oppressed by the guile of Asclepiodotus gouernour of the pretorie, or (as I maie call him) lord lieutenant of some precinct and iurisdiction perteining to the Romane empire. And so was Britaine recouered by the foresaid Asclepiodotus about ten yeres after that Carausius had first vsurped the gouernment there, and about the yere of our Lord 300, as Polydor iudgeth, wherein he varieth much from Fabian and others.

The couetous practising of Carausius.

Maximianus purposeth to slea Carausius.

Polydor.

Eutropius.

200.

¶ But to shew what we find further written of the subduing of Alectus, I thinke it not amisse to set downe what Mamertinus in his oration written in praise of Maximianus doth report of this matter, which shall be performed in the chapter following.

Mamertinus.

The substance of that which is written *touching Britaine in a panegyrike oration* ascribed to *Mamertinus*, which he set foorth in *praise of the emperors Diocleſian and Maximian*: it is intituled onelie to Maximian, whereas neuertheleſſe *both the emperors are praiſed*; *and likewiſe* (*as ye may* perceiue) Constantius who was father to Constantine the great is here spoken of, being chosen by the two foresaid emperors, to assist them by the name of Cæsar in rule of the empire: of whom hereafter more shall be said.

## *The xxiiij. Chapter.*

ALl the compasse of the earth (most victorious emperor) being now recouered through your noble prowesse, not onelie so farre as the limits of the Romane empire had before extended, but also the enimies borders beeing subdued, when Almaine had beene so often vanquished, and Sarmatia so often restreined & brought vnder, the people called Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi so often put to flight, the Goth submitting himselfe, the king of Persia by offering gifts suing for peace: one despitefull reproch of so mightie an empire and gouernement ouer the whole greeued vs to the heart, as now at length we will not sticke to confesse, and to vs it seemed the more intollerable, bicause it onlie remained to the accomplishing of your perfect renowme and glorie. And verilie as there is but one name of Britaine, so was the losse to be estéemed smal to the common wealth of a land so plentifull of corne, so abundant with store of pastures, so flowing with veines of mettall, so gainfull with reuenues rising of customs and tributes, so enuironed with hauens, so huge in circuit, the which when Cesar, the founder of this your honourable title, being the first that entered into it, writ that he had found an other world, supposing it to be so big, that it was not compassed with the sea, but that rather by resemblance the great Ocean was compassed with it. Now at that time Britaine was nothing furnished with ships of warre; so that the Romans, soone after the warres of Carthage and Asia, had latelie beene exercised by sea against pirats, and afterwards by reason of the warres against Mithridates, were practised as well to fight by sea as land: besides this, the British nation then alone was accustomed but onelie to the Picts and

Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi, and people of Germanie and Polonie.

Picts and Irishmen.

and Irishmen, enimies halfe naked as yet & not vsed to weare armor, so that the Britains for lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romane puissance, insomuch that Cesar might by that voiage onelie glorie in this, that he had sailed and passed ouer the Ocean sea.

But in this wicked rebellious robberie, first the nauie that in times past defended the coasts of Gallia, was led away by the pirat when he fled his waies: and beside this, a great number of other ships were built after the mould of ours, the legion of Romane souldiers was won, and brought to take part with the enimie, and diuers bands of strangers that were also souldiers were shut vp in the ships to serue also against vs. The merchants of the parties of Gallia were assembled and brought togither to the musters, and no small numbers of barbarous nations procured to come in aid of the rebels, trusting to inrich themselues by the spoile of the prouinces: and all these were trained in the wars by sea, through the instruction of the first attemptors of this mischieuous practise.

And although our armies were inuincible in force and manhood, yet were they raw and not accustomed to the seas, so that the fame of a græuous and great trouble by warre that was toward by this shamefull rebellious robberie was blowne and sounded in ech mans eare, although we hoped well of the end. Unto the enimies forces was added a long sufferance of their wicked practises without punishment, which had puffed vp the presumptuous boldnesse of desperate people, that they bragged of our stay, as it had bene for feare of them, whereas the disaduantage which we had by sea, seemed as it were by a fatall necessitie to deferre our victorie: neither did they beleeue that the warre was put off for a time by aduise and counsell, but rather to be omitted through despaire of doing anie good against them, insomuch that now the feare of common punishment being laid aside, one of the mates slue the archpirat or capteine rouer as I may call him, hoping in reward of so great an exploit, to obteine the whole gouernement into his hands.

Long sufferance of euill increaseth boldnesse in the authors.

Carausius slaine

This warre then being both so necessarie, so hard to enter vpon, so growne in time to a stubborne stiffenesse, and so well prouided for of the enimies part, you noble emperour did so take it in hand, that so soone as you bent the thundering force of your imperiall maiestie against that enimie, ech man made account that the enterprise was alreadie atchiued. For first of all, to the end that your diuine power being absent, the barbarous nations should not attempt anie new trouble (a thing chieflie to be foreseene) it was prouided for aforehand by intercession made vnto your maiestie: for you your selfe, you (I say) mightie lord Maximian eternall emperour, vouchedsafe to aduance the coming of your diuine excellencie by the nerest way that might be, which to you was not vnknowne. You therefore suddenlie came to the Rhine, and not with anie armie of horsemen or footmen, but with the terrour of your presence did preserue and defend all that frontire: for Maximian once being there vpon the riuage, counteruailed anie the greatest armies that were to be found. For you (most inuincible emperour) furnishing and arming diuers nauies, made the enimie so vncerteine of his owne doing and void of counsell, that then at length he might perceiue that he was not defended, but rather inclosed with the Ocean sea.

Here commeth to mind how pleasant and easefull the good lucke of those princes in gouerning the common wealth with praise was, which sitting still in Rome had triumphs and surnames appointed them of such nations as their capteins did vanquish. Fronto therefore, not the second, but match with the first honor of the Romane eloquence, when he yeelded vnto the emperor Antoninus the renowme of the warre brought to end in Britaine, although he sitting at home in his palace within the citie, had committed the conduct and successe of that warre ouer vnto the same Fronto, it was confessed by him, that the emperour sitting as it were at the helme of the ship, deserued the praise, by giuing of perfect order to the full accomplishing of the enterprise. But you (most inuincible emperour) haue bene not onlie the appointer forth how all this voiage by sea, and prosecuting the warre by land should bee demeaned, as apperteined to you by vertue of your imperiall rule and dignitie, but also you haue beene an exhorter and setter forward in the things themselues, and through example of your assured constancie, the victorie was atchiued. For you taking the sea at Sluice, did put an irreuocable desire into their hearts that were readie to take ship at the same time in the mouth of the riuer of Saine, insomuch that when the capteins of that armie did linger out the time, by reason the seas and aire was troubled, they cried to haue the sailes hoised vp, and signe giuen to launch forth, that they might passe forward on their iournie, despising certeine tokens which threatened their wrecke, and so set forward on a rainie and tempestuous day, sailing with a crosse wind, for no forewind might serue their turne.

Fronto compared Cicero match.

The good lucke in a capteine.

But what was he that durst not commit himselfe vnto the sea, were the same neuer so vnquiet, when you were once vnder saile, and set forward? One voice and exhortation was among them all (as report hath gone thereof) when they heard that you were once got forth vpon the water, What do we dout? what mean we to staie? He is now losed from land, he is forward on his waie, and peraduenture is alreadie got ouer: Let vs put all things in prose,

prowfe, let vs venter throughanie dangers of sea whatsoeuer. What is there that we may stand in feare of? we follow the emperour. Neither did the opinion of your good hap deceiue them: for as by report of them selues we dow vnderstand, at that selfe time there fell such a mist and thicke fog vpon the seas, that the enimies nauie laid at the Ile of wight watching for their aduersaries, and lurking as it were in await, these your ships passed by, and were not once perceiued, neither did the enimie then staie although he could not resist.

But now as concerning that the same vnuanquishable army fighting vnder your ensignes and name, streightwaies after it came to land, set fire on their ships; what moued them so to dow, except the admonitions of your diuine motion? Or what other reason perswaded them to reserue no furtherance for their flight, if nèd were, nor to feare the doubtfull chances of war, nor (as the prouerbe saith) to thinke the hazard of martiall dealings to be common, but that by contemplation of your prosperous hap, it was verie certeine that there nèded no doubt to be cast for victorie to be obteined? There were no sufficient forces at that present among them, no mightie or puissant strength of the Romans, but they had onelie consideration of your vnspeakable fortunate successe comming from the heauens aboue. For whatsoeuer battell doth chance to be offered, to make full account of victorie, resteth not so much in the assurance of the souldiers, as in the good lucke and felicitie of the capteine generall. The good lucke in a capteine.

That same ringleader of the vngratious faction, what ment he to depart from that shore which he possessed? Why did he forsake both his nauie and the hauen? But that (most inuincible emperour) he stood in feare of your comming, whose sailes he beheld readie to approch towards him, how soeuer the matter should fall out, he chose rather to trie his fortune with your capteins, than to abide the present force of your highnes. Ah mad man! that vnderstood not, that whither so euer he fled, the power of your diuine maiestie to be present in all places where your countenance & banners are had in reuerence. But he flæing from your presence, fell into the hands of your people, of you was he ouercome, of your armies was he oppressed.

To be short, he was brought into such feare, and as it were still loking behind him, for doubt of your comming after him, that as one out of his wits and amazed, he wist not what to dow, he hasted forward to his death, so that he neither set his men in order of battell, nor marshalled such power as he had about him, but onlie with the old authors of that conspiracie, and the hired bands of the barbarous nations, as one forgetfull of so great preparation which he had made, ran headlong forwards to his destruction, insomuch (noble emperour) your felicitie yældeth this good hap to the common wealth, that the victorie being atchiued in the behalfe of the Romane empire, there almost died not one Romane: for as I heare, all those fields and hills lay couered with none but onelie with the bodies of most wicked enimies, the same being of the barbarous nations, or at the least-wise apparelled in the counterfet shapes of barbarous garments, glistering with their long yellow haires, but now with gashes of wounds and blood all deformed, and lieng in sundrie manners, as the pangs of death occasioned by their wounds had caused them to stretch forth or draw in their maimed lims and mangled parts of their dieng bodies. And among these, the chiefe ringleader of the thæues was found, who had put off those robes which in his life time he had vsurped and dishonoured, so as scarse was he couered with one pæce of apparell whereby he might be knowne, so nære were his words true, vttered at the houre of his death, which he saw at hand, that he would not haue it vnderstood how he was slaine. Alectus found dead. He had despoiled himselfe of the imperiall robes, because he would not be knowne if he chanced to be slaine.

Thus verelie (most inuincible emperour) so great a victorie was appointed to you by consent of the immortall gods ouer all the enimies whome you assailed, but namelie the slaughter of the Frankeners and those your souldiers also, which (as before I haue said) through missing their course by reason of the mist that lay on the seas, were now come to the citie of London, where they flue downe right in ech part of the same citie, what multitude soeuer remained of those hired barbarous people, which escaping from the battell, ment (after they had spoiled the citie) to haue got awaie by flight. But now being thus slaine by your souldiers, the subiects of your prouince were both preserued from further danger, and toke pleasure to behold the slaughter of such cruell enimies. O what a manifold victorie was this, worthie vndoubtedlie of innumerable triumphes! by which victorie Britaine is restored to the empire, by which victorie the nation of the Frankeners is vtterlie destroied, & by which manie other nations found accessaries in the conspiracie of that wicked practise, are compelled to obedience. To conclude, the seas are purged and brought to perpetuall quietnesse. Francones sive Franci. London in danger to be spoiled.

Glorie you therefore, inuincible emperour, for that you haue as it were got an other world, & in restoring to the Romane puissance the glorie of conquest by sea, haue added to the Romane empire an element greater than all the compasse of the earth, that is, the mightie maine ocean. You haue made an end of the warre (inuincible emperour) that seemed as present to threaten all prouinces, and might haue spred abroad and burst out in a flame, euen so largelie as the ocean seas stretch, and the mediterrane gulfs dow reach. Neither are we ignorant, although through feare of you that infection did fester within the bowels of

Britaine

Britaine onelie, and proceeded no further, with what furie it would haue aduanced it selfe elsewhere, if it might haue bæne assured of meanes to haue ranged abroad so far as it wished. For it was bounded in with no border of mounteine, nor riuer, which garrisons appointed were garded and defended but euen so as the ships, although we had your martiall prowes and prosperous fortune redie to relæue vs, & was still at our elbowes to put vs in feare, so farre as either sea reacheth or wind bloweth.

For that incredible boldnesse and vnworthie good hap of a few sillie captiues of the Frankeners in time of the emperour Probus came to our remembrance, which Frankeners in that season, conueieng awaie certeine vessels from the coasts of Pontus, wasted both Grecia and Asia, and not without great hurt and damage, ariuing vpon diuers parts of the shore of Libia, at length tooke the citie of Saragose in Sicile (an hauen towne in times past highlie renowmed for victories gotten by sea:) & after this passing thorough the streicts of Giberalterra, came into the Ocean, and so with the fortunate successe of their rash presumptuous attempt, shewed how nothing is shut vp in safetie from the desperate boldnesse of pirats, where ships maie come and haue accesse. And so therefore by this your victorie, not Britaine alone is deliuered from bondage, but vnto all nations is safetie restored, which might by the vse of the seas come to as great perils in time of warre, as to gaine of commodities in time of peace.

*The piracie of the Frankeners called Franci or Francones.*

Now Spaine (to let passe the coasts of Gallia) with hir shores almost in sight is in suertie: now Italie, now Afrike, now all nations euen vnto the fens of Meotis are void of perpetuall cares. Neither are they lesse ioifull, the feare of danger being taken awaie, which to feele as yet the necessitie had not brought them: but they reioise so much the more for this, that both in the guiding of your prouidence, and also furtherance of fortune, so great a force of rebellion by seamen is calmed, vpon the entring into their borders, and Britaine it selfe which had giuen harbour to so long a mischiefe, is euidentlie knowne to haue tasted of your victorie, with hir onelie restitution to quietnesse. Not without good cause therfore immediatlie, when you hir long wished reuenger and deliuerer were once arriued, your maiestie was met with great triumph, & the Britains replenished with all inward gladnesse, came forth and offered themselues to your presence, with their wiues and children, reuerencing not onlie your selfe (on whom they set their eies, as on one descended downe to them from heauen) but also euen the sailes and tackling of that ship which had brought your diuine presence vnto their coasts: and when you should set foot on land, they were readie to lie downe at your feet, that you might (as it were) march ouer them, so desirous were they of you.

*Britains restored to quietnes.*

*The Britains receiue Maximian with great ioy and humblenesse.*

Neither was it anie maruell if they shewed themselues so ioifull, sith after their miserable captiuitie so manie yeares continued, after so long abusing of their wiues, and filthie bondage of their children, at length yet were they now restored to libertie, at length made Romans, at length refreshed with the true light of the imperiall rule and gouernement: for beside the fame of your clemencie and pitie, which was set forth by the report of all nations, in your countenance (Cesar) they perceiued the tokens of all vertues, in your face grauitie, in your eies mildnesse, in your ruddie cheekes bashfulnesse, in your words iustice: all which things as by regard they acknowledged, so with voices of gladnesse they signified on high. To you they bound themselues by vow, to you they bound their children: yea and to your children they vowed all the posteritie of their race and offspring.

*Artificers worth of Britaine.*

*Diocletian and Maximian.*

We trulie (O perpetuall parents and lords of mankind) require this of the immortall gods with most earnest supplication and heartie praier, that our children and their children, and such other as shall come of them for euer hereafter, may be dedicated vnto you, and to those whom you now bring vp, or shall bring vp hereafter. For what better hap can we wish to them that shall succæd vs, than to be enioiers of that felicitie which now we our selues enioy? The Romane common wealth doth now comprehend in one coniunction of peace, all whatsoeuer at sundrie times haue belonged to the Romans, and that huge power which with too great a burden was shronke downe, and riuen in sunder, is now brought to ioine againe in the assured ioints of the imperiall gouernment. For there is no part of the earth nor region vnder heauen, but that either it remaineth quiet through feare, or subdued by force of armies, or at the lest wise bound by clemencie. And is there anie other thing else in other parts, which if will and reason should moue men thereto, that might be obteined? Beyond the Ocean, what is there more than Britaine, which is so recouered by you, that those nations which are nere adioining to the bounds of that Ile, are obedient to your commandements? There is no occasion that may moue you to passe further, except the ends of the Ocean sea, which nature forbiddeth should be sought for. All is yours (most inuincible princes) which are accounted worthie of you, and thereof commeth it, that you may equallie prouide for euerie one, sith you haue the whole in your maiesties hands. And therefore as heretofore (most excellent emperour Diocletian) by your commandement Asia did supplie the desert places of Thracia with inhabitants transported thither, as afterward (most

*Nations nere to Britaine obey the emperours.*

*Franci, or Frankeners, people of Germanie.*

(most excellent emperour Maximian) by your appointment, the Frankeners at length brought to a pleasant subiection, and admitted to liue vnder lawes, hath peopled and manured the vacant fields of the Neruians, and those about the citie of Trier. And so now by your victories (inuincible Constantius Cesar) whatsoeuer did lie vacant about Amiens, Beauois, Trois, and Langres, beginneth to florish with inhabitants of sundrie nations: yea and moreouer that your most obedient citie of Autun, for whose sake I haue a peculiar cause to reioise, by meanes of this triumphant victorie in Britaine, it hath receiued manie & diuerse artificers, of whom those prouinces were ful, and now by their workemanship the same citie riseth vp by repairing of ancient houses, and restoring of publike buildings and temples, so that now it accounteth that the old name of brotherlie incorporation to Rome, is againe to hir restored, when she hath you eftsones for hir founder. I haue said (inuincible emperour) almost more than I haue beene able, & not so much as I ought, that I may haue most iust cause by your clemencies licence, both now to end, & often hereafter to speake: and thus I cease.

The printed booke hath Herui, but I take the H, to be thrust in for N.

Artificers fourth of Britaine.

## What is to be obserued and noted out of the panegyrike oration of Mamertinus afore remembred, with necessarie collections out of other Antiquaries.

## The xxv. Chapter.

NOw let vs consider what is to be noted out of this part of the foresaid oration. It should seeme that when the emperour Maximian was sent into Gallia by appointment taken betwixt him and Diocletian, after he had quieted things there, he set his mind forthwith to reduce Britaine vnder the obedience of the empire, which was at that present kept vnder subiection of such princes as maintained their state, by the mightie forces of such number of ships as they had got together, furnished with all things necessarie, & namelie of able seamen, as well Britains as strangers, among whome the Frankeners were chiefe, a nation of Germanie, as then highly renowmed for their puissance by sea, neere to the which they inhabited, so that there were no rouers comparable to them.

Franci, or Frankeners, people of Germanie.

But because none durst stirre on these our seas for feare of the British fleet that passed to and fro at pleasure, to the great annoiance of the Romane subiects inhabiting alongst the coasts of Gallia, Maximian both to recouer againe so wealthie and profitable a land vnto the obeisance of the empire, as Britaine then was, and also to deliuer the people of Gallia subiect to the Romans, from danger of being dailie spoiled by those rouers that were maintained here in Britaine, he prouided both all diligence such numbers of ships as were thought requisite for so great an enterprise, and digging them in sundrie places, take order for their setting forward to his most aduantage for the easie atchiuing of his enterprise. He appointed to passe himselfe from the coasts of Flanders, at what time other of captaines with their fleets from other parts should likewise make saile towards Britaine. By this meanes Alectus that had vsurped the title & dignitie of king or rather emperour ouer the Britains, knew not where to take heed, but yet vnderstanding of the nauie that was made readie in the mouth of Saine, he ment by that which maie be coniectured, to intercept that fleet, as it should come forth and make saile forwards: and so for that purpose he laie with a great number of ships about the Ile of Wight.

But whether Asclepiodotus came ouer with that nauie which was rigged on the coasts of Flanders, or with some other, I will not presume to affirme either to or fro, because in deed Mamertinus maketh no expresse mention either of Alectus or Asclepiodotus: but notwithstanding it is euident by that which is conteined in his oration, that not Maximian, but some other of his captains gouerned the armie, which slue Alectus, so that we maie suppose that Asclepiodotus was chiefteine ouer some number of ships directed by Maximians appointment to passe ouer into this Ile against the same Alectus: and so maie this, which Mamertinus writeth, agree with the truth of that which we do find in Eutropius.

Eutropius.

Heere is to be remembred, that after Maximians had thus recouered Britaine out of their hands that vsurped the rule thereof from the Romans, it should seeme that not onelie great numbers of artificers & other people were conueied ouer into Gallia, there to inhabit and furnish such cities as were run into decaie, but also a power of warlike youths was transported thither to defend the countrie from the inuasion of barbarous nations. For we find that in the daies of this Maximian, the Britains expelling the Neruians out of the citie of Mons in Henaud, held a castell there, which was called Bretaimons after them, whereupon the citie was afterward called Mons, reteining the last syllable onlie, as in such cases it hath often happened.

Moreouer this is not to be forgotten, that as Humfrey Lhoyd hath very well noted in his booke intituled *Fragmenta historiæ Britannicæ*, Mamertinus in this parcell of his panegyrike oration doth make first mention of the nation of Picts, of all other the ancient Romane writers: so that not one before his time once nameth Picts or Scots. But now to returne where we left.

## The state of this Iland vnder bloudie *Diocletian the persecuting tyrant*, of Alban the first that suffered martyrdome in Britaine, *what miracles were wrought at his death*, whereof Lichfield tooke the name; of Coilus *earle of Colchester, whose daughter Helen was* maried to Constantius the emperour, as some authours suppose.

## The xxvj. Chapter.

AFter that Britaine was thus recouered by the Romans, Diocletian and Maximian ruling the empire, the Iland tasted of the cruelties that Diocletian exercised against the christians, in persecuting them with all extremities, continuallie for the space of ten yeares. Amongst

mongſt other, one Alban a citizen of Werlamcheſter, a towne now bearing his name, was the firſt that ſuffered here in Britaine in this perſecution, being conuerted to the faith by the zealous chriſtian Amphibalus, whom he receiued into his houſe: inſomuch that when there came ſergeants to ſéeke for the ſame Amphibalus, the foreſaid Alban to preſerue Amphibalus out of danger, preſented himſelfe in the apparell of the ſaid Amphibalus, & ſo being apprehended in his ſtead, was brought before the iudge and examined: and for that he refuſed to doo ſacrifice to the falſe gods, he was beheaded on the top of an hill ouer againſt the towne of Werlamcheſter aforeſaid where afterwards was builded a church and monaſterie in remembrance of his martyrdome, inſomuch that the towne there reſtored, after that Werlamcheſter was deſtroied, toke name of him, and ſo is vnto this day called ſaint Albons.

Beda and Gyldas.

It is reported by writers, that diuers miracles were wrought at the time of his death, inſomuch that one which was appointed to doo the execution, was conuerted, and refuſing to doo that office, ſuffered alſo with him: but he that toke vpon him to doo it, retoiſed nothing thereat, for his eies fell out of his head downe to the ground, togither with the head of that holie man which he had then cut off. There were alſo martyred about the ſame time two conſtant witneſſes of Chriſt his religion, Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon Arwiſke. Moreouer, a great number of Chriſtians which were aſſembled togither to heare the word of life, preached by that vertuous man Amphibalus, were ſlaine by the wicked pagans at Lichfield, whereof that towne toke name, as you would ſay, The field of dead corpſes.

Beda. See the booke of acts and monuments ſet forth by maiſter Foxe.

John Roſſus. Warwicenſ. in lib. de Wigornienſ. epiſc. Lichfield whereof it toke name.

To be briefe, this perſecution was ſo great and greeuous, and thereto ſo vniuerſall, that in maner the Chriſtian religion was thereby deſtroied. The faithfull people were ſlaine, their bookes burnt, and churches ouerthrowne. It is recorded that in one moneths ſpace in diuers places of the world there were 17000 godlie men and women put to death, for profeſſing the chriſtian faith in the daies of that tyrant Dioceſian and his fellow Maximian.

Gyldas. Ran. Ceſtren. Matth. Weſt. Conſtantius.

*Coelus.*

262 Fabian.

COelus earle of Colcheſter began his dominion ouer the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 262. This Coelus or Coell ruled the land for a certeine time, ſo as the Britains were well content with his gouernement, and liued the longer in reſt from inuaſion of the Romans, becauſe they were occupied in other places: but finallie they finding time for their purpoſe, appointed one Conſtantius to paſſe ouer into this Ile with an armie, the which Conſtantius put Coelus in ſuch dread, that immediatlie vpon his arriuall Coelus ſent to him an ambaſſage, and concluded a peace with him, couenanting to pay the accuſtomed tribute, & gaue to Conſtantius his daughter in mariage called Helen, a noble ladie and a learned. Shortlie after king Coell died, when he had reigned (as ſome write) 27 yeeres, or (as other haue) but 13 yeeres.

Gal. Mon. Fabian. Caxton.

¶ But by the way touching this Coelus, I will not denie, but aſſuredly ſuch a prince there was: howbeit that he had a daughter named Helen, whom he maried vnto Conſtantius the Romane lieutenant that was after emperor, I leaue that to be decided of the learned. For if the whole courſe of the times, as well of the father and the ſonne Conſtantius and Conſtantine, as likewiſe of the mother Helen, be conſideratelie marked from time to time, and yeere to yeere, as out of authors both Greeke and Latine the ſame may be gathered, I feare leaſt ſuch doubt maie riſe in this matter, that it will be harder to proue Helen a Britaine, than Conſtantine to be borne in Bithynia (as Nicephorus auoucheth.) But forſomuch as I meane not to ſtep from the courſe of our countrie writers in ſuch points, where the receiued opinion may ſéeme to warrant the credit of the hiſtorie, I will with other admit both the mother and ſonne to be Britains in the whole diſcourſe of the hiſtorie following, as though I had forgot what in this place I haue ſaid.

Lib. 7. cap. 18.

A further diſcourſe of the forenamed *Conſtantius and Helen, his regiment ouer* this Iland, his behauiour and talke to his ſonne *and councellors as he lay on his death-bed, a deuiſe* that he put in practiſe to vnderſtand what *true Chriſtians he had in his court, his commendable* vertues, that the Britains in his time imbraced the chriſtian faith is prooued.

## *The xxvij. Chapter.*

*Conſtantius.*

COnſtantius a ſenatour of Rome began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 289, as our hiſtories report. This Conſtantius (as before ye haue heard) had to wife Helen the daughter of the foreſaid king Coel, of whome he begat a ſonne named Conſtantinus, which after was emperour, and for his worthie doings ſurnamed Conſtantine the great. S. Ambroſe following the common report, writeth that this Helen was a maid in an inne: and ſome againe write, that ſhe was concubine to Conſtantius, and not his wife. But what ſoeuer ſhe was, it appeareth by the writers of the Romane hiſtories, that Conſtantius being the daughters ſonne of one Criſpus, that was brother to the emperour Claudius, came into Britaine, and quieted the troubles that were raiſed by the Britains, and there (as ſome write) maried the foreſaid Helen, being a woman of an excellent beautie, whom yet [after] he was conſtreined to forſake, and to marrie Theodora the daughter in law of Herculeus Maximianus, by whome he had ſir ſonnes, and finallie was created emperour, togither with the ſaid Galerius Maximianus, at what time Dioceſianus and his fellow Herculeus Maximianus renounced the rule of the empire, and committed the ſame vnto them. The empire was then diuided betwixt them, ſo that to Conſtantius the regions of Italie, Affrike, France, Spaine and Britaine were aſſigned; & to Galerius, Illyricum, Greeia, and all the eaſt parts. But Conſtantine being a man void of ambition, was contented to leaue Italie and Affrike, ſuppoſing his charge to be great inough to haue the gouernement in his hands of France, Spaine, and Britaine (as Eutropius ſaith.)

Niceph. Tripartit. hiſto. Conſtantius. Math. Weſt. saith 302. 289 Oroſius. Beda. Cuſpinian. Fabian.

But as touching his reigne ouer the Britains, we haue not to ſay further than as we find in our owne writers recorded: as for his gouernement in the empire, it is to be conſidered, that firſt he was admitted to rule as an aſſiſtant to Maximian vnder the title of Ceſar: and ſo from that time if you ſhall account his reigne, it maie comprehend 11, 12, or 13 yeeres, yea more or leſſe, according to the diuerſitie found in writers. Howbeit, if we ſhall reckon his reigne from the time onelie that Dioceſian and Maximian reſigned their title vnto the empire, we ſhall find that he reigned not fullie three yeeres. For whereas betweene the ſlaughter of Alectus, and the comming of Conſtantius, are accounted 8 yeeres and od moneths, not onelie thoſe eight yeeres, but alſo ſome ſpace of time before maie be aſcribed vnto

Pomponius Lætus.

Conſtan-

Conſtantius: for although before his comming ouer into Britaine now this laſt time (for he had bene here afore, as it well appeareth) Aſclepiodotus gouerning as legat, albeit vnder Conſtantius, who had a great portion of the weſt parts of the empire vnder his regiment, by the title, as I haue ſaid, of Ceſar, yet he was not ſaid to reigne abſolutelie, till Diocleſian and Maximian reſigned. But now to conclude with the doings of Conſtantius, at length he fell ſicke at Yorke, and there died, about the yeere of our Lord 306.

306.

This is not to be forgotten, that whileſt he laie on his death-bed, ſomewhat before he departed this life, hearing that his ſonne Conſtantine was come, and eſcaped from the emperours Diocleſian and Maximian, with whom he remained as a pledge (as after ſhall be partlie touched) he receiued him with all ioy, and raiſing himſelfe vp in his bed, in preſence of his other ſonnes & counſellours, with a great number of other people and ſtrangers that were come to viſit him, he ſet the crowne vpon his ſonnes head, and adorned him with other imperiall robes and garments, executing as it were him ſelfe the office of an herald, and withall ſpake theſe words vnto his ſaid ſonne, and to his counſellours there about him:

Niceph.

Now is my death to me more welcome, and my departure hence more pleaſant; I haue heere a large epitaph and monument of buriall, to wit, mine owne ſonne, and one whome in earth I leaue to be emperour in my place, which by Gods good helpe ſhall wipe away the teares of the Chriſtians, and reuenge the crueltie exerciſed by tyrants. This I reckon to chance vnto me in ſtead of moſt felicitie.

Tripartit. hiſto.

After this, turning himſelfe to the multitude, he commanded them all to be of good comfort, meaning thoſe that had not forſaken true vertue and godlineſſe in Chriſt, which Chriſt he vndertooke ſhould continue with his ſonne Conſtantine in all enterpriſes, which in warres or otherwiſe he ſhould take in hand. That deuiſe alſo is worthie to be had in memorie, which he put in practiſe in his life time, to vnderſtand what true and ſincere Chriſtians were remaining in his court. For whereas he had beene firſt a perſecuter, and after was conuerted, it was a matter eaſie to perſuade the world, that he was no earneſt Chriſtian: and ſo the policie which he thought to worke, was the ſoner brought to paſſe, which was this.

He called togither all his officers and ſeruants, feining himſelfe to chooſe out ſuch as would doo ſacrifice to diuels, and that thoſe onelie ſhould remaine with him and keepe their office, and the reſt that refuſed ſo to doo, ſhould be thruſt out, and baniſhed the court. Heerupon all the courtiers diuided themſelues into companies: and when ſome offered willinglie to doo ſacrifice, and other ſome boldlie refuſed: the emperour marking their dealings, ſharpelie rebuked thoſe which were ſo readie to diſhonour the liuing God, accounting them as traitours to his diuine maieſtie, and not worthie to remaine within the court gates: but thoſe that conſtantlie ſtood in the profeſſion of the chriſtian faith, he greatlie commended, as men worthie to be about a prince: and withall declared, that from thenceforth they ſhould be as chiefe counſellours and defenders both of his perſon and kingdome, eſteeming more of them than of all the treaſure he had in his coffers.

To conclude, he was a graue prince, ſober, vpright, courteous and liberall, as he which kept his mind euer free from couetous deſire of great riches: inſomuch that when he ſhould make anie great feaſt to his friends, he was not aſhamed to borow plate and ſiluer veſſell to ſerue his turne, and to furniſh his cupbord for the time, being contented for himſelfe to be ſerued in cruſes & earthen veſſels. He was wont to haue this ſaieng in his mouth, that better it was that the ſubiects ſhould haue ſtore of monie and riches, than the prince to keepe it cloſe in his treaſurie, where it ſerued to no vſe. By ſuch courteous dealing the prouinces which were in his charge flouriſhed in great wealth and quietneſſe. He was a verie wiſe and politike prince in the ordering of all weightie matters, and verie skillfull in the practiſe of warres, ſo that he ſtood the Romane empire in great ſtead, and was therefore highlie beloued of the ſouldiers, inſomuch that immediatlie after his deceaſſe, they proclaimed his ſonne Conſtantine emperour.

He died in the yeere 306. as Matt. Weſt. hath noted, and reigned ouer the Britains but 11. yeeres as Galf. ſaith.

That the chriſtian faith was imbraced of the Britains in this ſeaſon, it maie appeare, in that Hilarius biſhop of Poictiers writeth to his brethren in Britaine, and Conſtantine in an epiſtle (as Theodoretus ſaith in his firſt booke and tenth chapter) maketh mention of the churches in Britaine: which alſo Sozomenus doth affirme. For the Britains after they had receiued the faith, defended the ſame euen with the ſhedding of their bloud, as Amphibalus, who in this Conſtantius daies being apprehended, ſuffered at Redburne neere to Werlamcheſter, about 15 yeeres after the martyrdome of his hoſt S. Albane.

291.

Iohn Bale.

## Conſtantine created emperour in Britaine, *he is ſollicited to take vpon him the* regiment of thoſe countries that his father gouerned, *he is requeſted to ſubdue Maxentius the* vſurping tyrant, Maximianus his father ſeeketh to *depoſe him, Conſtantines death is purpoſed by the ſaid Maximianus* the father & his ſonne Maxentius, Fauſta the daughter of Maximianus & wife to Conſtantine detecteth hir fathers trecherie to hir husband, Maximianus is ſtrangled at Conſtantines commandement, league and alliance betweene him and Licinius, he is ſlaine, the empreſſe Helen commended, the croſſe of Chriſt found with the inſcription of the ſame, what miracles were wrought thereby, of the nailes wherewith Chriſt was crucified, Conſtantine commended, the ſtate of Britaine in his time.

## *The xxviij Chapter.*

*Conſtantine.* 306

Conſtantine being the ſon of the forenamed Conſtantius, begot of his firſt wife Helen, the daughter (as ſome affirme) of Coell late king of the Britains, began to reigne in the yeere of our Lord 306. This worthie prince begotten of a Britiſh woman, & borne of hir in Britaine (as our writers doo affirme) and created verteinlie emperour in Britaine, did doubtleſſe make his natiue countrie partaker of his high glorie and renowme, which by his great prowes, politike wiſedome, worthie gouernment, and other his princelie qualities moſt abundantlie planted in his noble perſon, he purchaſed and got thorough the circuit of the whole earth, inſomuch that for the high enterpriſes and noble acts by him happilie brought to paſſe and atchiued, he was ſurnamed (as before is ſaid) the great Conſtantine. Whileſt this Conſtantine remained at Rome in manner as he had beene a pledge with Galerius in his fathers life time, he being then but yong, fled from thence, and with all poſt haſt returned to his father into Britaine, killing or houghing by the waie all ſuch horſſes as were appointed to ſtand at innes readie for ſuch as ſhould ride in poſt, leaſt being purſued, he ſhould haue beene ouertaken, and brought backe againe by ſuch as might be ſent to purſue him.

Eutropius. Sextus Aurelius Victor.

At his comming into Britaine, he found his father



Pomponius Lætus.

ther sore vexed with sickenesse, whereof shortlie after he died, and then was he by helpe of such as were about him, incouraged to take vpon him as emperour: and namelie one Crocus king of the Almains, which had accompanied his father thither, assisted him thereto, so that being proclaimed emperour, he tooke vpon him the rule of those countries which his father had in gouernment, that is to saie, France, Spaine, the Alpes, and Britaine, with other prouinces heere in the west: and ruling the same with great equitie and wisdome, he greatly wan the fauour of the people, insomuch that the fame of his politike gouernment and courteous dealing being spred abroad, when Marentius the tyrant that occupied the rule of the empire at Rome, and in Italie by wrongfull vsurping & abusing the same, was grown into the hatred of the Romans and other Italians, Constantine was earnestlie by them requested to come into Italie, and to helpe to subdue Marentius, that he might reforme the state of things there.

Crocus king of the Almains.

Marentius the tyrant.

This Marentius was sonne to Herculeus Maximianus, and Constantine had married Fausta the daughter of the said Maximianus. Now so it was, that Maximianus, immediatlie after that his sonne Marentius had taken the rule vpon him, sought meanes to haue deposed him, and to haue resumed and taken effsones into his owne hands the gouernment of the empire. But soliciting Diocletian to do the like, he was much reproued of him for his vnreasonable and ambitious purpose: so that when he perceiued that neither Diocletian would be thereto agreeable, nor induce the souldiers to admit him, they hauing alreadie established his sonne, began to deuise waies how to assure the state more stronglie to his said sonne. And hearing that his sonne in law Constantine was minded to come into Italie against him, he purposed to practise Constantines destruction, insomuch that it was iudged by this which followed, that Herculeus Maximianus did but for a colour seeme to mislike that which his said son Marentius had done, to the end he might the sooner accomplish his intent for the dispatching of Constantine out of the waie.

Dissimulation.

Heerevpon (as it were) fleeing out of Italie, he came to Constantine, who as then hauing appointed lieutenants vnder him in Britaine, remained in France, and with all ioy and honour that might be, receiued his father in law: the which being earnestlie bent to compasse his purpose, made his daughter Fausta priuie thereto: which ladie (either for feare least the concealing thereof might turne hir to displeasure, either else for the entire loue which she bare to hir husband) reuealed hir fathers wicked purpose. Whereupon whilest Constantine went about to be reuenged of such a traitorous practise, Herculeus fled to Marsiles, purposing there to take the sea, and so to retire to his sonne Marentius into Italie. But yer he could get awaie from thence, he was strangled by commandement of his sonne in law Constantine, and so ended his life, which he had spotted with manie cruell acts, as well in persecuting the professours of the christian name, as others.

Ranulphus Cestrensis.

Fausta the daughter of Maximianus and wife to Constantine.

Marsiles.

Maximianus slaine. Ann. Chri. 322.

In this meane time had Maximianus adopted one Licinius to assist him in gouernance of the empire, proclaiming him Cesar. So that now at one selfe time Constantine gouerned France and the west parts of the empire, Marentius held Italie, Affrike, and Aegypt: and Maximianus which likewise had beene elected Cesar, ruled the east parts, and Licinius Illyrium and Grecia. But shortlie after, the emperour Constantine ioined in league with Licinius, and gaue to him his sister in marriage, named Constantia, for more suertie of faithfull friendship to indure betwixt them. He sent him also against Maximianus, who gouerning in the east part of the empire, purposed the destruction of Constantine and all his partakers: but being vanquished by Licinius at Tarsus, he shortlie after died, being eaten with lice. Constantine after this was called into Italie, to deliuer the Romans and Italians from the tyrannie of Marentius, which occasion so offered, Constantine gladlie accepting, passed into Italie, and after certeine victories got against Marentius, at length slue him.

Licinius chosen fellow with Maximianus in the empire.

After this, when Maximianus was dead, who prepared to make warre against Licinius, that had married Constantia the sister of Constantine, he finallie made warre against his brother in law the said Licinius, by reason of such quarrels as fell out betwixt them. In the which warre Licinius was put to the worse, and at length comming into the hands of Constantine, was put to death, so that Constantine by this meanes got the whole empire vnder his rule and subiection. He was a great fauourer of the Christian religion, insomuch that to aduance the same, he tooke order for the conuerting of the temples dedicated to the honour of idols, vnto the seruice of the true and almightie God. He commanded also, that none should be admitted to serue as a souldier in the warres, except he were a christian, nor yet to haue rule of anie countrie or armie. He also ordeined, the weeke before Easter, and that which followed to be kept as holie, and no person to do anie bodilie works during the same.

The commendation of Constantine.

Christians honoured and cherished.

He was much counselled by that noble and most vertuous ladie his mother, the empresse Helen, who being a godlie and deuout woman, did what in hir laie, to moue him to the setting forth of Gods honour and increase of the christian faith, wherein as yet he was not fullie instructed. ¶ Some writers alledge, that she being at Jerusalem, made diligent search to find out the place of the sepulchre of our Lord, and at length found it, though with much adoe: for the infidels had stopped it vp, and couered it with a heape of filthie earth, and builded aloft vpon the place, a chappell dedicated to Uenus, where yong women vsed to sing songs in honour of that vnchast goddesse. Helen caused the same to be ouerthrowne, the earth to be remoued, and the place cleansed, so that at length the sepulchre appeered, and fast by were found there buried in the earth three crosses and the nailes. But the crosse whereupon our Sauiour was crucified, was knowne by the title written vpon it, though almost worne out, in letters of Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine: the inscription was this, *Iesus Nazarenus rex Iudæorum*. It was also perceiued which was that crosse by a miracle (as it is reported, but how trulie I can not tell) that should be wrought thereby: for being laid to a sicke woman, onlie with the touching thereof she was healed. It was also said, that a dead man was raised from death to life, his bodie onlie being touched therewith. Whereupon Constantine moued with these things, forbad that from thenceforth anie should be put to death on the crosse, to the end that the thing which afore time was accounted infamous and reprochfull, might now be had in honour and reuerence.

Polydor. The praise of the empresse Helen.

328

Gulielmus Malmes. Britains seruing in the warres vnder Constantine.

Galfridus. Matt. West.

The empresse Helen hauing thus found the crosse, builded a temple there, & taking with hir the nailes, returned with the same to hir sonne Constantine, who set one of them in the crest of his helmet, another in the bridle of his horsse, and the third he cast into the sea, to allwage and pacifie the furious tempests and rage thereof. She also brought with hir a parcell of that holie crosse, and gaue it to hir sonne the said Constantine, the which he caused to be closed within an image that represented his person, standing vpon a piller in the market place of Constantine, or (as some

Polydor.

Polydor.

Octauius. Caxton. Geswilles inhabited the countrie which the

some late writers haue) he caused it to be inclosed in a coffer of gold, adorned with rich stones and pearls, placing it in a church called Hosiensis, the which church he indued with manie great gifts and precious ornaments. Manie works of great zeale and vertue are remembered by writers to haue beene done by this Constantine and his mother Helen, to the setting forth of Gods glorie, and the aduancing of the faith of Christ. But to be briefe, he was a man in whome manie excellent vertues and good qualities both of mind and bodie manifestlie appeared, chieflie he was a prince of great knowledge and experience in warre, and therewith verie fortunate, an earnest louer of iustice, and to conclude, borne to all honour.

The commendation of Constantine.

But now to speake somewhat of the state of Britaine in his time, ye shall vnderstand, that as before is recorded, at his going ouer into France, after that he was proclaimed emperour, he left behind him in Britaine certeine gouernours to rule the land, and amongst other one Mariminus a right valiant capteine. He tooke with him a great part of the youth of Britaine, and diuerse of the chiefe men amongst the nobilitie, in whose approued manhood, loialtie, and constancie, he conceiued a great hope to go thorough with all his enterprises, as with the which being accompanied and compassed about, he passed ouer into Gallia, entred into Italie, and in euerie place ouercame his enimies.

Gulielmus Malmes. Britains seruing in the warres vnder Constantine.

Some write that Constantine thus conueieng ouer sea with him a great armie of Britains, and by their industrie obteining victorie as he wished, he placed a great number of such as were discharged out of wages, and licenced to giue ouer the warre, in a part of Gallia towards the west sea coast, where their posteritie remaine vnto this daie, maruellouslie increased afterwards, and somewhat differing from our Britains, the Welshmen, in manners and language. Amongst those noble men which he tooke with him when he departed out of this land (as our writers do testifie) were three vncles of his mother Helen, that is to say, Hoelmus, Trahernus, and Marius, whome he made senators of Rome.

Galfridus. Matt. West.

## Of Octauius a British lord, his reigne ouer the Britains, he incountereth with Traherne first neere Winchester, and afterwards in Westmerland: Octauius being discomfited fleeth into Norway, Traherne is slaine, Octauius sendeth for Maximianus, on whom he bestoweth his daughter and the kingdome of Britaine: the death of Octauius, Helena builded the wals of Colchester and London, she dieth and is buried, Constantine departeth this life, Britaine reckoned among the prouinces that retained the christian faith, Paulus a Spaniard is sent into Britaine, he dealeth roughlie with the people, Martinus the lieutenant excuseth them as innocent, his vnluckie end, Paulus returneth into Italie.

## The xxix. Chapter.

NOw in the meane time that Constantine had obteined and ruled the whole empire, Britaine as it were hauing recouered libertie, in that one of hir children being hir king, had got the gouernment of the whole earth, remained in better quiet than afore time she had done. But yet in the meane season, if we shall credit the British chronicle and Geffrey of Monmouth the interpretor thereof; there was a British lord, named Octauius or Octauian, as the old English chronicle nameth him, that was duke of the Gewilles, and appointed by Constantine to be ruler of the land in his absence, the which Octauius (after that Constantine had recouered Rome and Italie, and was so busied in the affaires of the empire in those parts, that as was thought, he could not returne backe into Britaine) seized into his hands the whole dominion of Britaine, and held himselfe for king.

Octauius.

THis Octauius then beginning his reigne ouer the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 329, prouoked Constantine to send against him one of his mothers vncles, the foresaid Traherne. This Trahernus, or as some name him Traherne, entred this land with three legions of souldiers, & in a field neere vnto Winchester, was incountered by Octauius and his Britains, by whome after a sore battell there striken betwixt them, in the end Traherne was put to flight and chased, insomuch that he was constreined to forsake that part of the land, and to draw towards Scotland. Octauius hauing knowledge of his passage, followed him, & in the countrie of Westmerland eftsones gaue him battell, but in that battell Octauius was put to the worsse, and constreined to forsake the land, fled into Norway, there to purchase aid, and being readie with such power as he there gathered, that of Britains and Norwegians, to returne into Britaine. Before his landing, he was aduertised that an earle of Britaine which bare him hartie good will, had by treason slaine Traherne. Octauius then comming to land, eftsones got possession of Britaine, which should be (as Fabian gathereth) about the yeere of our Lord 329, in the 20 yeere of the reigne of the emperour Constantine, and about two yeeres after that the said Octauius first tooke vpon him to rule as king.

Galfridus. 329. Fabian.

Galfridus. This agreeth not altogither with that which Hector Boetius writeth, as in the Scotish chronicle appeareth.

Treherne slaine. See in the Scotish chronicles more of these matters. Matth. West. saith 316.

After this (as the British chronicle affirmeth) Octauius gouerned the land right noblie, and greatlie to the contentation of the Britains. At length when he was fallen in age, and had no issue but one daughter, he was counselled to send vnto Rome for one Maximianus, a noble young man, cosine to the emperour Constantine, on the part of his mother Helena, to come into Britaine, and to take to his wife the said daughter of Octauius, and so with hir to haue the kingdome. Octauius at the first meant to haue giuen hir in mariage vnto one Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall, which was his nephue: but when the lords would not thereto agree, at the length he appointed one Maurice sonne to the said Conan to go to Rome to fetch the forenamed Maximianus.

Maximianus is sent for.

Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall.

This agreeth not with that which is found in the Scotish chronicles.

Maurice according to his commission and instruction in that behalfe receiued, came to Rome, and declared his message in such effectuall sort, that Maximianus consented to go with him into Britaine, and so taking with him a conuenient number, set forward, and did so much by his iournies, that finallie he landed here in Britaine. And notwithstanding that Conan Meridoc past not so much to haue beene doing with him, for malice that he conceiued towards him, because he saw that by his meanes he should be put beside the crowne, yet at length was Maximianus safelie brought to the kings presence, and of him honorablie receiued, and finallie the mariage was knit vp, and solemnized in all princelie maner. Shortlie after, Octauius departed out of this life, after he had reigned the terme of fiftie and foure yeares, as Fabian gathereth by that which diuers authors do write, how he reigned till the daies that Gratian and Valentinian ruled the Roman empire which began to gouerne in the yeare of our Lord (as he saith) 382, which is to be vnderstood of Gratian his reigne after the decease of his vncle Valens, for otherwise a doubt maie rise, because Valentine the father of Gratian admitted the said Gratian to the title of Augustus in the yeare of our Lord 351.

Maximianus commeth into Britaine.

Octauius departeth this life.

382.

But to leaue the credit of the long reigne of Octauius, with all his and others gouernement and rule ouer the Britains since the time of Constantius, vnto our British and Scotish writers, let vs make an end with the gouernement of that noble emperour Constantine, an assured branch of the Britains race, as borne of that worthie ladie the empresse Helen, daughter to Coell earle of Colchester, and after king of Britaine (as our histories do witnesse.) Unto the which empresse Constantine bare such dutifull reuerence, that he did not onelie honour hir with the name of empresse, but also made hir as it were partaker with him of all his wealth, and in manie things was led and ruled by hir vertuous and godlie admonitions, to the aduancement of Gods honour, and maintenance of those that professed the true christian religion. For the loue that she bare vnto Colchester and London, she walled them about, and caused great bricke and huge tiles to be made for the performance of the same, whereof there is great store to be seene euen yet to this present, both in the walls of the towne and castell of Colchester, as a testimonie of the workemanship of those daies. She liued 79 yeares, and then departed this life about the 21 yeare of hir sonnes reigne. First she was buried at Rome without the walls of the citie with all funerall pompe, as to hir estate apperteined: but after hir corps was remoued and brought to Constantinople, where it was eftsones interred. Hir sonne the emperour Constantine liued till about the yeare of Christ 340, and then deceassed at Nicomedia in Asia, after he had ruled the empire 32 yeares and od moneths.

Nicephorus. The empresse Helen departeth this life.

340

The deceasse of the emperour Constantine.

We find not in the Romane writers of anie great stur here in Britaine during his reigne more than the British and Scotish writers haue recorded: so that after Traherne had reduced this land to quietnesse, it maie be supposed, that the Britains liued in rest vnder his gouernement, and likewise after vnder his sonnes that succeeded him in the empire, till about the yeare 360, at what time the Picts and Scots inuaded the south parts of the land.

360.

But now to end with Octauius, that the christian faith remained still in Britaine, during the supposed time of this pretended kings reigne, it maie appeare, in that amongst the 36 prouinces, out of the which there were assembled aboue 300 bishops in the citie of Sardica in Dacia, at a synod held there against the Eusebians, Britaine is numbred by Athanasius in his second apologie to be one. And againe, the said Athanasius in an epistle which he writeth to the emperour Iouinianus reciteth, that the churches in Britaine did consent with the churches of other nations in the confession of faith articuled in the Nicene councell. Also mention is made by writers of certeine godlie & learned men, which liued in offices in the church in those daies, as Restitutus bishop of London, which went ouer to the synod held at Arles in France, and also one Bibius Corinnius sonne to Salomon duke of Cornewall, and bishop of Anglesey, who instructed the people that inhabited the parts now called Northwales, and them of Anglesey aforesaid verie diligentlie.

Synodus anno. 351.

But now to speake somewhat of things chancing in Britaine about this season (as we find recorded by the Romane writers) some trouble was likelie to haue growne vnto the Britains by receiuing certeine men of warre that fled out of Italie into Britaine, whome the emperour Constantius would haue punished, because they had taken part with Magnentius his aduersarie. Paulus a Spaniard and notarie was sent ouer by him, with commission to make inquirie of them, and to see them brought to light to answere their transgressions: which Paulus began to deale roughlie in the matter, wherof he was called Catera, and to rage against the Britains and partakers with the fugitiues, in that they had receiued and maintained them, as he alledged: but in the end being certified by Martinus the lieutenant of their innocencie, and fearing least his extreame rigour might alienate the hearts of the inhabitants altogither, and cause them to withdraw their obedience from the Romane empire, he turned the execution of his furie from them vnto the Romans, and made hauocke of those that he suspected, till the said Martinus fell at square with him, & thinking on a time to kill him, he drew his sword and smote at him. But such was his age and weakenesse, that he was not able to kill him or giue him anie deadlie wound: wherefore he turned the point of his sword against himselfe, and so ended his life, being contented rather to die than see his countriemen and subiects of the empire so to be abused. After this the said Paulus returned backe againe into Italie from whence he came, after whose departure, it was not long yer he also was slaine, and then all the Scots and Picts sore disquieted the Romane subiects, for the suppressing of whose attempts Lupicinus was sent ouer out of Gallia by Julianus, as shall be declared out of Ammianus Marcellinus, after we haue first shewed what we find written in our owne writers concerning the Scots and Picts, who now began to rob and spoile the British inhabitants within the Romane prouinces here in this Ile, and that euen in most outragious maner.

Martinus lieutenant.

Marcellinus. lib. 14.

Paulus a notarie.

## Maximianus or Maximus gouerneth this Ile, why writers speake ill of him, strife betwixt him and Conan duke of Cornewall, Maximus is proclaimed emperour in Britaine, he transporteth the British youth seruiceable for warres into France, little Britaine in France why so called, eleuen thousand maids sent thither to match with Conans people, whereof some were drowned, and other some murthered in the way by Guanius king of Hunnes and Melga king of Picts, they flie into Ireland, murther requited with murther, the words of Gyldas concerning Maximus.

## The xxx. Chapter.

After the decease of Octauius or Octauian (as the old English chronicle nameth him) Maximianus or Maximus (as the Romane writers call him) began to rule the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 383, he was the sonne of one Leonine, and cosen germane to Constantine the great, a valiant personage, & hardie of stomach: but yet because he was cruell of nature, and (as Fabian saith) somewhat persecuted the christians, he was infamed by writers: but the chiefe cause why he was euill reported, was for that he slue his souereigne lord the emperour Gratianus, as after shall appeare, for otherwise he is supposed worthie to haue had the rule of the empire committed to his hands in ech respect. Betwixt him and the abouenamed Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall, chanced strife and debate, so that Conan got him into Scotland, and there purchasing aid, returned, and comming ouer Humber, wasted the countrie on ech side. Maximianus thereof hauing aduertisement, raised his power and went against him, and so fighting with him diuers battels, sometime departed awaie with victorie, and sometime with losse. At length through mediation

*Maximianus or Maximus*

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ation of friends, a peace was made betwixt them. Finallie this Varinianus or (as the Romane histories say) Varinius, was by the souldiers chosen and proclaimed emperour here in Britaine: although some write that this was done in Spaine.

After he had taken vpon him the imperiall dignitie, vpon desire to haue inlarged his dominion, he assembled togither all the chosen youth of this land meet to do seruice in the warres, with the which he passed ouer into France, & there (as our writers record) he first subdued the countrie ancientlie called Armorica, and slue in battell the king thereof called Imball. This done he gaue the countrie vnto Conan Meridoc, which was there with him, to hold the same of him, and of the kings of great Britaine for euer. He also commanded that the said countrie from thenceforth should be called litle Britaine, and so was the name changed. What people soeuer inhabited there before, the ancient name argueth that they were rather Britains than anie other: for Armorica in the British tong signifieth as much as a countrie lieng vpon the sea.

Gal. Mon. Fabian. Caxton. Matth. West

The British youth led forth of the realme by Maximianus.

Britaine in France.

Conan then placing himselfe and his Britains in that quarter of Gallia, auoided all the old inhabitants, peopling that countrie onelie with Britains, which abhorring to ioine themselues with women borne in Gallia, Conan was counselled to send into Britaine for maids to be coupled with his people in mariage. Hereupon a messenger was dispatched vnto Dionethus at that time duke of Cornwall, and gouernour of Britaine vnder Maximianus, requiring him to send ouer into little Britaine 11000 maids, that is to say, 8000 to be bestowed vpon the meaner sort of Conans people, and 3000 to be ioined in mariage with the nobles and gentlemen. Dionethus at Conans request, assembled the appointed number of maids, and amongst them he also appointed his daughter Vrsula, a ladie of excellent beautie, to go ouer and to be giuen in mariage to the foresaid Conan Meridoc, as he had earnestlie requested.

Dionethus duke of Cornwall.

Maids sent forth.

These number of maids were shipped in Thames, and passing forward toward Britaine, were by force of weather and rage of wind scattered abroad, and part of them drowned, and the residue (among whom was the foresaid Vrsula) were slaine by Guanius king of the Hunnes, and Melga king of the Picts, into whose hands they fell, the which Guanius and Melga were sent by the emperour Gracian to the sea coasts of Germanie, to oppresse and subdue all such as were friends and mainteiners of the part of Maximianus. We find in some bookes, that there were sent ouer at that time 51000 maids, that is to say, 11000 gentlewomen, and 40000 other.

Vrsula the daughter of Dionethus.

After that Guanius and Melga had murthered the foresaid virgins, they entred into the north parts of Britaine, where the Scots now inhabit, and began to make sore warre on the Britains, whereof when Maximus was aduertised, he sent into Britaine one Gratianus with three legions of souldiers, who bare himselfe so manfullie against the enimies, that he constreined the said Guanius and Melga to flie out of the land, and to withdraw into Ireland. In this meane while, Maximus hauing slaine the emperor Gratian at Lions in France, and after entring into Italie, was slaine himselfe at Aquilia (after he had gouerned the Britains eight yeeres) by the emperour Theodosius, who came in aid of Valentinian, brother to the said emperor Gratian, as ye may find in the abridgement of the histories of Italie.

Guanius and Melga.

¶ But here yet before we make an end with this Maximus or Maximianus, I haue thought good to set downe the words which we find in Gyldas, where he writeth of the same Maximus, vndoubtedlie a Britaine borne, nephue to the empresse Helen, and begotten by a Romane. At length (saith Gyldas) the spring of tyrants budding vp, and now increasing into an huge wood, the Ile being called after the name of Rome, but holding neither maners nor lawes according to that name, but rather casting the same from it, sendeth forth a branch of hir most bitter planting, to wit Maximus, accompanied with a great number of warriors to gard him, and apparelled in the imperiall robes which he neuer ware as became him, nor put them on in lawfull wise, but (after the customs of tyrants) was put into them by the mutining souldiers: which Maximus at the first by craftie policie rather than by true manhood winding in (as nets of his periurie and false suggestion) vnto his wicked gouernement the countries & prouinces next adioining, against the imperiall state of Rome, stretching one of his wings into Spaine, and the other into Italie, placed the throne of his most vniust empire at Trier, and shewed such rage in his wood dealing against his souereigne lords, that the one of the lawfull emperours he expelled out of Rome, and the other he bereft of his most religious and godlie life. Now without long tariance, compassed about with such a furious and bold gard as he had got togither, at the citie of Aquilia he loseth his wicked head, which had cast downe the most honourable heads of all the world from their kingdome and empire.

Consobrinus Helene imperatricis.

From thencefoorth Britaine being deprriued of all hir warlike souldiers and armies, of hir gouernors also (though cruell) and of an huge number of hir youth (the which following the steps of the foresaid tyrant, neuer returned home againe) such as remained being vtterlie vnskilfull in feats of warre, were trodden downe by two nations of beyond the seas, the Scots from the west, and the Picts from the north, and as men thus quite dismaid, lament their miserable case, not knowing what else to do for the space of manie yeeres togither. By reason of whose greeuous inuasion and cruell oppression wherewith she was miserablie disquieted, she sendeth hir ambassadors vnto Rome, making lamentable suite euen with teares to haue some power of men of warre sent to defend hir against the enimies, promising to be true subiects with all faithfulnes of mind, if the enimie might be kept off and remoued. ¶ Thus farre Gyldas, and more, as in place hereafter you shall find recited.

Scotorum à circio, Pictorum ab aquilone.

What Gratianus it was that was sent ouer from Rome into Britaine by Maximus, in what estimation the British souldiers haue beene, the priuie treason of Andragatius whereby Gratian came to his end: Maximus and his sonne Victor doo succeed him in the empire, they are both slaine, Marcus the Romane lieutenant succeeding them is murthered, Gratianus also his successour hath the same end, the election of Constantine a Britaine borne, his praise and dispraise reported by writers, he goeth into France, maketh his sonne Constance partaker with him of the empire, a sharpe incounter betwixt his power and two brethrens that had the keeping of the Pyrenine hils, the issue of the battell.

## The xxxj. Chapter.

BVt now where the British histories, and such of our English writers as follow them, make mention of one Gratianus a Romane, sent ouer with three legions of souldiers by Maximus, as before ye haue heard: we maie

maie suppose that it was Gratianus the Britaine, that afterwards vsurped the imperiall dignitie héere in Britaine, in the daies of the emperour Honorius. For it standeth neither with the concurrence of time nor yet with reason of the historie, that it should be Gratianus, surnamed Funarius, father to Valentinian, and grandfather to the emperour Gratianus, against whome Maximus rebelled. And yet I remember not that anie of the Romane writers maketh mention of anie other Gratianus, being a stranger, that should be sent hither as lieutenant to gouerne the Romane armie, except of the foresaid Gratianus Funarius, who (as appeareth by Amian. Marcellinus) was generall of the Romane armie héere in this Ile, and at length being discharged, returned home into Hungarie (where he was borne) with honour, and there remaining in rest, was at length spoiled of his goods by the emperour Constantius as confiscate, for that in time of the ciuill warres he had receiued Parentius, as he past thorough his countrie.

Sextus Aurelius.

Lib. 30.

But let vs grant, that either Gratianus the Britaine, or some other of that name, was sent ouer into Britaine (as before is said) by Maximus, least otherwise some errour may be doubted in the writers of the British histories, as hauing happilie mistaken the time and matter, bringing Gratianus Funarius to serue vnder Maximus, where peraduenture that which they haue read or heard of him, chanced long before that time by them supposed: and so thorough mistaking the thing, haue made a wrong report, where neuertheles it standeth with great likelihood of truth, that some notable seruice of chiualrie was atchiued by the same Gratianus Funarius whilest he remained héere in this Ile, if the truth might be knowne of that which hath béene written by authors, and happilie by the same Am. Marcellinus, if his first thirtéene bookes might once come to light and be extant.

But now to end with Maximus. William of Malmesburie (as ye haue heard) writeth, that not Maximus, but rather Constantine the great first peopled Armorica: but yet he agréeth, that both Maximus, and also Constantinus the vsurper, of whome after ye shall heare, led with them a great number of the Britains out of this land, the which Maximus or Maximianus and Constantinus afterwards being slaine, the one by Theodosius, and the other by Honorius, the Britains that followed them to the warres, part of them were killed, and the residue escaping by flight, withdrew vnto the other Britains which Constantine the great had first placed in Armorica. And so when the tyrants had left none in the countrie but rude people, nor anie in the townes but such as were giuen to slouth and gluttonie, Britaine being void of all aid of hir valiant youth, became a prey to hir next neighbours the Scots and Picts.

Héere is yet to be considered, in what price the souldiers of the British nation were had in those daies, with whose onelie puissance Maximus durst take vpon him to go against all other the forces of the whole Romane empire: and how he prospered in that dangerous aduenture, it is expressed sufficientlie in the Romane histories, by whose report it appéareth, that he did not onlie conquer all the hither parts of France and Germanie, namelie on this side the Rhine, but also found meanes to intrap the emperour Gratian by this kind of policie. He had a faithfull friend called Andragatius, who was admirall of the seas perteining to the empire. It was therefore agréed betwixt them, that this Andragatius (with a chosen companie of the armie) should be carried in secret wise in a coch toward Lions, as if it had béene Constantia Posthumia the empresse, wife to the emperour Gratian, bruting abroad therewithall, that the said empresse was comming forwards on hir waie to Lions, there to meet with hir husband, for that vpon occasion she was verie desirous to commune with him about certeine earnest businesse.

W.H. out of Paulus Diaco. lib. 12. & alijs.

Tripart. hist. lib. 9. cap. 21.

When Gratian heard héereof, as one mistrusting no such dissimulation, he made hast to meete his wife, and comming at length without anie great gard about him, as one not in doubt of anie treason, approched the coch, where supposing to find his wife, he found those that streightwaies murthered him: so was he there dispatched quite of life by the said Andragatius, who leapt forth of the coch to worke that feate when he had him once within his danger.

Thus did the emperour Gratian finish his life in the 29 yéere of his age, on the 25 of August, in the yéere of Christ 383, and then died. Maximus succeeded him (making his sonne Flauius Victor Nobilissimus his assistant in the empire) reigning fiue yéeres and two daies. In the beginning of his reigne Valentinian the yonger made great suit to him to haue his fathers bodie, but it would not be granted. Afterwards also Maximus was earnestlie requested to come to an enterview with the same Valentinian, who promised him not onelie a safe conduct, but also manie other beneficiall good turnes beside. Howbeit Maximus durst not put himselfe in anie such hazard, but rather ment to pursue Valentinian as an vsurper, and so at length chased him into Slauonie, where he was driuen to such a streight, that if Theodosius had not come to releeue him, Maximus had driuen him thence also, or else by slaughter rid him out of the waie.

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This Flauius Victor begat of his wife Helen the daughter of Eudes. H. Lhoyd.

Valentinian put in danger by Maximus.

His souldiers were Picts, and placed among other men of warre that serued vnder the ensignes of the empire, and named after Honorius, Honoriciani. Blondus.

But when Maximus thought himselfe most assured, and so established in the empire, as he doubted no perils, he liued carelesse of his owne safegard, and therfore dismissed his British souldiers, who retiring into the northwest parts of Gallia, placed themselues there among their countriemen, which were brought ouer by the emperour Constantius, whilest Maximus passing the residue of his time in delights and pleasures, was surprised in the end and slaine by Theodosius néere vnto Aquilia, the 27 of August, in the yéere of Grace 388, and in the beginning of the firt yéere of his reigne, or rather vsurpation, as more rightlie it maie be tearmed. His sonne Flauius Victor surnamed Nobilissimus was also dispatched and brought to his end, not farre from the place where his father was slaine, by the practise of one Arbogastes a Goth, which Flauius Victor was by the said Maximus made regent of the Frankeners, and partaker (as before is said) with him in the empire.

Eutropius. 388

Arbogastes.

After this, the Ile of Britaine remained in meetlie good quiet by the space of twentie yéeres, till one Marcus (that was then legat, or as we maie call him lord lieutenant or deputie of Britaine for the Romans) was by the souldiers héere proclaimed emperour against Honorius, which Marcus was sone after killed in a tumult raised among the people within few daies after his vsurpation began. Then one Gratianus a Britaine borne succeeded in his place, who was also slaine in the fourth moneth, after he had taken vpon him the imperiall ornaments. The souldiers not yet herewith pacified, proceeded to the election of an other emperour, or rather vsurper, and so pronounced a noble gentleman called Constantine, borne also in Britaine, to be emperour, who toke that honour vpon him in the 409 yéere after the birth of our Sauiour, continuing his reigne by the space of two yeeres and od moneths, as the Romane histories make mention. Some report this Constantine to be of no great towardlie disposition worthie to gouerne an empire, and that the souldiers chose him rather for the name sake, bicause they would

Gratianus Britaine. He reigned foure yeeres (as we shall heare in the British storie.

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would haue another Conſtantine, more than for anie vertues or ſufficient qualities found in his perſon. But other commend him both for manhood and wiſedome, wherein to ſpeake a truth, he deſerued ſingular commendation, if this one note of vſurpation of the imperiall dignitie had not ſtained his other noble qualities. But herein he did no more than manie other would haue done, neither yet after his inueſture did ſo much as was loked for at his hands.

Conſtantine being placed in the imperiall throne, gathered an armie with all poſſible indeuour, purpoſing out of hand to go ouer therwith into France, and ſo did, thinking thereby to win the poſſeſſion of that countrie out of the hands of Honorius, or at the leaſt to worke ſo, as he ſhould not haue the ſouldiers and people there to be againſt him, if he miſſed to ioine in league with the Suabeiners, Alanes, and Vandales, which he ſought to performe. But in the end, when neither of theſe his deuiſes could take place, he ſent ouer for his ſonne Conſtans (whome in his abſence his aduerſaries had ſhorne a monke) & making him partaker with him in the empire, cauſed him to bring ouer with him another armie, which vnder the conduct of the ſame Conſtans he ſent into Spaine to bring that countrie vnder his obeiſance.

This Conſtans therefore comming vnder the paſſages that lead ouer the Pyrenine mountains, Dindimus and Verianianus two brethren, vnto whome the keeping of thoſe paſſages was committed to defend the ſame againſt the Vandals, and all other enimies of the empire, were readie to reſiſt him with their ſeruants and countriemen that inhabited therabouts, giuing him a verie ſharpe incounter, and at the firſt putting him in great danger of an ouerthrow, but yet at length by the valiant prowes of his Britiſh ſouldiers, Conſtans put his aduerſaries to flight, and killed the two capteins, with diuers other men of name that were partakers with him in the neceſſarie defenſe of that countrie againſt the enimies. When Conſtans had thus repelled thoſe that reſiſted him, the cuſtodie of the paſſages in the Pyrenine mounteins was committed vnto ſuch bands of Picts and other, as were appointed to go with him about the atchiuing of this enterpriſe, who hauing the poſſeſſion of thoſe ſtreicts or paſſages in their hands, gaue entrie vnto other barbarous nations to inuade Spaine, who being once entered, purſued the former inhabitants with fire and ſword, ſetled themſelues in that countrie, and droue out the Romans.

His ſouldiers were Picts, and placed among other men of warre that ſerued vnder the enſignes of the empire, and named after Honorius, Honoriciani. Blondus.

## Honorius ſendeth earle Conſtantius *to expell Conſtantine out of Gallia, the end* of Conſtantinus the father and Conſtans the *ſonne, the valure and proweſſe of the Britiſh* ſouldiers, the Britiſh writers reproued of necligences *for that thiy haue inſerted fables into their* woorkes, whereas they might haue depoſed matters of truth.

## *The xxxij. Chapter.*

THe emperour Honorius, perceiuing the reeling ſtate of the empire, determined forthwith to recouer it, before it fell altogither into ruine: and therefore ſent one Conſtantius an earle to driue Conſtantine out of Gallia, which he accordinglie performed: for after certeine bickerings, he ſlue the ſaid Conſtantine at Arles, although not without great bloudſhed. He purſued alſo the reſidue of the Britains, driuing them to the verie ſea coaſts, where they ſhrowded themſelues among the other Britains, that before were ſetled in the countrie there, ancientlie called (as before we ſaid) Armorica, that is, a region lieng on the ſea coaſt: for Ar in the Britiſh tong ſignifieth vpon; and Moure, perteining to the ſea. And as this Conſtantine the father was ſlaine by Conſtantius, ſo was Conſtans the ſonne killed at Vienna by one of his owne capteines named Gerontius. Whereby it came to paſſe, that Honorius ſhortlie after, hauing thus obteined the victorie of both theſe vſurpers, recouered the Ile, but yet not till the yeare next following, and that by the high induſtrie and great diligence of that valiant gentleman earle Conſtantius. The ſlaughter of Conſtantine & his ſonne happened in the 1 yeare of the 297 Olympiad, 465 after the comming of Ceſar, 1162 after the building of Rome, the dominicall letter being A, and the golden number 13, ſo that the recouering of the Iland fell in the yeare of our Lord 411. 411

Here alſo is eſtſoones to be conſidered the valure of the Britiſh ſouldiers, who following this laſt remembred Conſtantine the vſurper, did put the Romane ſtate in great danger, and by force brake through into Spaine, vanquiſhing thoſe that kept the ſtreicts of the mounteins betwirt Spaine and Gallia, now called France, an exploit of no ſmall conſequente, ſith thereby the number of barbarous nations got free paſſage to enter into Spaine, whereof inſued manie battels, ſacking of cities and townes, and waſting of the countries, accordinglie as the furious rage of thoſe fierce people was moued to put their crueltie in practiſe.

¶ If therefore the Britaine writers had conſidered and marked the valiant exploits and noble enterpriſes which the Britiſh aids, armies and legions atchiued in ſeruice of the Romane emperours (by whome whileſt they had the gouernement ouer this Ile, there were at ſundrie times notable numbers conueied forth into the parties of beyond the ſeas, as by Albinus and Conſtantius, alſo by his ſonne Conſtantine the great, by Maximus, and by this Conſtantine, both of them vſurpers) if (I ſaie) the Britiſh writers had taken good note of the numbers of the Britiſh youth thus conueied ouer from hence, & what notable exploits they boldlie attempted, & no leſſe manfullie atchiued, they needed not to haue giuen eare vnto the fabulous reports forged by their Bards, of Arthur and other their princes, worthie in deed of verie high commendation.

And pitie it is, that their fame ſhould be brought by ſuch meanes out of credit, by the incredible and fond fables which haue beene deuiſed of their acts ſo vnlike to be true, as the tales of Robin Hood, or the geſts written by Arioſt the Italian in his booke intituled *Orlando furioſo*, ſith the ſame writers had otherwiſe true matter inough to write of concerning the worthie feats by their countriemen in thoſe daies in forren parts boldlie enterpriſed, and no leſſe valiantlie accompliſhed, as alſo the warres which now and then they mainteined againſt the Romans here at home, in times when they felt themſelues oppreſſed by their tyrannicall gouernment, as by that which is written before of Caratacus, Boadicia, Cartimandua, Venuſius, Galgagus, or Galdus (as ſome name him) and diuers other, who for their noble valiancies deſerue as much praiſe, as by tong or pen is able to be expreſſed. But now to returne vnto the Britiſh hiſtorie: we will proceed in order with their kings as we find them in the ſame mentioned, and therefore we haue thought good to ſpeake ſomewhat further of Gratian, from whome we haue digreſſed.

Gratia-

Gratians rough regiment procureth *his owne destruction, the comming of his* two brethren Guanius and Melga with their *armies, the Scots and Picts plague the Britains,* they send for aid to Rome, Valentinian sendeth Gal*lio Rauenna to releeue them, the Romans refuse anie longer* to succour the Britains, whom they taught how to make armour and weapons, the Scots and Picts enter afresh into Britaine and preuaile, the Britains are brought to extreme miserie, ciuill warres among them, and what mischiefe dooth follow thereupon, their lamentable letter to Actius for succour against their enimies, their sute is denied, at what time the Britains ceased to be tributaries to the Romans, they send ambassadors to the K. of Britaine in France, and obteine their sute.

## *The xxxiij. Chapter.*

*Gratianus.*

GRatianus then, whome Marmus or Mariminus had sent into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) hearing that his maister was slaine, tooke vpon him the rule of this our Britaine, and made himselfe king therof, in the yeare 390. He was a Britaine borne, as Polydor writeth, 390. coniecturing so, by that he is named of authors to be Municeps, that is to saie, a free man of the countrie or citie where he inhabited. For his sterneuesse and rough gouernement, he was of the Britains (as the histories alledge) slaine and dispatched out of the waie, after he had reigned the space of foure yeares, or rather foure moneths, as should seeme by that which is found in autentike writers. Then the forenamed kings Guanius and Melga, which (as some write) were brethren, returned into this land with their armies increased with new supplies of men of warre, as Scots, Danes, the Norwegians, and destroied the countrie from side to side. For the Britains in this season were sore infeebled, and were not able to make anie great numbers of souldiers, by reason that Marimus had led forth of the land the floure and chiefest choise of all the British youth into Gallia, as before ye haue heard.

Of the Romane souldiers as Blondus saith.

Galfrid. Caxton.

Gyldas maketh no mention of these two kings Guanius and Melga of the Hunnes, but rehearsing this great destruction of the land, declareth (as before ye haue heard) that the Scots and Picts were the same that did all the mischiefe, whome he calleth two nations of beyond the seas, the Scots comming out of the northwest, and the Picts out of the northeast, by whome (as he saith) the land was ouerrun, and brought vnder foot manie yeares after. Therefore the Britains being thus vexed, spoiled, and cruellie persecuted by the Scots and Picts (if we shall so take them) sent messengers with all speed vnto Rome to make sute for some aid of men of war to be sent into Britaine. Whereupon immediatlie a legion of souldiers was sent thither in the 414. yeere 414, which easilie repelled the enimies, and chased them backe with great slaughter, to the great comfort of the Britains, the which by this meanes were deliuered from danger of vtter destruction, as they thought.

Galfrid. Matth. West. Caxton.

Gyldas.

Beda and Polychron.

But the Romans being occasioned to depart againe out of the land, appointed the Britains to make a wall (as had beene aforetime by the emperours Adrian, Antoninus and Seuerus) ouerthwart the countrie from sea to sea, stretching from Penuelton vnto the citie of Aclud, whereby the enimies might be staid from entring the land: but this wall being made of turfs and sods, rather than with stones, after the departure of the Romans was easilie ouerthrowne by the Scots and Picts, which eftsones returned to inuade the confines of the Britains, and so entring the countrie, wasted and destroied the places before them, according to their former custome. Herevpon were messengers with most lamentable letters againe dispatched towards Rome for new aid against those cruell enimies, with promise, that if the Romans would now in this great necessitie helpe to deliuer the land, they should be assured to find the Britains euermore obedient subiects, and redie at their commandement. Valentinianus (pitieng the case of the poore Britains) appointed another legion of souldiers (of the which one Gallio of Rauenna had the leading) to go to their succours, the which arriuing in Britaine set on the enimies, and giuing them the ouerthrow, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue out of the countrie.

Gyldas. Polychron. Beda. Matth. West. Blondus. Gallio Rauenna sent into Britaine.

The Romans thus hauing obteined the victorie, declared to the Britains, that from thencefoorth they would not take vpon them for euerie light occasion so painefull a iournie, alledging how there was no reason why the Romane ensignes, with such a number of men of warre, should be put to trauell so far by sea and land, for the repelling and beating backe of a sort of scattering rouers and pilfring theeues. Wherfore they aduised the Britains to looke to their duties, and like men to indeuour themselues to defend their countrie by their owne force from the enimies inuasions. And because they iudged it might be an helpe to the Britains, they set in hand to build a wall yet once againe ouerthwart the Ile, in the same place where the emperour Seuerus caused his trench and rampire to be cast. This wall which the Romans now built with helpe of the Britains, was 8 foot in breadth and 12 in length, trauersing the land from east to west, & was made of stone.

A wall built ouerthwart the Iland. Beda.

After that this wall was finished, the Romans exhorted the Britains to plaie the men, and shewed them the way how to make armor & weapons. Besides this, on the coast of the east sea where their ships lay at rode, & where it was douted that the enimies would land, they caused towers to be erected, with spaces betwixt, out of the which the seas might be discouered. These things ordered, the Romans bad the Britains farewell, not minding to returne thither againe. The Romans then being gon out of the land, the Scots and Picts knowing thereof, by & by came againe by sea, & being more emboldened than before, because of the deniall made by the Romans to come any more to the succor of the Britains, they take into possession all the north and vttermost bounds of the Ile, euen vnto the foresaid wall, therein to remaine as inhabitans. And whereas the Britains got them to their wall to defend the same, that the enimies should not passe further into the countrie, they were in the end beaten from it, and diuers of them slaine, so that the Scots and Picts entred vpon them and pursued them in more cruell maner than before, so that the Britains being chased out of their cities, townes, and dwelling houses, were constreined to flie into desert places, and there to remaine and liue after the maner of sauage people, and in the end began to rob and spoile one another, so to auoid the danger of staruing for lacke of food: and thus at the last the countrie was so destroied and wasted, that there was no other shift for them that was left aliue to liue by, except onelie by hunting and taking of wild beasts and foules. And to augment their miserie, the commons imputing the fault to rest in the lords and gouernors, arose against them in armes, but were vanquished and easilie put to flight at two seuerall times, being beaten downe and slaine (through lacke of skill) in such numbers, especiallie the latter time, that

Gyldas. Gyldas and Beda. Hector Boec. Rebellion.

that the residue which escaped, withdrew into the craggie mounteins, where within the bushes and caues they kept themselues close, sometimes comming downe and fetching away from the heards of beasts and flocks of sheepe which belonged to the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie, great booties to relieue them withall. But at length oppressed with extreme famine, when neither part could long remaine in this state, as needing one anothers helpe, necessitie made peace betwixt the lords and commons of the land, all iniuries being pardoned and cléerelie forgiuen. This ciuill warre decaied the force of the Britains, little lesse than the tyrannicall practises of Maximus, for by the auoiding of the commons thus out of their houses, the ground laie vntilled, whereof insued such famine for the space of three yéeres togither, that a wonderfull number of people died for want of sustenance.

Ciuill warre decaied the force of the Britains. What mischiefe follow of ciuill warres.

Thus the Britains being brought generallie into such extreame miserie, they thought good to trie if they might purchase some aid of that noble man Actius, which at that time remained in France as yet called Gallia, gouerning the same as lieutenant vnder the emperor Honorius: and herevpon taking counsell togither, they wrote a letter to him, the tenor whereof insueth.

Actius.

## To Actius thrise consull.

THe lamentable request of vs the Britains, beseeching you of aid to bee ministred vnto the prouince of the Romane empire, vnto our countrie, vnto our wiues and children at this present, which stand in most extreame perill. For the barbarous people driue vs to the sea, and the sea driueth vs backe vnto them againe. Hereof rise two kinds of death, for either we are slaine, or drowned, and against such euils haue we no remedie nor helpe at all. Therefore in respect of your clemencie, succor your owne we most instantlie require you, &c.

The Britains could get no aid frō the Romans.

Notwithstanding the Britains thus sought for aid at hands Actius as then the emperours lieutenant, yet could they get none; either for that Actius would not, as he that passed litle how things went, bicause he bare displeasure in his mind against Valentinian as then emperor; or else for that he could not, being otherwise constreined to imploie all his forces in other places against such barbarous nations as then inuaded the Romane empire. And so by that means was Britaine lost, and the tribute which the Britains were accustomed to pay to the Romans ceassed, iust fiue hundred yéeres after that Iulius Cesar first entred the Ile.

The Britains being thus put to their shifts, manie of them as hunger-starued were constrained to yéeld themselues into the griping hands of their enimies, whereas other yet kéeping within the mounteins, woods and caues, brake out as occasion serued vpon their aduersaries, and then first (saith Gyldas) did the Britains not putting their trust in man but in God (according to the saieng of Philo, Where mans helpe faileth, it is needfull that Gods helpe be present) make slaughter of their enimies that had béene accustomed manie yéeres to rob and spoile them in maner as before is recited, and so the bold attempts of the enimies ceassed for a time, but the wickednesse of the British people ceassed not at all. The enimies departed out of the land, but the inhabitants departed not from their naughtie doings, being not so readie to put backe the common enimies, as to exercise ciuill warre and discord among themselues. The wicked Irish people departed home, to make returne againe within a while after. But the Picts settled themselues first at that season in the vttermost bounds of the Ile, and there continued, making insurrections oftentimes vpon their neighbours, and spoiling them of their goods.

Punishment ceaseth, but sin increaseth.

This with more also hath Gyldas, and likewise Beda written of this great desolation of the British people: wherein if the words of Gyldas be well weighed and considered, it maie lead vs to thinke, that the Scots had no habitations here in Britaine, but onelie in Ireland, till after this season, and that at this present time the Picts, which before inhabited within the Iles of Orkenie, now placed themselues in the north parts of Scotland, and after by processe of time came and nestled themselues in Louthian, in the Mers, and other countries more neere to our borders. But to proceed.

Galfridus. Gyldas his words are to be considered.

The British historiens affirme, that whilest the Britains were thus persecuted by these two most cruell and fierce nations the Scots and Picts, the noble and chiefest men amongst them consulted togither, & concluded to send an honorable ambassage vnto Aldroenus as then king of little Britaine in Gallia, which Aldroenus was the fourth from Conan Meridoc the first king there of the British nation. Of this ambassage the archbishop of London named Guetheline or Gosseline was appointed the chiefe and principall, who passing ouer into little Britaine, and comming before the presence of Aldroenus, so declared the effect of his message, that his suit was granted. For Aldroenus agréed to send his brother Constantine ouer into great Britaine with a conuenient power, vpon condition, that the victorie being obteined against the enimies, the Britains should make him king of great Britaine.

An ambassage sent from the Britains vnto Aldroenus king of Britaine in France.

Constantine the brother of Aldroenus.

¶ Thus it is apparent, that this land of Britaine was without anie certeine gouernour (after that Gratian the vsurper was dispatched) a number of yéeres togither, but how manie writers in their account do varie. Fabian deposeth by diuers coniecturs that the space betwixt the death of Gratian, and the beginning of the reigne of the said Constantine, brother; to Aldroenus, continued nine and thirtie yéeres, during which time the Britains were sore and miserablie afflicted by the inuasions of the Scots and Picts, as before ye haue heard by testimonies taken out of Beda, Gyldas, Geffrey of Monmouth, and other writers both British and English.

Fabian.

## What the Roman historiographer Marcellinus *reporteth of the Scots, Picts, and* Britains vnder the emperour Iulianus, Valentinianus *and Valens, they send their vicegerents* into Britaine, the disquietnesse of that time, London *called Augusta, the worthie exploits of Theodosius in this* Iland against the enimie, Valentinus a banished malefactor deuiseth his destruction, he is taken and executed, he reformeth manie disorders and inconueniences, the first entring of the Saxons into Britaine, they are dawnted at the verie sight of the Romane ensignes, the Saxons lieng in wait for their enimies are slaine euerie mothers sonne.

## *The xxxiiij. Chapter.*

BVt now sith no mention is made of the Scots in our histories, till the daies of Maximus the vsurper or tyrant, as some call him, who began his reigne here in Britaine about the yéere of our Lord 383, and that till after he

Maximus.

he had bereft the land of the chiefest forces thereof, in taking the most part of the youth ouer with him: we find not in the same historiés of anie troubles wrought to the Britains by that nation. Therefore we haue thought good héere to come backe to the former times, that we may shew what is found mentioned in the Romane historiés, both before that time and after, as well concerning the Scots and Picts, as also the Saxons, and especiallie in Ammianus Marcellinus, where in the beginning of his twentith booke intreating of the doings of the emperour Julianus, he saith as followeth.

Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 20.

The emperor Julianus.

In this state stood things in Illyricum or Slauonia, and in the east parts, at what time Constantius bare the office of consull the tenth time, and Julianus the third time, that is to say, in the yéere of our Lord 360, when in Britaine quietnesse being disturbed by roads made by the Scots and Picts, which are wild and sauage people, the frontiers of the countrie were wasted, and feare oppressed the prouinces wearied with the heape of passed losses. The emperor [he meaneth Julianus] as then remaining at Paris, and hauing his mind troubled with manie cares, doubted to go to the aid of them beyond the sea, as we haue shewed that Constantius did, least he should leaue them in Gallia without a ruler, the Almains being euen then prouoked and stirred vp to crueltie and warre.

360.

Scots and Picts trouble the state of this Ile.

Lupicinus sent into Britaine.

He thought good therefore to send Lupicinus vnto these places to bring things into frame and order, which Lupicinus was at that time master of the armorie, a warlike person and skilfull in all points of chiualrie, but proud and high-minded beyond measure, and such one as it was doubted long whether he was more couetous or cruell. Herevpon the said Lupicinus setting forward the light armed men of the Heruli and Bataui, with diuers companies also of the people of Mesia now called Bulgarie; when winter was well entred and come on, he came himselfe to Bulleine, and there prouiding ships, and imbarking his men, when the wind serued his purpose, he transported ouer vnto Sandwich, and so marched forth vnto London, from thence purposing to set forward, as vpon aduise taken according to the qualitie of his businesse he should thinke méet and expedient.

Batani now Hollanders.

Rutupis.

In the meane time, whilest Lupicinus was busie here in Britaine to represse the enimies, the emperour Constantius displaced certeine officers, and among other he depriued the same Lupicinus of the office of the master of the armorie, appointing one Gumobarius to succéed him in that roome, before anie such thing was knowen in these parties. And where it was doubted least that Lupicinus (if he had vnderstood so much whilest he was yet in Britaine) would haue attempted some new trouble, as he was a man of a stout and loftie mind, he was called backe from thence, and withall there was sent a notarie vnto Bulleine, to watch that none should passe the seas ouer into Britaine till Lupicinus were returned: and so returning ouer from thence yer he had anie knowledge what was done by the emperour, he could make no sturre, hauing no such assistants in Gallia, as it was thought he might haue had in Britaine, if he should haue moued rebellion there.

Of the displacing of these men the learned may sée more in Am. Mar.

The same Marcellinus speaking of the doings about the time that Valentinianus, being elected emperour, had admitted his brother Valens as fellow with him in gouernement, hath these words. In this season as though trumpets had blowne the sound to battell through out the whole Romane empire, most cruell nations being stirred vp, inuaded the borders next adioining, the Almans wasted and destroied the parts of Gallia and Rhetia, as the Sarmatians and Quadi did Pannonia, the Picts, the Saxons, the Scots, and the Attacots vexed the Britains with continuall troubles, and grieuous damages; the Austorians and the people of the Moores ouerran the countrie of Affrike more sharpelie than in time past they had done; the pilfring troops of the Goths spoiled Thracia; the king of Persia set in hand to subdue the Armenians, and sought to bring them vnder his obeisance, hasting with all speed toward Numonia, pretending (though vniustlie) that now after the decease of Iouinius, with whome he had contracted a league and bond of peace, there was no cause of let what he ought not to recouer those things, which (as he alledged) did belong to his ancestors: and so forth.

Lib. 26.

The Almans. The Sarmatians.

The Quades. Picts and Saxons.

Austorians. The Goths.

Moreouer, the same Marcellinus in another place writeth in this wise, where he speaketh of the said Valentinianus. Departing therefore from Amiens, and hasting to Trier, he was troubled with grieuous newes that were brought him, giuing him to vnderstand, that Britaine by a conspiracie of the barbarous nations was brought to vtter pouertie, that Nectaridus one of the emperours house earle of the sea coast, hauing charge of the parties towards the sea, was slaine, and that the generall Bulchobaudes was circumuented by traines of the enimies. These things with great horrour being knowne, he sent Seuerus as then erle, or (as I may call him lord steward of his houshold) to reforme things that were amisse, if hap would so permit, who being shortlie called backe, Iouinius going thither, and with spéed hasting forward, sent for more aid and a great power of men, as the instant necessitie then required. At length, for manie causes, and the same greatlie to be feared, the which were reported and auertised out of that Ile, Theodosius was elected and appointed to go thither, a man of approued skill in warlike affaires, and calling togither an hardie youthfull number of the legions and cohorts of men of warre, he went forth, no small hope being conceiued of his good spéed; the fame wherof spred and went afore him.

Lib. 27.

Comes Britanniæ tractus.

Comes domesticorum.

Theodosius sent into Britaine.

A little after, Marcellinus adding what people they were that troubled the Britains in this wise, saith thus. This shall suffice to be said, that in this season the Picts diuided into two nations Dicalidones, and Vecturiones, and in like maner the Attacotti a right warlike nation, and the Scots wandering here and there, made foule worke in places where they came. The confines of France were disquieted by the Frankeners and Saxons borderers vnto them, euerie one as they could breaking forth, & doing great harme by cruell spoile, fire, and taking of prisoners. To withstand those doings if good fortune would giue him leaue, that most able capteine going vnto the vttermost bounds of the earth, when he came to the coast of Bullen which is seuered from the contrarie coast on the other side by the sea, with a narrow streight, where sometime the water goeth verie high and rough, & shortlie after becommeth calme & pleasant, without hurt to those that passe the same, transporting ouer at leasure, he arriued at Sandwich (or rather Richburrow) where there is a quiet road for vessels to lie at anchor. Wherevpon the Batani and Heruli, with the souldiers of the legions called Iouij, and Victores, being companies that trusted well to their owne strength, marched forth & drew towards London, an ancient citie, which now of late hath bin called Augusta. Herewith diuiding his armie into sundrie parts, he set vpon the troops of his enimies as they were abroad to forrey the countrie, pestered with burdens of their spoiles and pillage, and spédilie putting them to flight, as they were leading away those prisoners which they had taken, with their

Picts diuided into two nations. Attacotti.

Theodosius passeth ouer into Britaine.

Batani Hollanders.

London called Augusta.

bwties of cattell, he bereft them of their preie, the which the poore Britains that were tributaries had lost. To be briefe, restoring the whole, except a small portion bestowed amongst the wearie souldiers, he entred the citie which before was oppressed with troubles, but now suddenlie refreshed, because there was hope of reliefe and assured preseruation.

After this, when Theodosius was comforted with prosperous successe to attempt things of greater importance, and searching waies how with good aduise to worke suerlie: whilest he remained doubtfull what would insue, he learned as well by the confession of prisoners taken, as also by the information of such as were fled from the enimies, that the scattered people of sundrie nations which with practise of great crueltie were become fierce and vndanted, could not be subdued but by policie secretlie practised, and sudden invasions. At length therefore setting forth his proclamations, and promising pardon to those that were gone awaie from their capteins or charge, he called them backe againe to serue: and also those that by licence were departed and laie scattered here and there in places abroad. By this meanes, when manie were returned, he being on the one side earnestlie prouoked, and on the other holden backe with thoughtfull cares, required to haue one Ciuilis by name sent to him to haue the rule of the prouinces in Britaine in stead of the other gouernours, a man of sharpe wit, and an earnest mainteiner of iustice. He likewise required that one Dulcitius a capteine renowmed in knowledge of warlike affaires might be sent ouer to him for his better assistance. These things were done in Britaine.

Theodosius requireth to haue Ciuilis sent to him.

Dulcitius.

Againe, in his eight and twentith booke, the same Marcellinus reciting further what the same Theodosius atchiued in Britaine, hath in effect these words: Theodosius verelie a capteine of worthie fame, taking a valiant courage to him, and departing from Augusta, which men of old time called London, with souldiers assembled by great diligence, did succour and releeue greatlie the decaied and troubled state of the Britains, preuenting euerie conuenient place where the barbarous people might lie in wait to do mischiefe: and nothing he commanded the meane souldiers to do, but that whereof he with a chéerefull mind would first take in hand to shew them an example. By this meanes accomplishing the roome of a valiant souldier, and fulfilling the charge of a noble capteine, he discomfited and put to flight sundrie nations, whome presumption (nourished by securitie) emboldened to inuade the Romane prouinces: and so the cities and castels that had béene sore endamaged by manifold losses and displeasures, were restored to their former state of wealth, the foundation of rest and quietnesse being laid for a long season after to insue.

London called Augusta.

But as these things were a doing, one wicked practise was in hand & like to haue burst forth, to the grieuous danger of setting things in broile, if it had not béene staied euen in the beginning of the first attempt. For there was one Valentinus, borne in the parties of Valeria adioining to Pannonia, now called Stiermarke, a man of a proud and loftie stomach, brother to the wife of Pariminus, which Valentinus for some notable offense had béene banished into Britaine, where the naughtie man that could not rest in quiet, deuised how by some commotion he might destroy Theodosius, who as he saw was onelie able to resist his wicked purposes. And going about manie things both priuilie and apertlie, the force of his vnmeasurable desire to mischiefe still increasing, he sought to procure aswell other that were in semblable wise banished men, & inclined to mischiefe like him selfe, as also diuers of the souldiers, alluring them (as the time serued) with large promises of great wealth, if they would ioine with him in that enterprise. But euen now in the verie nicke, when they shuld haue gone in hand with their migratious exploit, Theodosius warned of their intent, boldlie aduanced himselfe to see due punishment executed on the offendors that were forthwith taken and knowne to be guiltie in that conspiracie.

Valentinus. Valeria now Stiermarke.

Theodosius committed Valentine with a few other of his trustie complices vnto the capteine Dulcitius, commanding him to see them put to death: but coniecturing by his warlike skill (wherein he passed all other in those daies) what might follow, he would not in anie wise haue anie further inquirie made of the other conspirators, least through feare that might be spread abroad in manie, the troubles of the prouinces now well quieted, should be againe renued. After this, Theodosius disposing himselfe to redresse manie things as néed required, all danger was quite remoued: so that it was most apparent, that fortune fauored him in such wise, that she left him not destitute of hir furtherance in anie one of all his attempts. He therefore restored the cities & castels that were appointed to be kept with garrisons, and the borders he caused to be defended and garded with sufficient numbers to keepe watch and ward in places necessarie. And hauing recouered the prouince which the enimies had gotten into their possession, he so restored it to the former state, that vpon his motion to haue it so, a lawfull gouernour was assigned to rule it, and the name was changed, so as from thencefoorth it should be called Valentia for the princes pleasure.

Dulcitius is appointed to put Valentinus to death.

A part of Britaine called Valentia.

The Areani, a kind of men ordeined in times past by our elders (of whome somewhat we haue spoken in the acts of the emperour Constance) being now by little and little fallen into vices, he remoued from their places of abiding, being openlie conuicted, that allured with bribes and faire promises, they had oftentimes bewraied vnto the barbarous nations what was done among the Romans: for this was their charge, to runne vp and downe by long iournies, and to giue warning to our captains, what sturre the people of the next confines were about to make.

Theodosius therefore hauing ordered these & other like things, most worthilie & to his high fame, was called home to the emperours court, who leauing the prouinces in most triumphant state, was highlie renowmed for his often and most profitable victories, as if he had béene an other Camillus or Cursor Papirius, and with the fauor and loue of all men was conueied vnto the sea side; and passing ouer with a gentle wind, came to the court, where he was receiued with great gladnesse and commendation, being immediatlie appointed to succéed in the roome of Valence Iouinus that was maister of the horses. Finallie, he was called by the emperour Gratianus, to be associated with him in the imperiall estate, after the death of Valence, in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauior 379, and reigned emperour, surnamed Thodosius the great, about 16 yeares and 2 daies.

The praise of Theodosius.

379

Wil. Har.

Hereto also maie that be applied which the foresaid Marcellinus writeth in the same booke, touching the inuasion of the Saxons, the which (as Wolf. Lazius taketh it) entred then first into great Britaine, but were repelled of the emperour Valentinianus the first, by the conduct and guiding of Seuerus. The same yéere (saith he) that the emperours were the third time consuls, there brake forth a multitude of Saxons, & passing the seas, entred stronglie into the Romane confines: a nation fed oftentimes with the slaughter of our people, the brunt of

Wolf. Lazi.

Seuerus.

Nonneus Comes.

whose first inuasion earle Nonneus susteined, one which was appointed to defend those parties, an approued capteine, & with continuall trauell in warres verie expert. But then incountring with desperate and forlorne people, when he perceiued some of his souldiers to be ouerthrowne and beaten downe, and himselfe wounded, not able to abide the often assaults of his enimies, he obteined this by informing the emperour what was necessarie and ought to be done, insomuch that Seuerus, maister or (as I maie call him) coronell of the footmen, was sent to helpe and releeue things that stood in danger: the which bringing a sufficient power with him for the state of that businesse, when he came to those places, he diuiding his armie into parts, put the Saxons in such feare and trouble before they fought, that they did not so much as take weapon in hand to make resistance, but being amazed with the sight of the glittering ensignes, & the eagles figured in the Romane standards, they streight made sute for peace, and at length after the matter was debated in sundrie wise (because it was iudged that it should be profitable for the Romane commonwealth) truce was granted vnto them, and manie young men (able for seruice in the warres) deliuered to the Romans according to the couenants concluded.

Seuerus coronell of the footmen.

After this the Saxons were permitted to depart without impeachment, & so to returne from whence they came, who being now out of all feare, and preparing to go their waies, diuers bands of footmen were sent to lie priuilie in a certeine hid vallie so ambushed, as they might easilie breake forth vpon the enimies as they passed by them. But it chanced far otherwise than they supposed, for certeine of those footmen stirred with the noise of them as they were comming, brake forth out of time, and being suddenlie discouered whilest they hasted to vnite and knit themselues togither, by the hideous crie and shout of the Saxons they were put to flight. Yet by and by closing togither againe, they staied, and the extremitie of the chance ministring to them force (though not sufficient) they were driuen to fight it out, and being beaten downe with great slaughter, had died euerie mothers sonne, if a troope of horsemen armed at all points (being in like maner placed in an other side at the entring of the waie to assaile the enimies as they should passe) aduertised by the dolefull noise of them that fought, had not speedilie come to the succour of their fellowes.

Then ran they togither more cruellie than before, and the Romans bending themselues towards their enimies, compassed them in on each side, and with drawne swords slue them downe right, so that there was not one of them left to returne home to their natiue countrie to bring newes how they had sped, nor one suffered to liue after anothers death, either to reuenge their ruine, or to lament their losse. Thus were the limits of the Romane empire preserued at that time in Britaine, which should seeme to be about the yeere of our Lord 399.

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¶ Thus were the Romans, as commonlie in all their martiall affaires, so in this incounter verie fortunate, the happie issue of the conflict falling out on their side. And strange it is to consider and marke, how these people by a celestiall kind of influence were begotten and borne as it were to prowesse and renowme; the course of their dealings in the field most aptlie answering to their name. For (as some suppose) the Romans were called of the Greeke word ῥώμη, signifieng power and mightinesse: and in old time they were called Valentians, *A valendo*, of preuailing: so that it was no maruell though they were victorious subduers of forren people, sithens they were by nature created and appointed to be conquerors, and thereof had their denomination.

Solinus. Adr. Iun.

What the poet Claudianus saith of the *state of Britaine in the decaie of the* Romane empire, of the Scots and Picts cruellie *vexing the Britains, they are afflicted by inuasion* of barbarous nations, the practise of the Saxons, *of the Scots first comming into this Iland, and from* whence, the Scotish chronographers noted for curiositie and vanitie.

## *The xxxv. Chapter.*

Honorius the emperour.

After this, in the time of the emperour Honorius, the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, did ofttimes inuade the frontiers of the Romane prouince in Britaine, as appeareth by that which the poet Claudianus writeth, in attributing the honour of preseruing the same frontiers vnto the said emperour, in his booke intituled *Panegericus tertij consulatus* (which fell in the yeere 396) as thus:

396. Claudian.

*Ille leues Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos*
*Edomuit, Scotúmq; vago mucrone secutus,*
*Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus vndas,*
*Et geminis fulgens vtróq; sub axe trophæis,*
*Tethyos alternæ refluas calcauit arenas.*

The nimble Mores and Picts by right
so cald, he hath subdude,
And with his wandring sword likewise
the Scots he hath pursude:
He brake with bold couragious oare
the Hyperborean waue,
And shining vnder both the poles
with double trophies braue,
He marcht vpon the bubling sands
of either swelling seas.

The same Claudianus vpon the fourth consulship of Honorius, saith in a tetrastichon as followeth:

*Quid rigor æternus cæli? quid frigora prosunt?*
*Ignotúmq; fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuso*
*Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,*
*Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Hyberne.*

What lasting cold? what did to them
the frostie climats gaine?
And sea vnknowne? bemoisted all
with bloud of Saxons slaine
The Orknies were: with bloud of Picts
hath Thule waxed warme,
And ysie Ireland hath bewaild
the heaps of Scotish harme.

Thule some take to be Island, some Scotland.

The same praise giueth he to Stilico the sonne in law of Honorius, and maketh mention of a legion of souldiers sent for out of Britaine in the periphrasis or circumlocution of the Gothish bloudie warres:

*Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,*
*Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferróq; notatas*
*Perleget exanimes Picto moriente figuras.*

A legion eke there came from out
the farthest Britains bent,
Which brideled hath the Scots so sterne:
and marks with iron brent
Vpon their liueles lims dooth read,
whiles Picts their liues relent.

He rehearseth the like in his second *Panegericus* of Stilico, in most ample and pithie manner insuing:

*Inde Calidonio velata Britannia monstro,*
*Ferro picta genas, cuius vestigia verrit*
*Cærulus, Oceaníq; æstum mentitur amictus,*
*Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit,*
*Muniuit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Hybernam*
*Mouit, & infesto spumauit remige Thetis,*

*Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem*
*Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto*
*Proſpicerem dubijs venturum Saxona ventis.*
Then Britaine whom the monſters did
of Calidone ſurround,
Whoſe cheekes were pearſt with ſcorching ſteele,
whoſe garments ſwept the ground,
Reſembling much the marble hew
of ocean ſeas that boile,
Said, She whom neighbour nations did
conſpire to bring to ſpoile,
Hath Stilico munited ſtrong, when
raiſd by Scots entice
All Ireland was, and enimies ores
the ſalt ſea ſome did ſlice,
His care hath cauſd, that I all feare
of Scotiſh broiles haue bard,
Ne doo I dread the Picts, ne looke
my countrie coaſts to gard
Gainſt Saxon troops, whom changing winds
ſent ſailing hitherward.

Britaine afflicted by inuaſion of barbarous nations.

Thus maie it appeare, that in the time when the Romane empire began to decaie, in like manner as other parts of the ſame empire were inuaded by barbarous nations, ſo was that part of Britaine which was ſubiect to the Romane emperors grieuouſlie aſſailed by the Scots and Picts, and alſo by the Saxons, the which in thoſe daies inhabiting all alongſt the ſea coaſts of low Germanie, euen from the Elbe vnto the Rhine, did not onelie trouble the ſea by continuall rouing, but alſo vſed to come on land into diuerſe parts of Britaine and Gallia, inuading the countries, and robbing the ſame with great rage and crueltie.

Sidon. Apol. li. 8. Epiſt.

To the which Sidonius Apollinaris thus alludeth, writting to Namatius. The meſſenger did aſſuredlie affirme, that latelie ye blew the trumpet to warre in your nation, and betwixt the office one while of a mariner, and another while of a ſouldier, waſted about the crooked ſhores of the ocean ſea againſt the fleet of the Saxons, of whome as manie rouers as ye behold, ſo manie archpirats ye ſuppoſe to ſee: ſo doo they altogither with one accord command, obeie, teach, and learne to plaie the parts of rouers, that euen now there is good occaſion to warne you to beware. This enimie is more cruell than all other enimies. He aſſaileth at vnwares, he eſcapeth by foreſeeing the danger afore hand, he deſpiſeth thoſe that ſtand againſt him, he throweth downe the vnwarie: if he be followed he snappeth them vp that purſue him, if he flee he eſcapeth.

The piratle of the Saxons.

Of like effect for praiſe hereof be thoſe verſes which he wrote vnto Maximianus his panegyrike oration, following in Latine and in Engliſh verſe.

*Tot maria intraui duce te, longéq; remotas*
*Sole ſub occiduo gentes, victricia Cæſar*
*Signa Caledonios tranſtuexit ad vſq; Britannos.*
*Fuderit & quanquam Scotum, & cum Saxone Pictum,*
*Hoſtes quæſuit quem iam natura vetabat,*
*Quærere plus homines, &c.*
So manie ſeas I entred haue,
and nations farre by weſt,
By thy conduct, and Cæſar hath
his banners borne full preſt
Vnto the furtheſt Britiſh coaſt,
where Caledonians dwell,
The Scot and Pict with Saxons eke,
though he ſubdued fell,
Yet would he enimies ſeeke vnknowne
whom nature had forbid, &c.

¶ Thus much haue we thought good to gather out of the Romane and other writers, that ye might perceiue the ſtate of Britaine the better in that time of the decaie of the Romane empire, and that ye might haue occaſion to marke by the waie, how not onelie the Scots, but alſo the Saxons had attempted to inuade the Britains, before anie mention is made of the ſame their attempts by the Britiſh and Engliſh writers. But whether the Scots had anie habitation within the bounds of Britaine, till the time ſuppoſed by the Britaine writers, we leaue that point to the iudgement of others that be trauelled in the ſearch of ſuch antiquities, onelie admoniſhing you, that in the Scotiſh chronicle you ſhall find the opinion which their writers haue conceiued of this matter, and alſo manie things touching the acts of the Romans done againſt diuerſe of the Britains, which they preſume to be done againſt their nation, though ſhadowed vnder the generall name of Britains, or of other particular names, at this daie to moſt men vnknowne. But whenſoeuer the Scots came into this Ile, they made the third nation that inhabited the ſame, comming firſt out of Scithia, or rather out of Spaine (as ſome ſuppoſe) into Ireland, and from thence into Britaine; next after the Picts, though their writers fetch a farre more ancient beginning (as in their chronicles at large appeareth) referring them to the reading thereof, that deſire to vnderſtand that matter as they ſet it forth. Polydor.

*Thus farre the dominion and tribute of the Romans ouer this land of Britaine, which had continued (by the collection of ſome chronographers) the ſpace of 483. yeeres. And heere we thinke it conuenient to end this fourth booke.*

# THE FIFT BOOKE
## of the Hiſtorie of England.

**Conſtantinus at the generall *ſute of the Britains vndertaketh* to gouerne this Iland, he is crowned *king, his three ſonnes, he is traitorouſlie* ſlaine of a Pict, Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of *Conſtantine hauing bene a monke is created king,* the ambitious & ſlie practiſes of duke Vortigerne *to aſpire to the gouernment, he procureth certeine Picts and* Scots to kill the king who had reteined them for the gard of his perſon, his craftie deuiſes and deepe diſſimulation vnder the pretenſe of innocencie, he winneth the peoples harts, and is choſen their king.**

## *The firſt Chapter.*

HAuing ended our former booke with the end of the Romane power ouer this Iland, wherein the ſtate of the Iland vnder them is at full deſcribed; it remaineth now that we proceed to declare, in what ſtate they were after the Romans had refuſed to gouerne them anie longer. Wherefore we will addreſſe our ſelues to ſaie ſomewhat touching the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh kings, as their hiſtories make mention.

*Conſtantinus.*
Gal.Mon. Matt. Weſtm.

Conſtantinus the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britaine, at the ſute and earneſt requeſt of the archbiſhop of London, made in name of all the Britains in the Ile of great Britaine, was ſent into the ſame Ile by his ſaid brother Aldroenus vpon couenants ratified in manner as before is recited, and brought with him a conuenient power, landing with the ſame at Totneſſe in Deuonſhire. Immediatlie after his cõming on land, he gathered to him a great power of Britains, which before his landing were hid in diuerſe places of the Ile. Then went he forth with them, and gaue battell to the enimies, whom he vanquiſhed: & ſlue that tyrannicall king Guanius there in the field (as ſome bookes haue.) Howbeit, this agreeth not with the Scotiſh writers, which affirme that they got the field, but yet loſt their king named Dongard (as in their hiſtorie ye maie read.)

Caxton ſaith 12000. but Gal. and others ſay but 2000.

The Britiſh hiſtorie diſagreeth from the Scotiſh.

But to proceed as our writers report the matter. When the Britains had thus ouercome their enimies, they conueied their capteine the ſaid Conſtantine vnto Ciceſter, and there in fulfilling their promiſe and couenant made to his brother, crowned him king of great Britaine, in the yeere of our Lord 433, which was about the fift yeere of the emperour

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 435.

Valentinianus the ſecond, and third yeere of Clodius king of the Frankners after called Frenchmen, which then began to ſettle themſelues in Gallia, whereby the name of that countrie was afterwards changed and called France. Conſtantine being thus eſtabliſhed king, ruled the land well and noblie, and defended it from all inuaſion of enimies during his life. He begat of his wife three ſonnes (as the Britiſh hiſtorie affirmeth) Conſtantius, Aurelius Ambroſius, and Uter ſurnamed Pendragon. The eldeſt, becauſe he perceiued him to be but dull of wit, and not verie toward, he made a monke, placing him within the abbie of Amphibalus in Wincheſter.

Finallie this Conſtantine, after he had reigned ten yeeres, was traitorouſlie ſlaine one day in his owne chamber (as ſome write) by a Pict, who was in ſuch fauor with him, that he might at all times haue free acceſſe to him at his pleaſure. Neither the Romane writers, nor Beda, make anie mention of this Conſtantine: but of the other Conſtantine they write, which immediatlie after the vſurper Gratian was diſpatched out of the way (as before ye haue heard) was aduanced to the rule of this land, and title of emperour, onelie in hope of his name, and for no other reſpect of towardneſſe in him, afore time being but a meane ſouldier, without anie degree of honour. The ſame Conſtantine (as writers record) going ouer into Gallia, adorned his ſonne Conſtantius with the title and dignitie of Ceſar, the which before was a monke, and finallie as well the one as the other were ſlaine, the father at Arles by earle Conſtantius, that was ſent againſt him by the emperour Honorius; and the ſonne at Uienna (as before ye haue heard) by one of his owne court called Gerontius (as in the Italian hiſtorie ye may ſee more at large.) This chanced about the yeere of our Lord 415.

In a grone of buſhes as Gal. ſaith. Matth. Weſt. Beda. Oroſius. Blondus.

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¶ This haue we thought good to repeat in this place, for that ſome may ſuppoſe that this Conſtantine is the ſame that our writers take to be the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britaine, as the circumſtance of the time and other things to be conſidered may giue them occaſion to thinke, for that there is not ſo much credit to be yeelded to them that haue written the Britiſh hiſtories, but that in ſome part men may with iuſt cauſe doubt of ſundrie matters conteined in the ſame: and therfore haue we in this booke beene the more diligent to ſhew what the Romans and other forreine writers haue regiſtred in their bookes of hiſtories touching the affaires of Britaine, that the reader may be the better ſatiſfied in the truth. But now to returne to the ſequele of the hiſtorie as we find the ſame written by the Britiſh chronclers.

Aurelius Ambroſius. Uter Pendragon.

Vortigerne choſen king of Britains.

After that Conſtantine was murthered (as before ye haue heard) one Uortigerus, or Uortigernus, a man of great authoritie amongſt the Britains, wrought ſo with the reſidue of the Britiſh nobilitie, that Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of their king the fore-remembred Conſtantine, was taken out of the abbie of Wincheſter where he remained, and was ſtreight-

This Vortigerne was duke of the Gewiſſes and Cornewall, as Rad. Ceſtr. reporteth. Gal. Mon.

ſtreightwaies created king, as lawfull inheritour to his father.

We haue heard how Conſtantius was made a monke in his fathers life time, becauſe he was thought to be too ſoft and childiſh in wit, to haue anie publike rule committed to his hands: but for that cauſe ſpeciallie did Vortigerne ſeeke t' aduance him, to the end that the king being not able to gouerne of himſelfe, he might haue the chiefeſt ſwaie, and ſo rule all things as it were vnder him, preparing thereby a way for himſelfe to atteine at length to the kingdome, as by that which followed was more apparentlie perceiued.

*Conſtantius.* *Matt. Weſt. ſaith 445.*

THis Conſtantius then the ſonne of Conſtantine, by the helpe (as before ye haue heard) of Vortigerne, was made king of Britaine, in the yere of our Lord 443. But Conſtantius bare but the name of king: for Vortigerne abuſing his innocencie and ſimple diſcretion to order things as was requiſite, had all the rule of the land, and did what pleaſed him. Whereupon firſt, where there had beene a league concluded betwixt the Britains, Scots and Picts, in the daies of the late king Conſtantine, Vortigerne cauſed the ſame league to be renewed, & waged an hundred Picts, and as manie Scots to be attendant as a gard vpon the kings perſon, diuers of the which (corrupting them with faire promiſes) he procured by ſubtile meanes in the end to murther the king, and immediatlie vpon the deed done, he cauſed the murtherers to be ſtrangled, that they ſhould not afterwards diſcloſe by whoſe procurement they did that deed. Then cauſed he all the reſidue of the Scots and Picts to be apprehended, and as it had beene vpon a zeale to ſee the death of Conſtantius reuerelie puniſhed, he framed ſuch inditements and accuſations againſt them, that chieflie by his meanes (as appeared) the giltleſſe perſons were condemned and hanged, the multitude of the Britiſh people being wonderfullie pleaſed therewith, and giuing great commendations to Vortigerne for that deed. Thus Conſtantius was made awaie in maner as before ye haue heard, after he had reigned (as moſt writers affirme) the ſpace of fiue yeeres.

*Hector Boet.*

*Conſtantius murthered.*

*The ſubtile dealing of Vortigerne.*

After his death was knowne, thoſe that had the bringing vp and cuſtodie of his two yonger brethren, Aurelius Ambroſe, and Uter Pendragon, miſtruſting the wicked intent of Vortigerne, whoſe diſſimulation and miſchieuous meaning by ſome great likelihods they ſuſpected, with all ſpeed got them to the ſea, and fled into litle Britaine, there keeping them till it pleaſed God otherwiſe to prouide for them. But Vortigerne could ſo well diſſemble his craftie workings, and with ſuch conueiance and cloked maner could ſhadow and colour the matter, that moſt men thought and iudged him verie innocent and void of euill meaning: inſomuch that he obteined the fauour of the people ſo greatlie, that he was reputed for the onelie ſtaie and defender of the common wealth. Herevpon it came to paſſe, that when the councell was aſſembled to elect a new king, for ſo much as the other ſonnes of king Conſtantine were not of age ſufficient to rule, Vortigerne himſelfe was choſen, diuers of the nobles (whom he had procured thereto) giuing their voices to this his preferment, as to one beſt deſeruing the ſame in their opinion and iudgement. This Vortigerne, as by indirect meanes and ſiniſter proceedings he aſpired to the regiment, hauing no title thereunto, otherwiſe than as blind fortune vouchſafed him the preferment: ſo when he was poſſeſſed, but not intereſſed in the ſame, he vncaſed the crooked conditions which he had couertlie concealed, and in the end (as by the ſequele you ſhall ſee) did pull ſhame and infamie vpon himſelfe.

*Aurelius Ambroſius. Uter Pendragon.*

*Vortigerne choſen king of Britaine.*

Vortigerne furniſheth the tower with a garriſon, he bewraieth his crueltie, Aurelius and Pendragon brethren to the late king Conſtantius flie into Britaine Armorike, what common abuſes and ſinnes did vniuerſally concurre with a plentifull yeere, the Scots and Picts reuenge the death of their countrimen, Vortigerne is in doubt of his eſtate, the Britains ſend for ſuccour to the Saxons, they come vnder the conduct of Hengiſt and Horſus two brethren, where they are aſſigned to be ſeated, they vanquiſh the Scots, diſagreement in writers touching the Saxons firſt comming into this Iland.

## The ſecond Chapter.

*Vortigerne.*

VOrtigerne, by ſuch diuelliſh meanes and vnconſionable practiſes (as you heare) ſtealing away the hearts of the people, was choſen and made king of Britaine, in the yeere of our Lord 446, in the conſulſhip of Actius, 1197 of Rome, 4 of the 305 Olympiad, 4112 of the world, the dominicall letter going by F, the prime by 10, which fell about the 21 yeere of the emperour Valentinianus, the ſame yeere that Pharamond began to reigne ouer the Frenchmen. Before he was made king, he was earle or duke of the Gewiſſes, a people which held that part of Britaine where afterwards the weſt Saxons inhabited. Now when he had with treaſon, fraud, and great deceit at length obteined that for the which he had long looked, he firſt of all furniſhed the tower of London with a ſtrong garriſon of men of warre.

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*Hector Boet.*

Then ſtudieng to aduance ſuch onelie as he knew to be his ſpeciall friends and fauorers, he ſought by all meanes how to oppreſſe other, of whoſe good will he had neuer ſo litle miſtruſt, and namelie thoſe that were affectionate towards the linage of Conſtantine he hated deadlie, and deuiſed by ſecret meanes which way he might beſt deſtroy them. But theſe his practiſes being at the firſt perceiued, cauſed ſuch as had the gouernance of the two yong gentlemen with all ſpeed to get them ouer (as ye haue heard) into Britaine Armorike, there to remaine out of danger with their vncle the king of that land. Diuers of the Britains alſo, that knew themſelues to be in Vortigerne his diſpleaſure, ſailed ouer dailie vnto them, which thing brought Vortigerne into great doubt and feare of his eſtate.

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*Fabian.*

It chanced alſo the ſame time, that there was great plentie of corne, & ſtore of fruit, the like wherof had not beene ſeene in manie yeeres before, and thereupon inſued riot, ſtrife, lecherie, and other vices verie heinous, & yet accounted as then for ſmall or rather none offenſes at all. Theſe abuſes & great enormities reigned not onelie in the temporaltie, but alſo in the ſpiritualtie and cheefe rulers in the ſame: ſo that euerie man turned the point of his ſpeare (euen as he had conſented of purpoſe) againſt the true and innocent perſon. The commons alſo gaue themſelues to voluptuous luſt, drunkenneſſe, and idle loitering, whereof followed fighting, contention, enuie, and much debate. Of this plentie therefore inſued great pride, and of this abundance no leſſe hautineſſe of mind, whereupon followed great wickedneſſe, lacke of good gouernement and ſober temperancie, and in the necke of theſe as a iuſt puniſhment, death and mortalitie, ſo that in ſome countries ſcarſe the quicke ſufficed to burie the dead.

*Gyldas.*

*Plentie of wealth accompanied with ſtore of ſinnes.*

And for an augmentation of more miſchefe, the Scots and Picts hearing how their countrimen

*Scots and*

Picts inuade the Britains.

through the false suggestion of Uortigerne, had bene wrongfullie and most cruellie put to death at London, began with fire & sword to make sharpe & cruell warre against the Britains, wasting their countrie, spoiling and burning their townes, and giuing them the ouerthrow in a pitcht field, as in the Scotish historie more plainlie appeareth. To be breefe, the Britains were brought into such danger and miserie, that they knew not what way to take for remedie in such present perill, likelie to be ouerrun and vtterlie vanquished of their enimies. In the meane time Uortigerne not onelie troubled with these imminent euils, but fearing also the returne of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrose, and Uter Pendragon, began to consider of the state of things, and esteeming it most sure to worke by aduise, called togither the principall lords and cheefe men of the realme to haue their counsell and opinion, how to proceed in such a weightie businesse: and so debating the matter with them, measured both his owne force, and also the force of his enimies, and according to the condition and state of the time, diligentlie considered and searched out what remedie was to be had and prouided.

At length after they had throughlie pondered all things, the more part of the nobles with the king also were of this mind, that there could be no better way deuised, than to send into Germanie for the Saxons to come to their aid: the which Saxons in that season were highlie renowmed for their valiancie in armes, and manifold aduentures heretofore atchiued. And so forthwith messengers were dispatched into Germanie, the which with monie, gifts, and promises, might procure the Saxons to come to the aid of the Britains against the Scots and Picts. The Saxons glad of this message, as people desirous of intertainment to serue in warres, chosing forth a picked companie of lustie yong men vnder the leading of two brethren Hingist and Horsus, got them aboord into certeine vessels appointed for the purpose, and so with all speed directed their course towards great Britaine.

Gyldas. Wil. Malm. Beda.

The Saxons sent for.

10000 hath Hector Boet. Gyldas and Beda mention onelie but of 3 plates or galles, but Hector Boet. hath 30.

This was in the yeare of our Lord 449, and in the second yeare of Uortigerns reigne, as the most autentike writers both British and English seeme to gather, although the Scotish writers, and name-Hector Boetius do varie herein, touching the iust account of yeares, as to the perusers of the writings aswell of the one as the other may appeare. But others take it to be in the 4 yeare of his reigne: whereto Beda seemeth to agree, who noteth it in the same yeare that Martianus the emperour began to rule the empire, which was (as appeareth by the consularie table) in the consulship of Protogenes and Austerius, and third yeere of Peroneus king of France.

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Wil. Malm.

These Saxons thus arriuing in Britaine, were courteouslie receiued, & hartilie welcomed of king Uortigerne, who assigned to them places in Kent to inhabit, and forthwith led them against the Scots and Picts, which were entred into Britaine, wasting & destroieng the countrie before them. Hereupon comming to ioine in battell, there was a sore fight betwixt the parties for a while. But at length when the Saxons called to their remembrance that the same was the day which should either purchase to them an euerlasting name of manhood by victorie, or else of reproch by repulse, began to renew the fight with such violence, that the enimies not able to abide their fierce charge, were scattered and beaten downe on ech side with great slaughter.

Scots vanquished by the Saxons.

The king hauing gotten this victorie, highlie rewarded the strangers according to their well deserunings, as by whose prowesse he had thus vanquished his enimies, which (as some write) were come as farre as Stamford, and vsed at that time to fight with long darts and speares, whereas the Saxons fought onelie with long swords and ares. Henrie Hunt.

¶ Some haue written that the Saxons were not sent for, but came by chance into the Ile, and the occasion to be this. There was an ancient custome among the English Saxons a people in Germanie, as was also at the first among other nations, that when the multitude of them was so increased, that the countrie was not able to susteine and find them, by commandement of their princes, they should chose out by lots a number of yong and able personages fit for the warrs, which should go forth to seeke them new habitations: and so it chanced to these, that they came into great Britaine, and promised to serue the king for wages in his warres. Gal. Mon.

Hengistus the Saxon shooteth at the *crowne and scepter of the kingdome by* craftie and subtile practises, a great number of *forren people arriue in Britaine for the augmen-* tation of his power, of the faire ladie Rowen his *daughter, whereof Wednesdaie and Fridaie tooke their name,* of the Iutes, Saxons, and Angles, Vortigerne being inflamed with the loue of Hengists daughter forsaketh his owne wife and marrieth hir, Vortigerne giueth Hengist all Kent, the Saxons come ouer by heaps to inhabit the land, the British nobilitie moue the king to auoid them, he is depriued of his kingdome, the miserable destruction made by the Saxons in this land, skirmishes betwixt them and the Britains.

## *The third Chapter.*

Hengist purposeth at the first to conquere the Britains.

NOw Hengistus, being a man of great wit, rare policie, and high wisedome, vnderstanding the kings mind, who wholie trusted to the valiancie of the Saxons, & herewithall perceiuing the fruitfulnesse of the countrie, presentlie began to consider with himselfe, by what wiles and craft he might by little little settle heere, and obteine a kingdome in the Ile, and so establish the same to him and his for euer.

Therefore first he indeuored with all speed possible to sease that part of the countrie, which was giuen him and his people, and to inlarge and furnish it with garisons appointed in places most conuenient. After this he did what he could to persuade the king, that a great power of men might be brought ouer out of Germanie, that the land being fortified with such strength, the enimies might be put in feare, and his subiects holden in rest. The king not foreseeing the hap that was to come, did not despise this counsell tending to the destruction of his kingdome, and so was more aid sent for into Germanie: whereupon now at this second time there arriued heere 16 vessels fraught with people, and at the same time came the ladie Rowen or Ronix (daughter to Hengist) a maid of excellent beautie and comelinesse, able to delight the eies of them that should behold hir, and speciallie to win the heart of Uortigerne with the dart of concupiscence, whereunto he was of nature much inclined, and that did Hengist well perceiue.

Polydor.

Wil. Malm. 18 Forts in plates saith Scotish writers, and 5000 men in the same.

The Saxons call these vessels Ceoles, or Karles, and our old histories Cogenes.

There came ouer into this land at that time, and sone after, three maner of people of the Germane nation, as Saxons, Vitæ or Iutes, and Angles, ouer the which the said Hengist and Horse being brethren, were capteines & rulers, men of right noble parentage in their countrie, as descended of that ancient prince Woden, of whom the English Saxon kings

The Vitæ or Iutæ are called Ibuti. Alex. Nec.

kings do for the more part fetch their pedegrée, as lineallie descended from him, vnto whome also the English people (falselie reputing him for a god) consecrated the fourth daie of the weeke, as they did the first to his wife Frea: so that the same daies toke name of them, the one being called Wodensdaie, and the other Freadaie, which words after in continuance of time by corruption of speech were somewhat altered, though not much, as from Wodensdaie, to Wednesdaie, and from Freadaie to Frioaie. The foresaid Woden was father to Vecta, the father of Wetgilsus that was father to the foresaid Hengilstus and Horsus.

Wednesdaie, and Fridaie, whereof they came. Beda

But now to rehearse further touching those three people which at this time came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie. Of the Vites or Jutes (as Beda recordeth) are the Kentishmen descended, and the people of the Ile of Wight, with those also that inhabit ouer against the same Ile. Of the Sarons came the east, the south, & the west Sarons. Moreouer, of the Angles proceeded the east Angles, the middle Angles or Mercies, and the Northerne men.

Cor. Tacitus.

That these Angles were a people of Germanie, it appeareth also by Cornelius Tacitus, who called them Anglij, which word is of three syllables (as Polydor saith:) but some write it Angli, with two syllables. And that these Angli, or Anglij were of no small force and authoritie in Germanie before their comming into this land, maie appeare, in that they are numbred amongst the twelue nations there, which had lawes and ancient ordinances apart by themselues, according to the which the state of their common wealth was gouerned, they being the same and one people with the Thuringers, as in the title of the old Thuringers lawes we find recorded, which is thus: *Lex Angliorum & Werinorum, hoc est Thuringorum*, The law of the Angles and Werinians that is to saie the Thuringers, which Thuringers are a people in Saxonie, as in the description of that countrie it maie appeare.

Polydor.

But now to the matter. Hengist perceiuing that his people were highlie in Vortigernes fauour, began to handle him craftilie, deuising by what means he might bring him in loue with his daughter Ronir, or Rowen, or Ronowen (as some write) which he beléeued well would easilie be brought to passe, because he vnderstood that the king was much giuen to sensuall lust, which is the thing that often blindeth wise mens vnderstanding, and maketh them to dote, and to lose their perfect wits: yea, and oftentimes bringeth them to destruction, though by such pleasant poison they féele no bitter taste, till they be brought to the extreame point of confusion in déed.

Rowen, or Ronowen Hengists daughter. Wil. Malm.

A great supper therefore was prepared by Hengist, at the which it pleased the king to be present, and appointed his daughter, when euerie man began to be somewhat merrie with drinke, to bring in a cup of gold full of good and pleasant wine, and to present it to the king, saieng; Wassail. Which she did in such comelie and decent maner, as she that knew how to do it well inough, so as the king maruelled greatlie thereat, and not vnderstanding what she ment by that salutation, demanded what it signified. To whom it was answered by Hengist, that she wished him well, and the meaning of it was, that he should drinke after hir, ioining thereto this answer, Drinke haile. Whereupon the king (as he was informed) toke the cup at the damsels hand, and dranke.

Gal. Mon.

Wassail, what it signifieth.

Finallie, this yong ladie behaued hir selfe with such pleasant words, comelie countenance, and amiable grace, that the king beheld hir so long, till he felt himselfe so farre in loue with hir person, that he burned in continuall desire to inioy the same: insomuch that shortlie after he forsoke his owne wife, by the which he had three sonnes, named Vortimerus, Catagrinus, and Pascentius, and required of Hengist to haue his daughter, the said Rowen, or Ronowen in mariage. Hengist at the first seemed strange to grant to his request, and excused the matter, for that his daughter was not of estate and dignitie meet to be matched with his maiestie. But at length as it had béene halfe against his will he consented, and so the mariage was concluded & solemnized, all Kent being assigned vnto Hengist in reward, the which countrie was before that time gouerned by one Gourongus (though not with most equall iustice) which Gourongus was subiect vnto Vortigerne, as all other the potentats of the Ile were.

Polydor. Fabian. Wil. Malm.

This mariage and liberalitie of the king towards the strangers much offended the minds of his subiects, and hastened the finall destruction of the land. For the Sarons now vnderstanding the affinitie had betwixt the king and Hengist, came so fast ouer to inhabit héere, that it was wonder to consider in how short a time such a multitude could come together: so that bicause of their great number and approued puissance in warres, they began to be a terrour to the former inhabitants the Britains. But Hengist being no lesse politike in counsell than valiant in armes, abusing the kings lacke of discretion, to serue his owne turne, perswaded him to call out of Germanie his brother Occa and his sonne named Ebusa, being men of great valure, to the end that as Hengist defended the land in the south part: so might they keepe backe the Scots in the north.

Wil. Malm. Gal. saith he was Hengists sonne, and Ebusa his vncles sonne.

Hereupon by the kings consent, they came with a power out of Germanie, and coasting about the land, they sailed to the Iles of Orknie, and sore vexed the people there, and likewise the Scots and Picts also, and finallie arriued in the north parts of the realme, now called Northumberland, where they setled themselues at that present, and so continued there euer after: but none of them taking vpon him the title of king, till about 99 yéeres after their first comming into that countrie, but in the meane time remaining as subiects vnto the Saxon kings of Kent. After their arriuall in that prouince, they oftentimes fought with the old inhabitants there, and ouercame them, chasing away such as made resistance, and appeased the residue by receiuing them vnder allegiance.

Occa and Ebusa leaders of Saxons. Wil. Malm. de Regib.

When the nobles of Britaine saw and perceiued in what danger the land stood, by the dailie repaire of the huge number of Sarons into the same, they first consulted togither, and after resorting to the king, moued him that some order might be taken for the auoiding of them, or the more part of them, least they should with their power and great multitude vtterlie oppresse the British nation. But all was in vaine, for Vortigerne so estéemed and highlie fauoured the Sarons, and namelie by reason of the great loue which he bare to his wife, that he little regarded his owne nation, no nor yet anie thing estéemed his owne naturall kinsmen and chiefe friends, by reason whereof the Britains in fine depriued him of all kinglie honour, after that he had reigned 16 yéeres, and in his stéed crowned his sonne Vortimer.

Fabian. The great numbers of strangers suspected to the Britains. Vortigerne deprined.

Gyldas and Beda make no mention of Vortimer, but declare that after the Sarons were receiued into this land, there was a couenant made betwixt them and the Britains, that the Sarons should defend the countrie from the inuasion of enimies by their knightlie force: and that in consideration therof, the Britains should find them prouision of vittels: wherewith they held them contented for a time. But afterwards they began to pike quarrels, as though they were not sufficientlie furnished of their due proportion of vittels, threatening that if they were

Gyldas. Beda. H. Hunt.

were not prouided more largelie thereof, they would surelie spoile the countrie. So that without deferring of time, they performed their words with effect of deeds, beginning in the east part of the Ile, & with fire and sword passed forth, wasting and destroieng the countrie, till they came to the vttermost part of the west: so that from sea to sea, the land was wasted and destroied in such cruell and outragious manner, that neither citie, towne, nor church was regarded, but all committed to the fire: the priests slaine and murthered euen afore the altars, and the prelats with the people without anie reuerence of their estate or degrée dispatched with fire and sword, most lamentablie to behold.

The miserable destruction made by the Saxons in this land.

Manie of the Britains séeing the demeanour of the Saxons, fled to the mounteins, of the which diuers being apprehended, were cruellie slaine, and other were glad to come forth and yéeld themselues to eternall bondage, for to haue relése of meate and drinke to asswage their extremitie of hunger. Some other got them out of the realme into strange lands, so to saue themselues; and others abiding still in their countrie, kept them within the thicke woods and craggie rocks, whither they were fled, liuing there a more wretched life, in great feare and vnquietnesse of mind.

But after that the Saxons were departed and withdrawne to their houses, the Britains began to take courage to them againe, issuing forth of those places where they had lien hid, and with one consent calling for aid at Gods hand, that they might be preserued from vtter destruction, they began vnder the conduct of their leader Aurelius Ambrose, to prouoke the Saxons to battell, and by the helpe of God they obteined victorie, according to their owne desires. And from thence forth, one while the Britains, and an other while the Saxons were victors. So that in this British people, God (according to his accustomed maner) as it were present Israell, tried them from time to time, whether they loued him or no, vntill the yeare of the siege of Badon hill, where afterwards no small slaughter was made of the enimies: which chanced the same yeare in the which Gyldas was borne (as he himselfe witnesseth) being about the 44 yeare after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine.

Gyldas was borne in the yeare of our Lord 493.

Thus haue Gyldas & Beda (following by likelihood the authoritie of the same Gyldas) written of these first warres begun betwéene the Saxons and Britains. But now to go forth with the historie, according to the order of our chronicles, as we do find recorded touching the doings of Uortimer that was elected king (as ye haue heard) to gouerne in place of his father Uortigerne.

Vortimer is created king in the roome *of his father Vortigerne, he giueth the* Saxons sore and sharpe battels, a combat *fought betweene Catigerne the brother of Vorti*mer and Horsus the brother of Hengist, wherein *they were both slaine, the Britains driue the Saxons into the* Ile of Tenet, Rowen the daughter of Hengist procureth Vortimer to be poisoned, the Saxons returne into Germanie as some writers report, they ioine with the Scots and Picts against the Britains and discomfit them.

## *The fourth Chapter.*

*Vortimer.* Fabian. Galf. Mon. Matth. West. saith 454. 464

THis Uortimer being eldest sonne to Uortigerne, by the common assent of the Britains was made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 464, which was in the fourth yeare of the emperour Leo the first, and about the first yeare of Childericus king of France, as our common account runneth, which is far disagréeing from that whereof W. Harison doth speake in his chronologie, who noteth Uortigerne to be deposed in the 8 after his exaltation to the crowne, 454 of Christ, and 5 current after the comming of the Saxons, which concurreth with the 4420 of the world, and 8 of Peroneus, as by his chronologie doth more at large appeare.

But to proceed, Uortimer being thus aduanced to the gouernment of the realme, in all hast made sore warre against the Saxons, and gaue vnto them a great battell vpon the riuer of Derwent, where he had of them the vpper hand. And the second time he fought with them at a place called Episford, or Aglisthrop, in the which incounter Catagrine or Catigernus the brother of Uortimer, and Horsus the brother of Hengist, after a long combat betwixt them two, either of them slue other: but the Britains obteined the field (as saith the British historie.) The third battell Uortimer fought with them nére to the sea side, where also the Britains chased the Saxons, & droue them into the Ile of Tenet. The fourth battell was stricken néere to a more called Colemore, the which was sore fought by the Saxons, and long continued with great danger to the Britains, because the foresaid more inclosed a part of their host so stronglie, that the Britains could not approch to them, being beaten off with the enimies shot, albeit in the end the Saxons were put to flight, & manie of them drowned and swallowed vp in the same more. Beside these foure principall battels, Uortimer had diuers other conflicts with the Saxons, as in Kent and at Tetford in Norfolke, also nére to Colchester in Essex: for he left not till he had bereft them of the more part of all such possessions as before time they had got, so that they were constrained to kéepe them within the Ile of Tenet, where he oftentimes assailed them with such ships as he then had. When Ronowen the daughter of Hengist perceiued the great losse that the Saxons susteined by the martiall prowesse of Uortimer, she found means that within a while the said Uortimer was poisoned, after he had ruled the Britains by the space of 6 or 7 yeares and od moneths.

The riuer of Derwent. Episford. The Ile of Tenet. Hen. Hunt. Colemore. Polydor. Fabian. Tetford in Norfolke. Colchester. Will. Malmes. Sigebertus.

¶ By the British historie it should séeme, that Uortimer before his death handled the Saxons so hardlie, kéeping them besieged within the Ile of Tenet, till at length they were constrained to sue for licence to depart home into Germanie in safetie: and the better to bring this to pas, they sent Uortigerne, (whome they had kept still with them in all these battels) vnto his sonne Uortimer, to be a meane for the obteining of their sute. But whilest this treatie was in hand, they got them into their ships, and leauing their wiues and children behind them, returned into Germanie. Thus far Gal Mon. But how vnlikelie this is to be true, I will not make anie further discourse, but onelie refer euerie man to that which in old autentike historiographers of the English nation is found recorded, as in Will. Malmes. Henr. Hunt. Marianus, and others: vnto whome in these matters concerning the doings betwixt the Saxons and Britains, we maie vndoubtedlie and safelie giue most credit.

The Britains discomfited by the Scots.

William Malmes. writing of this Uortimer, or Guortigerne, and of the warres which he had against the Saxons, varieth in a maner altogither from Geffrey of Monmouth, as by his words here following ye maie perceiue. Guortimer, the sonne of Uortimer (saith he) thinking not good long to dissemble the matter, for that he saw himselfe and his countriemen the Britains preuented by the craft of the English Saxons, set his full purpose to driue them

them out of the realme, and kindled his father to the like attempt. He therefore being the author and procurer, ſeuen yeares after their firſt comming into this land, the league was broken, and by the ſpace of 20 yeares they fought oftentimes togither in manie light incounters, but foure times they fought puiſſance againſt puiſſance in open field: in the firſt battell they departed with like fortune, whileſt the one part, that is to meane, the Saxons loſt their capteine Horſe that was brother to Hengiſt, and the Britains loſt Catigerne an other of Vortigerns ſonnes.

Hengiſt had the victorie in this battell ſaith Ra. Hig. Horſe and Catigern ſlaine.

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In the other battels, when the Engliſhmen went euer awaie with the vpper hand, at length a peace was concluded, Guortimer being taken out of this world by courſe of fatall death, the which much differing from the ſoft and milde nature of his father, right noblie would haue gouerned the realme, if God had ſuffered him to haue liued. But theſe battels which Uortimer gaue to the Saxons (as before is mentioned) ſhould appeare by that which ſome writers haue recorded, to haue chanced before the ſuppoſed time of Uortimers or Guortimers attening to the crowne, about the 6 or 7 yeare after the firſt comming of the Saxons into this realme with Hengiſt. And hereto W. Harriſon giueth his conſent, referring the mutuall ſlaughter of Horſus and Catigerne to the 6 years of Martianus, 455 of Chriſt. Polydor. Howbeit Polydor Virgil ſaith, that Uortimer ſucceeded his father, and that after his fathers deceaſſe the Engliſh Saxons, of whome there was a great number then in the Ile, comming ouer daylie like ſwarmes of bees, and hauing in poſſeſſion not onelie Kent, but alſo the north parts of the realme towards Scotland, togither with a great part of the weſt countrie, thought it now a fit time to attempt the fortune of warre: and firſt therefore concluding a league with the Scots and Picts, vpon the ſudden they turned their weapons points againſt the Britains, and moſt cruellie purſued them, as though they had receiued ſome great iniurie at their hands, and no benefit at all. The Britains were maruelouſlie abaſhed herewith, perceiuing that they ſhould haue to do with Hengiſt, a capteine of ſo high renowme, and alſo with their ancient enimies the Scots and Picts, thus all at one time, and that there was no remedie but either they muſt fight or elſe become ſlaues. Wherefore at length, dread of bondage ſtirred vp manhood in them, ſo that they aſſembled togither, and boldlie began to reſiſt their enimies on eche ſide: but being too weake, they were eaſilie diſcomfited and put to flight, ſo that all hope of defenſe by force of armes being vtterlie taken awaie, as men in deſpaire to preuaile againſt their enimies, they fled as ſheepe ſcattered abroad, ſome following one capteine and ſome another, getting them into deſart places, woods and mareſh grounds, and moreouer left ſuch townes and fortreſſes as were of no notable ſtrength, as a preie vnto their enimies.

Polydor.

The Britains diſcomfited by the Scots.

Thus ſaith Polydor Virgil of the firſt breaking of the warres betwixt the Saxons and the Britains, which chanced not (as ſhould appeare by that which he writeth thereof) till after the death of Uortigerne. Howbeit he denieth not that Hengiſt at his firſt comming got ſeates for him and his people within the countie of Kent, and there began to inhabit. This ought not to be forgotten, that king Uortimer (as Sigebertus hath written) reſtored the chriſtian religion after he had vanquiſhed the Saxons, in ſuch places where the ſame was decaied by the enimies inuaſion, whoſe drift was not onelie to ouerrun the land with violence, but alſo to erect their owne laws and liberties without regard of clemencie.

Sigebertus.

Vortigerne is reſtored to his regiment, *in what place he abode during the time of* his ſonnes reigne, Hengiſt with his Saxons re-*enter the land, the Saxons and Britains are ap-*pointed to meet on Salisburie plaine, the priuie *treaſon of Hengiſt and his power whereby the Bri-*tains were ſlaine like ſheepe, the manhood of Edol earle of Gloceſter, Vortigerne is taken priſoner, Hengiſt is in poſſeſſion of three prouinces of this land, a deſcription of Kent.

## *The fift Chapter.*

After all theſe bloudie broiles and tempeſtuous tumults ended, Uortigerne was reſtored and ſet againe into the kingdome of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 471. All the time of his ſonnes reigne, he had remained in the parties now called Wales, where (as ſome write) in that meane time he builded a ſtrong caſtle called Generon, or Guaneren, in the weſt ſide of Wales nere to the riuer of Guana, vpon a mountaine called Cloaricus, which ſome referre to be builded in his ſecond returne into Wales, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. And it is ſo much the more likelie, for that an old chronicle, which Fabian had ſight of, affirmeth, that Uortigerne was kept vnder the rule of certeine gouernors to him appointed in the towne of Caerlegion, and behaued himſelfe in ſuch commendable ſort towards his ſonne, in aiding him with his counſell, and otherwiſe in the meane ſeaſon whileſt his ſonne reigned, that the Britains by reaſon thereof began ſo to fauour him, that after the death of Uortimer they made him king againe.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 461.

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Caerleon Arwiſke.

Shortlie after that Uortigerne was reſtored to the rule of the kingdom, Hengiſt aduertiſed thereof, returned into the land with a mightie armie of Saxons, whereof Uortigerne being admoniſhed, aſſembled his Britains, and with all ſpeed made towards him. When Hengiſt had knowledge of the huge hoſt of the Britains that was comming againſt him, he required to come to a communication with Uortigerne, which requeſt was granted, ſo that it was concluded, that on Maie day a certeine number of Britains, and as manie of the Saxons ſhould meet togither vpon the plaine of Saliſburie. Hengiſt hauing deuiſed a new kind of treaſon, when the day of their appointed meeting was come, cauſed euerie one of his allowed number ſecretlie to put into his hoſe a long knife (where it was ordeined that no man ſhould bring anie weapon with him at all) and that at the verie inſtant when this watchword ſhould be vttered by him, Nempt your ſexes, then ſhould euerie of them plucke out his knife, and ſlea the Britaine that chanced to be next to him, except the ſame ſhould be Uortigerne, whom he willed to be apprehended, but not ſlaine.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 4000. He might eaſilie returne, for except I be deceiued he was neuer driuen out after he had once ſet foot within this Ile.

Nempt your ſexes, what it were meſſe

At the day aſſigned, the king with his appointed number or traine of the Britains, miſtruſting nothing leſſe than anie ſuch maner of vnfaithfull dealing, came vnto the place in order before preſcribed, without armor or weapon, where he found Hengiſt readie with his Saxons, the which receiued the king with amiable countenance and in moſt louing ſort: but after they were a little entred into communication, Hengiſt meaning to accompliſh his deuiſed purpoſe, gaue the watchword, immediatlie whereupon the Saxons drew out their kniues, and ſuddenlie fell on the Britains, and ſlue them as ſheepe being fallen within the danger of wolues. For the Britains

There died of the nobles of Britaine 460. as Gal. ſaith.

Britains had no weapons to defend themselues, except anie of them by his strength and manhood got the knife of his enimie.

Ran.Cestren. Fabian. Amongst other of the Britains, there was one Edol earle of Gloucester, or (as other say) Chester, which got a stake out of an hedge, or else where, and with the same so defended himselfe and laid about him, that he slue 17 of the Saxons, and escaped to the towne of Ambrie, now called Salisburie, and so saued his owne life. Vortiger was taken and kept as prisoner by Hengist, till he was constreined to deliuer vnto Hengist three prouinces or countries of this realme, that is to say, Kent & Essex, or as some write, that part where the south Saxons after did inhabit, as Sussex and other: the third was the countrie where the Estangles planted themselues, which was in Norfolke and Suffolke. Then Hengist being in possession of those three prouinces, suffered Vortigerne to depart, & to be at his libertie.

Gal.saith 70. Matth.West. Ran.Cestren.

Wil. Malm. ¶ William Malmesburie writeth somewhat otherwise of this taking of Vortigerne, during whose reigne, after the decease of his sonne Vortimer, nothing was attempted against the Saxons, but in the meane time Hengist by colorable craft procured his sonne in law Vortigerne to come to a banket at his house, with three hundred other Britains, and when he had made them well and warme with often quassing and emptieng of cups, and of purpose touched euerie of them with one bitter tawnt or other, they first fell to multiplieng of malicious words, and after to blowes that the Britains were slaine, euerie mothers sonne so yelding vp their ghosts euen amongst their pots. The king himselfe was taken, and to redeeme himselfe out of prison, gaue to the Saxons three prouinces, and so escaped out of bondage.

Thus by what meane soeuer it came to passe, truth it is (as all writers agree) that Hengist got possession of Kent, and of other countries in this realme, and began to reigne there as absolute lord & gouernor, in the yere of our Lord (as some write) 476, about the fift yere of Vortigerns last reigne: but after other, which take the beginning of this kingdome of Kent to be when Hengist had first gift thereof, the same kingdome began in the yere 455, and conteined the countrie that stretcheth from the east Ocean vnto the riuer of Thames, hauing on the southeast Southerie, and vpon the west London, vpon the northeast the riuer of Thames aforesaid, and the countrie of Essex.

476.

Kingdome of Kent.

The heptarchie or seuen kingdoms of *this land, Hengist causeth Britaine to be* peopled with Saxons, the decaie of Christian *religion, the Pelagians with their hereticall and* false doctrine infect the Britains, a synod summoned *in Gallia for the redresse thereof, the Scots assist the Britains* against the Saxons, who renew their league with the Picts, Germane and Lupus two bishops of Germanie procure the British armie to be newlie christened, the terror that the Britains vnder bishop Germans fortunate conduct draue into the Saxons by the outcrie of Alleluia, and got the victorie, bishop Germane departeth out of the land, and to redresse the Pelagian heresie commeth againe at the clergies request, he confirmeth his doctrine by a miracle, banisheth the Pelagians out of the land, the death of Germane, murther requited with murther.

## *The vj. Chapter.*

HEngist and all other the Saxon kings which ruled (as after shall appeare) in seuen parts of this realme, are called by writers Reguli, that is, little kings or rulers of some small dominion: so that Hengist is counted a little king, who when he had got into his hands the foresaid three prouinces, he caused more Saxons to come into Britaine, and bestowed them in places abroad in the countrie, by reason whereof the christian religion greatlie decaied within the land, for the Saxons being pagans, did what they could to extinguish the faith of Christ, and to plant againe in all places their heathenish religion, and worshipping of false gods: and not onelie hereby was the true faith of the Christians brought in danger dailie to decaie, but also the erronious opinions of the Pelagians greatlie preuailed here amongst the Britains, by meanes of such vnsound preachers as in that troublesome season did set forth false doctrine amongst the people, without all maner of reprehension.

The decaie of christian religion.

Beda. Certeine yeers before the comming of the Saxons, that heresie began to spread within this land verie much, by the lewd industrie of one Leporius Agricola, the sonne of Seuerus Sulpitius (as Bale saith) a bishop of that lore. But Pelagius the author of this heresie was borne in Wales, and held opinion that a man might obteine saluation by his owne free will and merit, and without assistance of grace, as he that was borne without originall sinne, &c.

The armie of the Britains newlie christened.

This erronious doctrine being taught therefore, and mainteined in this tromblesome time of warres with the Saxons, sore disquieted the godlie minded men amongst the Britains, who not meaning to receiue it, nor yet able well to confute the craftie and wicked persuasions vsed by the professors thereof, thought good to send ouer into Gallia, requiring of the bishops there, that some godlie and profound learned men might be sent ouer from thence into this land, to defend the cause of the true doctrine against the naughtie teachers of so blasphemous an error. Wherupon the bishops of Gallia sore lamenting the miserable state of the Britains, and desirous to relieue their present need, speciallie in that case of religion, called a synod, and therein taking counsell to consider who were most meet to be sent, it was decreed by all their consents in the end, that one Germane the bishop of Aurerre, and Lupus bishop of Trois should passe ouer into Britaine to confirme the Christians there in the faith of the celestiall grace. And so those two vertuous learned men taking their iournie, finallie arriued in Britaine, though not without some danger by sea, through stormes & rage of winds, stirred (as hath beene thought of the superstitious) by the malice of wicked spirits, who purposed to haue hindered their procéedings in this their good and well purposed iournie. After they were come ouer, they did so much good with conuincing the wicked argunments of the aduersaries of the truth, by the inuincible power of the word of God, and holinesse of life, that those which were in the wrong waie, were sone brought into the right path againe.

Beda. A synod call in Gallia.

Germanus and Lupus.

Beda. About the same time also, one Palladius was sent from Celestinus bishop of Rome, vnto the Scots, to instruct them in the faith of Christ, and to purge them from the heresie of the said Pelagius. This Palladius exhorted Constantinus the king of Scots, that in no wise he should aid the Saxons being infidels against the Britains: whose exhortation take so good effect, that the said Constantinus did not onelie forbeare to assist the Saxons, but contrarilie holpe the Britains in their warres against them, which thing did maintaine the state of the Britains for a time from falling into vtter ruine and decaie. In the meane time, the Saxons renewed their league with the Picts, so that their powers being ioined togither, they began afresh to make sore warres vpon the Britains,

Palladius.

Constantine king of Scots.

H. Hunt. Beda.

Alleluia.

Matth. West. 448.

Britains, who of neceſſitie were conſtreined to aſſemble an armie, & miſtruſting their owne ſtrength, required aid of the two biſhops, Germane and Lupus, who hafting forward with all ſpeed came into the armie, bringing with them no ſmall hope of good lucke to all the Britains there being aſſembled. This was done in Kent.

Now ſuch was the diligence of the biſhops, that (the people being inſtructed with continuall preaching) in renouncing the error of the Pelagians, earneſtlie came by troops to receiue the grace of God offred in baptiſme, ſo that on Eaſter day which then inſued, the more part of the armie was baptiſed, and ſo went forth againſt the enimies, who hearing thereof, made haſt towards the Britains, in hope to ouercome them at pleaſure. But their approch being knowne, biſhop Germane toke vpon him the leading of the Britiſh hoſt, and ouer againſt the paſſage thorough the which the enimies were appointed to come, he choſe forth a faire vallie incloſed with high mounteins, and within the ſame he placed his new waſhed armie. And when he ſaw the enimies now at hand, he commanded that euerie man with one generall voice ſhould anſwer him, crieng aloud the ſame crie that he ſhould begin. So that euen as the enimies were readie to giue the charge vpon the Britains, ſuppoſing that they ſhould haue taken them at vnwares, and before anie warning had been giuen, ſuddenlie biſhop Germane and the prieſts with a loud and ſhrill voice called Alleluia, thrice: and therewith all the multitudes of the Britains with one voice cried the ſame crie, with ſuch a loud ſhout, that the Saxons were therewith ſo amazed and aſtonied (the echo from the rocks and hils adioining, redoubling in ſuch wiſe the crie) that they thought not onelie the rocks and cliffs had fallen vpon them, but that euen the ſkie it ſelfe had broken in peeces and come tumbling downe vpon their heads: herewith therefore throwing awaie their weapons, they toke them to their feet, and glad was he that might get to be formoſt in running awaie. Manie of them for haſt were drowned in a riuer which they had to paſſe. Polydor taketh that riuer to be Trent. The Britains hauing thus vanquiſhed their enimies, gathered the ſpoile at good leaſure, & gaue God thanks for the victorie thus got without bloud, for the which the holie biſhops alſo triumphed as beſt became them. Now after they had ſetled all things in good quiet within the Ile, as was thought expedient, they returned into Gallia or France, from whence they came (as is before rehearſed.)

The armie of the Britains newlie chriſtened.

Alleluia.

Marth. Weſt. 448.

By one author it ſhould appeare that this battell was wone againſt the Scots and Picts, about the yeere of our Lord 448, a little before the comming of the Saxons into this land vnder Hengiſt, in which yeere Germane firſt came hither to weed out the hereſie of Pelagius, as by the ſame author more at large is affirmed. Howbeit, ſome chronographers alledge out of Proſper & other, and note the firſt comming of Germane to haue been in the 429 yeere of Chriſt, and vnder the conſulſhip of Florentius and Dionyſius. And this ſhould ſeeme to agree with the truth, for that after ſome, the foreſaid Germane ſhould die at Rauenna, about the yeere of our Lord 450, as Vincentius noteth, which was the verie yeere of the comming of the Saxons: notwithſtanding, when or whereſoeuer he died, it was not long after his returne into Gallia, vpon his firſt iournie made hither into this land, who no ſooner obteined the victorie before mentioned, but word was brought againe vnto him, that eftſoones the hereſie of the Pelagians was ſpread abroad in Britaine, and therefore all the prieſts or cleargie made requeſt to him that it might ſtand with his pleaſure to come ouer againe, and defend the cauſe of true religion which he had before confirmed.

Hereupon biſhop Germane granted ſo to do, and therefore taking with him one Seuerus (that was diſciple vnto Lupus, and ordeined at that time biſhop of Triers) toke the ſea, and came againe into Britaine, where he found the multitude of the people ſtedfaſt in the ſame beliefe wherein he had left them, & perceiued the fault to reſt in a few: whereupon inquiring out the authors, he condemned them to exile (as it is written) and with a manifeſt miracle by reſtoring a yoong man that was lame (as they ſaie) vnto the right vſe of his limbs, he confirmed his doctrine. Then followed preaching to perſuade amendment of errors, and by the generall conſent of all men, the authors of the wicked doctrine being baniſhed the land, were deliuered vnto biſhop Germane and to his fellow Seuerus, to conuey them away in their companie vnto the parties beyond the ſeas, that the region might ſo be deliuered of further danger, and they receiue the benefit of due amendment.

Germane returneth againe into Britaine.

By this meanes it came to paſſe, that the true faith continued in Britaine ſound and perfect a long time after. Things being thus ſet in good order, thoſe holie men returned into their countries, the forenamed biſhop Germane went to Rauenna to ſue for peace to be granted vnto the people of Britaine Armorike, where being receiued of the emperor Valentinian and his mother Placida in moſt reuerend maner, he departed in that citie out of this tranſitorie life, to the eternall ioies of heauen. His bodie was afterwards conueied to the citie of Aurerre, where he had beene biſhop with great opinion of holines for his ſincere doctrine and pure and innocent life. Shortlie after was the emperour Valentinian ſlaine by the friends of that noble man named Aetius, whome he had before cauſed to be put to death.

Anno 450, as Vincentius noteth, lib. 20. ca. 15.

The emperour Valentinian ſlaine.

¶ By this it maie appeere, that biſhop Germane came into this realme both the firſt and ſecond time, whileſt as well Hengiſt, as alſo Vortigerne were liuing: for the ſaid Valentinian was murthered about the yeere of our Lord 454, where the ſaid kings liued and reigned long after that time, as maie appeere both before and after in this preſent booke.

454

## What part of the realme the Saxons *poſſeſſed, Vortigerne buildeth a caſtell in* Wales for his ſafetie, Aurelius and Vter both *brethren returne into Britaine, they aſſalt the* vſurper Vortigerne, and with wild fire burne both *him, his people, his fort, and all the furniture in the ſame,* Vortigerne committeth inceſt with his owne daughter, feined and ridiculous woonders of S. Germane, a ſheepherd made a king.

# *The ſeuenth Chapter.*

NOw will we returne to Vortigerne, of whome we read in the Britiſh hiſtorie, that after the Saxons had conſtreined him to deliuer into their hands a great part of the ſouth and eaſt parts of the realme, ſo that they had in poſſeſſion London, Yorke, Lincolne, & Wincheſter, with other cities & townes, he not onelie fearing their puiſſance, but alſo the returne of Aurelius Ambroſius, and his brother Vter pendragon, withdrew him into Wales, where he began to build a ſtrong caſtell vpon a mountaine called Breigh, or after other Cloaric, neere to the riuer of Guana, which is in the weſt ſide of Wales in a place within the compaſſe of the ſame hill called Generon

Galfrid. Caxton. Fabian. Polychron.

Mount Erir he calleth it in one place of his booke.

or Gueineren. Of the building of this castell, and of the hinderance in erecting the same, with the monstrous birth of Merlin and his knowledge in prophesieng, the British historiés tell a long processe, the which in Caxton, and in Galfrides bookes is also set forth, as there ye maie see: but for that the same seemeth not of such credit as deserueth to be registred in ante sound historie, we haue with silence passed it ouer.

Aurelius and Uter brethren returne into Britaine.

Whilest Uortigerne was busied in building of this castell, the two forsaid brethren Aurelius and Uter prepared a naule of ships, and an armie of men, by helpe of such their kinsmen and frends as they found in Britaine Armorike, and so passed the sea, and landed at Totnesse: whereof when the Britains were aduertised, the which were scattered abroad and seuered in diuers parties and countries, they drew vnto the said two brethren with all speed that might be. When Aurelius and his brother Uter perceiued that they were sufficientlie furnished of people, they marched forth towards Wales against Uortigerne, who hauing knowledge of their approch,

Uortigerne burnt to death.

had fortified his castell verie strongly with men, munition and vittels, but yet all auailed him nothing, for in the end after his enimies had giuen diuers assaults to the said castell, they found meanes with

wild fire not yet inuented as some think.

wild fire to burne it downe to the earth, and so consumed it by fire togither with the king, and all other that were within it.

Thus did Uortigerne end his life (as in the British historie is recorded.) Much euill is reported of him by the same historie, and also by other writers, and among other things it is written, that he should lie by his owne daughter, and of hir beget a sonne, in hope that kings should come of him, and therefore he was excommunicated by S. Germane. It is also said, that when the same S. Germane came into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) this Uortigerne on a time should denie the same S. Germane harbour: but one that kept the kings heards of cattell receiued him into his house, and lodged him, and slue a calfe for his supper, which calfe after supper was ended, S. Germane restored againe to life: and on the morrow by the ordinance of God, he caused Uortigerne to be deposed from his kinglie estate, and toke the heardman and made him king. But Ranulfe Hig. in his Polychronicon, alledging Gyldas for his author, saith that this chand to a ceking that ruled in Powsey, whose name was Bulie, and not to Uortigerne: so that the successors of that Bulie reigning in that side of Wales, came of the linage of the same heardman.

Polychron.

A feined tale of S. Germane.

A cauish narration.

H. Hunt.

Moreouer it hath beene said (as one writer recordeth) that when Uortigerne refused to heare the preaching of saint Germane, and fled from him as he would haue instructed him, one night there fell fire from heauen vpon the castell wherein the king was lodged, and so the king being destroied with the fall of the house and the fire togither, was neuer after seene. ¶ But these are fables, and therfore I passe them ouer, hoping that it shall suffice to shew here with what stuffe our old historiographers haue farced vp their huge volumes, not so much regarding the credit of an historie, as satisfieng the vanitie of their owne fond fantasies, studieng with a pretended skilfulnesse to cast glorious colours vpon lies, that the readers (whom they presupposed either ignorant or credulous) would be led away with a flowing streme of words void of reason and common sense. Which kind of men knew not (belike) that the nature of an historie (defined to be *Rei verè gestæ memoria*) will not beare the burthen or lode of a lie, sith the same is too heauie: otherwise they would haue deposed matters conspiring with the truth.

Aurelius Ambrosius the brother to *Constantius created king of Britaine*, he incountereth with the Saxons, Hengist their *generall is beheaded*, *Occa his sonne submitteth* himselfe to Aurelius, he putteth all the Saxons *out of the land, repaireth places decaied, and restoreth religion*, the memorable monument of the stones that are so much spoken of on Salisburie plaine, the exploits of Pascentius Vortigerns yongest sonne, Aurelius lieth sicke, Uter goeth against Pascentius and giueth him the ouerthrow, Aurelius is poisoned of a counterfet moonke, the place of his buriall, Polydor Virgils report of the acts and deeds of Aurelius against the Saxons, Hengist is slaine, Osca and Occa his two sonnes make a fowle spoile of the west part of the land, Vortimer dieth, the disagreement of writers touching matters interchangeablie passed betwene the Britains and Saxons.

## The eight Chapter.

*Aurelius Ambrosius.*

AUrelius Ambrose, the second sonne of king Constantine, brother to Constantius, and murthered by the treason of Uortigerne (as before ye haue heard) was made king of Britaine in the yeere of our Lord 481, which was about the third yeere of the reigne of the emperour Zeno, and the 23 of Childericus king of France, Odocer king of the Herulians then vsurping the gouernment of Italie. When this Aurelius Ambrosius had dispatched Uortigerne, and was now established king of the Britains, he made towards Yorke, and passing the riuer of Humber, incountred with the Saxons at a place called Maesbell, and ouerthrew them in a strong battell, from the which as Hengist was fleeing to haue saued himselfe, he was taken by Edoll earle of Glocester, or (as some say) Chester, and by him led to Conningsborow, where he was beheaded by the counsell of Eldad then bishop of Colchester.

Matt. West. saith 466.

Gal. Mon.

Hengist taken and beheaded.

Howbeit there be some that write, how that Hengist was taken at another battell fought vpon the riuer of Dune, in the yeere of our Lord 489, and not in the chase of the battell which was fought at Maelbell in the yeere 487, as the same authors do alledge. Occa the son of Hengist by flight escaped to Yorke, and being there besieged, at length was constreined to yeeld himselfe to Aurelius: who dealing fauourablie with him, assigned vnto him and other of the Saxons a countrie bordering neere to the Scots, which (as some affirme) was Galloway, where the said Occa and the Saxons began to inhabit. Then did Aurelius Ambrosius put the Saxons out of all other parts of the land, & repaired such cities, townes and also churches, as by them had beene destroied or defaced, and placed againe priests, and such other as should attend on the ministerie and seruice of God in the same churches.

Matth. West.

Occa.

Also for a perpetuall memorie of those Britains that were slaine on the plaine of Salisburie by the treason of Hengist, he caused stones to be fetched out of Ireland, and to be set vp in the same place where that slaughter was committed, and called the place Stoneheng, which name continueth vnto this day. Fiftéene thousand men (as Galfrid saith) were sent for those stones, vnder the leading of Uter Pendragon the kings brother, who giuing battell vnto Gilomanus king of Ireland that went about to resist the Britains, and would not permit them to fetch away the same stones out of his countrie, discomfited him and his people, and so (maugre his hart) brought the stones away with him.

Stoneheng.

Gal. Mon.

Hengist is slaine.

Shortlie

Shortlie after, Paſcentius that was Vortigerns yongeſt ſonne, and had eſcaped into Ireland (when Aurelius Ambroſius came into Britaine) returned with a great power of ſtrange nations, and woke the citie of Penetia in Wales, afterwards called ſaint Dauids, and did much hurt in the countrie with fire and ſword. At which time the ſame Aurelius Ambroſius lay ſicke at Wincheſter, and being not able to go forth himſelfe, deſired his brother Uter Pendragon to aſſemble an armie of Britains, and to go againſt Paſcentius and his adherents. Uter, according to his brothers requeſt, gathering his people, went forth, and incountering with the enimies gaue them the ouerthrow, ſlue Paſcentius and Gillomare or Gilloman king of Ireland, that was come ouer with him in aid againſt the Britains.

In the meane while, a Saxon or ſome other ſtranger, whoſe name was Eopa or Copa, not long before procured thereto by Paſcentius, fained himſelfe to be a Britaine, and for a colour counterfeiting himſelfe a monke, and to haue great knowledge in phyſicke, was admitted to miniſter as it were medicins to Aurelius: but in ſtead of that which ſhould haue brought him health, he gaue him poiſon, wherof he died ſhortlie after at Wincheſter aforeſaid, when he had reigned after moſt accord of writers ninténe yeeres: his bodie was conueied to Stoneheng and there buried. ¶ Thus find we in the Britiſh and common Engliſh hiſtories of the doings of Aurelius Ambroſius, who (as ye haue hard) makes him a Britaine borne, and deſcended of the blood of the ancient Britains. But Gyldas and Beda report him to be a Romane by deſcent, as before is mentioned.

Polydor Virgil writeth in this ſort of the victorious acts atchiued by the foreſaid Aurelius Ambroſius. Then (ſaith he) the Saxons hauing alreadie gotten the whole rule of the Ile, practiſed their outragious cruelties ſpeciallie againſt the princes of the Britains, to the end that the ſaid princes being ouercome and deſtroied, they might with more eaſe obteine poſſeſſion of the whole Ile, which thing they onlie ſought. But the fauour of almightie God was not wanting to the miſerable Britains in that great neceſſitie. For behold, Aurelius Ambroſius was at hand, who had no ſooner cauſed the trumpet to ſound to armor, but euerie man for himſelfe prepared and repaired vnto him, praieng & beſeeching him to helpe to defend them, and that it might ſtand with his pleaſure to go forth with them againſt the enimies in all ſpeed.

Thus an armie being aſſembled, Aurelius Ambroſius went againſt them, and valiantlie aſſailed them, ſo that within the ſpace of a few daies they fought three battels with great fiercenelſe on both ſides, in triall of their high diſpleaſures and vttermoſt forces, in which at length the Britains put the Saxons to flight, Horſus the brother of Hengiſt being ſlaine with a great number of his people. But yet notwithſtanding the enimies rage was little abated hereby, for within a few daies after receiuing out of Germanie a new ſupplie of men, they brake forth vpon the Britains with great confidence of victorie. Aurelius Ambroſius was no ſooner aduertiſed thereof, but that without delaie he ſet forward towards Yorke, from whence the enimies ſhould come, and hearing by the way that Hengiſt was incamped about ſeuen & twentie miles diſtant from that citie, neere to the banke of a riuer at this day called Dune, in the place where Doncaſter now ſtandeth, he returned out of his waie, and marched forwards that place, and the next day ſet on the enimie and vanquiſhed him, Hengiſt at the firſt meeting of the battell being ſlaine, with a great number of the Germans. The fame of this victorie (ſaith Polydor) is had in memorie with the inhabitants of thoſe parties euen vnto this day, which victorie did ſore diminiſh the power of the Saxons, inſomuch that they began now to thinke it ſhould be more for their profit to ſit in reſt with that diſhonour, than to make anie new warres to their great diſaduantage and likelihood of preſent loſſe.

Hengiſt left behind him two ſonnes, Oſca and and Occa, which as men moſt ſorowfull for the ouerthrow of late receiued, aſſembled ſuch power as they could together, and remoued therewith towards the weſt part of the Ile, ſuppoſing it to be better for them to draw that way forth, than to returne into Kent, where they thought was alreadie a ſufficient number of their people to reſiſt the Britains on that ſide. Now therefore when they came into the weſt parts of the land, they waſted the countrie, burnt villages, and abſteined from no maner of crueltie that might be ſhewed. Theſe things being reported vnto Aurelius Ambroſius, he ſtraightwaies haſted thither to reſiſt thoſe enimies, and ſo giuing them battell, eſſoones diſcomfited them: but he himſelfe receiuing a wound, died thereof within a few daies after. The Engliſh Saxons hauing thus ſuſteined ſo manie loſſes within a few moneths together, were contented to be quiet now that the Britains ſtirred nothing againſt them, by reaſon they were brought into ſome trouble by the death of ſuch a noble capteine as they had now loſt. In the meane time Vortimer died, whome Uter ſurnamed Pendragon ſucceeded.

Aurelius dieth of a wound

Vortimer departeth this life.

Thus hath Polydor written of the foreſaid Aurelius Ambroſius, not naming him to be king of Britaine, and differing in deed in ſundrie points in this behalfe from diuerſe ancient writers of the Engliſh hiſtories: for where he attributeth the victorie to the Britains in the battell fought, wherein Horſus the brother of Hengiſt was ſlaine, by the report of Polychronicon, and others, the Saxons had the victorie in that reincounter: and William of Malmesburie ſaith, that they departed from that batell with equall fortune, the Saxons loſing their capteine Horſus, and the Britains their capteine Katigerne (as before ye haue heard.) But there is ſuch contrarietie in writers touching the doings betwixt the Britains and Saxons in thoſe daies, as well in account of yeeres, as in report of things done, that ſetting affection aſide, hard it is to iudge to which part a man ſhould giue credit.

Wil.Malm.

Katigerne.

For Fabian and other authors write, that Aurelius Ambroſius began his reigne ouer the Britains about the yeere of our Lord 481, and Horſus was ſlaine about the yeere 458, during the reigne of Vortimer, as aboue is mentioned, ſo that it cannot ſtand with the truth of the Britiſh hiſtories (the which Fabian followeth) that Horſus was ſlaine by Aurelius Ambroſius, if according to the ſame hiſtories he returned not into Britaine, till the time there ſuppoſed. But diuerſe ſuch maner of contrarieties ſhall ye find, in peruſing of thoſe writers that haue written the chronicles of the Britains and Saxons, the which in euerie point to recite, would be too tedious and comberſome a matter, and therefore we are forced to paſſe the ſame ouer, not knowing how to bring them to anie iuſt accord for the ſatiſfieng of all mens minds, ſpeciallie the curious, which may with diligent ſearch ſatiſfie themſelues happilie much better, than anie other ſhall be able to do in vttering his opinion neuer ſo much at large, and agreeable to a truth. This therefore haue we thought good as it were by the waie to touch what diuerſe authors do write, leauing it ſo to euerie mans iudgement to conſtrue thereof, as his affection leadeth him. We find in the writings of thoſe that haue regiſtred the doings of theſe times, that Aurelius hauing vanquiſhed

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Sigebertus.

Hengiſt is ſlaine.

quished the Saxons, restored churches to the furtherance of the christian religion, which by the invasion of the Saxons was greatlie decaied in diuerse parts of Britaine, and this chanced in the daies of the emperour Theodosius the yonger.

Matth. West. saith 488.

## The beginning of the kingdome of the *Southsaxons commonlie called Sussex, the* Britains with their rulers giue battell to Ella the *Saxon & his three sonnes, disagreement betweene* the English and British chronographers about *the battels fought by Hengist and his death, the be*ginning of the Kentish kingdome, a battell fought betweene the Britains and Saxons, the first are conquered, the last are conquerors.

## *The ninth Chapter.*

Ella entred this land as Matt. West. saith ann. 477.

IN the time of the foresaid Aurelius Ambrosius, one Ella a Saxon with his 3 sonnes Cymen, Plettinger and Cisa, came out of Germanie with three ships, and landed in the south parts of Britaine, and being incountred with a power of Britains at a place called Cuneuelhore, discomfited them, and chased them vnto a wood then called Andredescester, and so toke that countrie, and inhabited there with his people the Saxons which he brought with him, and made himselfe king and lord thereof, in somuch that afterwards the same countrie was named the kingdome of the Southsaxons, which had for limits on the east side Kent, on the south the sea and Ile of Wight, on the west Hamshire, and on the north part Southerie. This kingdome (after some) began vnder the foresaid Ella, about the 32 yeere after the first comming of the Saxons into this land, which by following that account, should be about the second yeere of the reigne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and about the yeere of our Lord 482. But other write, that it did begin about the 30 yeere after the first comming of Hengist, which should be two yeeres sooner.

The kingdom of the Southsaxons doth begin.

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William Harison differing from all other, noteth it to begin in the fourth yeere after the death of Hengist, 4458 of the world, 2 of the 317 Olympiad, 1243 of Rome, 492 of Christ, and 43 after the comming of the Saxons: his words are these. Ella erected the kingdome of the Southsaxons, in the 15 after his arriuall, and reigned 32 yeeres, the chiefe citie of his kingdome also was Chichester, and after he had inioied the same his kingdome a while, he ouerthrew the citie called Andredescester, which as then was taken for one of the most famous in all the south side of England. ¶ For my part I thinke my dutie discharged, if I shew the opinions of the writers: for if I should therto ad mine owne, I should but increase coniectures, whereof alreadie we haue superfluous store. To proceed therefore as I find.

About the ninth yeere after the comming of Ella, the Britains perceiuing that he with his Saxons still inlarged the bounds of his lordship by entring further into the land, assembled themselues togither vnder their kings and rulers, and gaue battell to Ella and his sonnes at Wecredesbourne, where they departed with doubtfull victorie, the armies on both sides being sore diminished, and so returned to their homes. Ella after this battell sent into his countrie for more aid.

But now touching Hengist, who as ye haue heard, reigned as king in the prouince of Kent, the writers of the English kings varie somewhat from the British histories, both in report of the battels by him fought against the Britains, and also for the maner of his death: as thus. After that Vortimer was dead, who departed this life (as some write) in the first yeere of the emperor Leo, surnamed the great, and first of that name that gouerned the empire, who began to rule in the yeere of our Lord 457, we find that Hengist and his sonne Occa or Osca gathered their people togither that were before sparkled, and hauing also received new aid out of Germanie, fought with the Britans at a place called Crekenford, where were slaine of the Britains foure dukes or capteins, and foure thousand of other men, the residue were chased by Hengist out of Kent vnto London, so that they neuer returned afterwards againe into Kent: thus the kingdome of Kent began vnder Hengist the twelfe yeere after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine, and Hengist reigned in Kent after this (as the same writers agree) foure and twentie yeeres.

Polychron. 457 Henrie Hunt. Wil. Malm. Creiford. Britains ouerthrowne.

It is remembred that those Germans which lately were come ouer to the aid of Hengist, being chosen men, mightie and strong of bodie, with their axes and swords made great slaughter of the Britains in that battell at Crekenford or Creiford, which Britains were ranged in foure battels vnder their aforesaid foure dukes or capteins, and were (as before is mentioned) slaine in the same battell. About the first yeere of the said emperor Leo, which was in the 17 yeere after the comming of the Saxons, Hengist and his sonne Occa or Osca fought at Wipets field in Kent, neere to a place called Tong with the Britains, and slue of them twelue dukes or capteins, & on the part of the Saxons was slaine beside common souldiers but onlie one capteine called Wipet, of whom the place after that daie toke name.

Polychron. Hen. Hunt. Wipets field. Matth. West. This battell was fought anno 473. as the same Matt. West. nameth wipet. H. Hunt.

This victorie was nothing pleasant to the Saxons, by reason of the great losse which they sustained, as well by the death of the said Wipet, as of a great number of others: and so of a long time neither did the Saxons enter into the confines of the Britains, nor the Britains presumed to come into Kent. But whilest outward wars ceassed among the Britains, they exercised ciuill battell, falling togither by the eares among themselues, one striuing against another. Finallie, Hengist departed this life by course of nature, in the 39 yeere after his first comming into Britaine, hauing proceeded in his businesse no lesse with craft and guile than with force and strength, following therewith his natiue crueltie, so that he rather did all things with rigour than with gentlenesse. After him succeeded a sonne whom he left behind him, who being attentiue rather to defend than to inlarge his kingdome, neuer set foot out of his fathers bounds, during the space of 24 yeeres, in the which he reigned.

Fortie yeeres saith H. Hunt. By this it is euident that he was not driuen out of the land after he had once set foot within it. Matt. West. H. Hunt.

About three yeeres after the decease of Hengist, a new supplie of men of warre came out of Germanie vnto the aid of Ella king of Suller, who hauing his power increased, besieged the citie of Andredescester, which was verie strong and well furnished with men and all things necessarie. The Britains also assembling togither in companies, greatlie annoied the Saxons as they lay there at siege, laieng ambushes to destroie such as went abroad, and ceasing not to giue alarums to the campe in the night season: and the Saxons could no sooner prepare themselues to giue the assalt, but the Britains were readie to assaile them on the backs, till at length the Saxons diuiding themselues into two companies, appointed the one to giue the assalt, and the other to incounter with the armie of the Britains without, and so finallie by that meanes preuailed, toke the citie, and destroied man, woman and child. Neither so

The citie of Andredescester.

contented, they did alſo vtterlie race the ſaid citie, ſo as it was neuer after that daie builded or reedified againe.

The eaſt Angles kingdome beginneth, *the arriuall of Cerdic and Kenric with fiue* ſhips of warre in this land, he putteth the Britains *to flight, the weſt Saxons kingdom begineth,* Vter Pendragon made king of Britaine, the etymon *of his name, he taketh Occa and Oſca the two ſonnes of Hengiſt* priſoners, how Hector Boetius varieth from other chronographers in the relation of things concerning Pendragon, he falleth in loue with the duke of Cornewalls wife, killeth him, and marieth hir. Occa and Oſca eſcape out of priſon, they freſhlie aſſault the Britains, they are both ſlaine in a foughten field, the Saxons ſend and looke for aid out of Germanie, Pendragon is poiſoned.

## *The tenth Chapter.*

The kingdome of the eaſt Angles began not till Aurelius Conanus reigned. 561

MOreouer, in the daies of the afore-named Aurelius Ambroſius, about the yeare of our Lord 561, the kingdome of the eaſt Angles began vnder a Saxon named Uffa. This ſame kingdome conteined Northfolke and Suffolke, hauing on the eaſt and north parts the ſea, on the northweſt Cambridgeſhire, and on the weſt ſaint Edmunds ditch with a part of Hertfordſhire, and on the ſouthſide lieth Eſſex. At the firſt it was called Uffines dominion, and the kings that reigned, or the people that inhabited there, were at the firſt named Uffines, but at length they were called eaſt Angles.

*Cerdic.* Wil. Malm. 495 Fabian. Polychron. Wil. Malm.

FUrthermore, about the yeare of our Lord 495, and in the eight yeare after that Hengiſt was dead, one Cerdicus and his ſonne Kenricus came out of Germanie with fiue ſhips, and landed at a place called Cerdicſhore, which as ſome thinke is called Yermouth in Northfolke. He was at the firſt receiued with battell by the Britains, but being an old skilfull warriour, he eaſilie beate backe and repelled the inconſtant multitude of his enimies, and cauſed them to flée: by which good ſucceſſe he procured both vndoubted aſſurance to himſelfe for the time to come, and to the inhabitants good and perfect quietnes. For they thinking good neuer after to prouoke him more by reſiſtance, ſubmitted themſelues to his pleaſure: but yet did not he then giue himſelfe to ſlouthfull reſt, but rather extending his often atchiued victories on ech ſide, in the 24 yeare after his comming into this land, he obteined the rule of the weſt parts thereof, and gouerned there as king, ſo that the kingdome of the weſt Saxons began vnder the ſaid Cerdicus in the 519 of Chriſt, as after ſhall be ſhewed.

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¶ Thus ye maie ſée, that Aurelius Ambroſius did ſucceed Uortigerne, and reigned in the time ſuppoſed by the Britiſh hiſtories, as before is alledged, the land euen in his daies was full of trouble, and the old inhabitants the Britains ſore vexed by the Saxons that entred the ſame, ſo that the Britains were dailie hampered, and brought vnder ſubiection to the valiant Saxons, or elſe driuen to remoue further off, and to giue place to the victors. But now to proceed with the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh kings, as in their hiſtories we find them regiſtred, which I deliuer ſuch as I find, but not ſuch as I doo wiſh, being written with no ſuch colour of credit as we maie ſafelie put forth the ſame for an vndoubted truth.

After that Aurelius Ambroſius was dead, his brother Uter Pendragon (whome ſome call Aurelius Uterius Ambroſianus) was made king in the yeare of our Lord 500, in the ſeuenth yeare of the emperour Anaſtaſius, and in the ſixteenth yeare of Clodoueus king of the Frenchmen. The cauſe why he was ſurnamed Pendragon, was, for that Merline the great prophet likened him to a dragons head, that at the time of his natiuitie marueilouſlie appeared in the firmament at the corner of a blaſing ſtar, as is reported. But others ſuppoſed he was ſo called of his wiſedome and ſerpentine ſubtiltie, or for that he gaue the dragons head in his banner. This Uter, hearing that the Saxons with their capteins Occa or Otta the ſonne of Hengiſt, and his brother Oſca had beſieged the citie of Yorke, haſted thither, and giuing them battell, diſcomfited their power, and tooke the ſaid Occa and Oſca priſoners. Matth. Weſt. noteth. 500

From this variety Hector Boetius in his chronicle of Scotland, writing of theſe doings in Britaine: for he affirmeth, that the counterfeit monke, which poiſoned Aurelius Ambroſius, was ſuborned and ſent to worke that feat by Occa, and not by his brother Paſcentius: and further, that about the ſelfeſame time of Aurelius his death, his brother Uter Pendragon lay in Wales, not as yet fullie recouered of a ſore ſickneſſe, wherewith of late he had béene much vexed. Yet the lords of Britaine after the buriall of Aurelius Ambroſius, came vnto him and crowned him king: and though he was not able to go againſt the Saxons (which as then by reaſon of Aurelius Ambroſius his death were verie buſie, and more earneſt in purſuing the warre than before) yet an armie was prepared and ſent forth with all conuenient ſpéed vnder the leading of one Nathaliod, a man neither of anie great ancient houſe, nor yet of ſkill in warlike affaires. Hector Boet.

The noble men were nothing pleaſed herewith, as miſliking altogither the lacke of diſcretion in their new king, & doubted ſore, leaſt in time to come he would haue more delight to aduance the men of baſe degrée, than ſuch as were deſcended of noble parentage. Yet becauſe they would not put the ſtate of the common wealth in danger through anie mutinie, they agréed to go forth with him in that iournie. Occa had aduertiſement giuen him by certeine letters ſent to him from ſome cloſe friends amongeſt the Britains of the whole matter: and therefore in hope of the better ſpéed, he haſted forth to incounter the Britains, and ſo the whole armie comming within ſight of the other, they prepared to the battell, and ſhortlie after buckling togither, the Britains were ſone diſcomfited, by reaſon that one of their chiefeſt capteins called Gothlois diſdaining to be at the appointment of Nathaliod, got him vp to the nert hill with the nert battell which he led, leauing the other Britains in all the danger: which they ſéeing began by & by to flée. There died no great number of the Britains, except thoſe that were killed in the fight: for Occa miſtruſting what Gothlois meant by his withdrawing aſide, would not ſuffer the Saxons to follow the chaſe, but in the night following Gothlois got him awaie, and reſted not till he was out of danger. Occa then perceiuing himſelfe to haue the vpper hand, ſent an herald vnto king Uter with a certeine meſſage, threatning deſtruction to him and to his people, if he refuſed to doo that which he ſhould appoint.

Uter perceiuing what diſloialtie reſted in the harts of his owne ſubiects, agréed that the matter might be committed to eight graue and wiſe counſellors, foure Britains and foure Saxons, which might haue full power to make an end of all con-

trouerſies and variances depending betwixt the two nations. Occa was likewiſe contented therewith, whereupon were named on either part foure perſons, of ſuch wiſedome, knowledge and experience, as were thought meeteſt for the ordering of ſuch a weightie matter. So that by the arbitrement, award and doome of thoſe eight perſons authoriſed thereto, a league was concluded vpon certeine articles of agreement, amongſt the which the chiefeſt was, that the Saxons from thenceforth ſhould quietlie inioy all that part of Britaine which lieth fore againſt the Almaine ſeas, the ſame to be called euer after Engliſhlaund, and all the reſidue ſhould remaine to the Britains as their owne rightfull and ancient inheritance. Thus far Hector Boetius.

But now to returne vnto Vter according to that we find in the Britiſh hiſtories, and to proceed after our owne hiſtorians; we find, that when he had vanquiſhed the Saxons and taken their two chiefe teins priſoners, in proceſſe of time he fell in loue with a verie beautifull ladie called Igwarne or Igerna, wife to one Gorolus or Gorlois duke of Cornewall, the which duke he ſlue at length neere to his owne caſtell called Diuulioc in Cornewall, to the end that he might inioy the ſaid ladie, whome he afterwards maried, and begot on hir that noble knight Arthur, and a daughter named Amie or Anna. Occa and Oſca eſcaping alſo out of priſon aſſembled eftſoones a power of Saxons, and made warre againſt the Britains, whereof Vter hauing aduertiſement prepared to reſiſt them, and finallie went himſelfe in perſon againſt them, and at ſaint Albans (as ſome write) gaue them battell, and ſlue them both in the field.

Gorolus duke of Cornewall.

Harding.

By that which Polydor Virgil writeth, it ſhould ſeeme that Germane the biſhop of Aurerre came into Britaine in the daies of this Vter, by whoſe preſence the Britains had victorie againſt the Saxons (as before ye haue heard) after which victorie both reſted from troubling either other for a time. The Saxons as it were aſtonied with that preſent miracle, & the Britains not following their good ſucceſſe, ſhortlie after fell at diſcord amongſt themſelues, which finallie brought them to vtter decaie, as after ſhall appeare. But the Saxons deſirous to ſpoile the Britains of the whole poſſeſſion of that part of the Ile which they held, whereas they accounted the cities and townes of ſmall ſtrength to be defended, they got them to an high mounteine called Badon hill, which Polydor ſuppoſeth to be Blackamore that lieth neere to the water of Theiſe, which diuideth the biſhoprike of Durham from Yorkeſhire, hauing at the mouth thereof an hauen meet to receiue ſuch ſhips as come out of Germanie, from whence the Saxons loked for aid, hauing alreadie ſent thither for the ſame.

Badon hill.

The Britains being thereof aduertiſed, made haſt towards the place, and beſieged it on euerie ſide. They alſo laie the ſea coaſts full of ſouldiers, to keepe ſuch of the enimies from landing as ſhould come out of Germanie. The Saxons kept themſelues for a certeine ſpace aloft vpon the high ground, but in the end conſtreined through want of vittels, they came downe with their armie in order of battell to the nert plaines, and offering to fight, the battell was anon begun, which continued from the morning till far in the day, with ſuch ſlaughter, that the earth on euerie ſide flowed with blood: but the Saxons ſuſteined the greater loſſe, their capteins Occa and Oſca being both ſlaine, ſo that the Britains might ſeeme quite deliuered of all danger of thoſe enimies: but the fatall deſtinie could not be auoided, as hereafter may appeare. And thus was the ſlaughter made of the Saxons at Badon hill, where of Gyldas maketh mention, and chanced the ſame yeare that he was borne, which was in the 44 yeare after the firſt comming of the Saxons into this land, the yeare of Grace 492, & 15 indiction. Gyldas. 491

About the ſame time Vter departed out of this life (ſaith Polydor) ſo that this account agreeth nothing with the common account of thoſe authors, whome Fabian and other haue followed. For either we muſt preſuppoſe, that Vter reigned before the time appointed to him by the ſaid authors, either elſe that the ſiege of Badon hill was before he began to reigne, as it ſhould ſeeme in deed by that which Wil. Malmesburie writeth thereof, as hereafter ſhall be alſo ſhewed. Finallie (according to the agreement of the Engliſh writers) Vter Pendragon died by poiſon, when he had gouerned this land by the full terme of 16 years, & was after buried by his brother Aurelius at Stoneheng, otherwiſe called *Chorea Gigantum*, leauing his ſonne Arthur to ſucceed him. ¶ Here ye muſt note that the Scotiſh chronicles declare, that in all the warres for the more part wherein the Britains obteined victorie againſt the Saxons, the Scots aided them in the ſame warres, and ſo likewiſe did the Picts, but the ſame chronicles do not onelie varie from the Britiſh writers in account of yeares, but alſo in the order of things done, as in the ſame chronicles more plainelie may appeare, & namelie in the diſcourſe of the accidents which chanced during the reigne of this Vter. For whereas the Britiſh hiſtories, as ye haue heard, attribute great praiſe vnto the ſame Vter for his victories atchiued againſt the Saxons and their king Occa, whome he ſlue in battell, and obteined a great victorie, the Scotiſh writers make other report, affirming in deed that by the preſence of biſhop Germane he obteined victorie in one battell againſt them: but ſhortlie after the Britains fought againe with the Saxons, and were diſcomfited, although Occa in following the chaſe ouer raſhlie chanced to be ſlaine: after whoſe deceaſſe the Saxons ordeined his ſonne named alſo Occa to ſucceed in his place, who to make himſelfe ſtrong againſt all his enimies, ſent into Germanie for one Colgerne, the which with a great power of Dutchmen came ouer into this our Britaine, and conquered by Occas appointment the countrie of Northumberland, ſituate betweene Tine and Tweed, as in the Scotiſh chronicles may further appeare.

491 The death of Vter Pendragon.

Stoneheng, Chorea Gigantum.

Oſca. 34 ſaith Henrie Hunt. in corrupted copies.

Also this is to be remembred, that the victorie which was got againſt the Saxons by the Britains, at what time Germane biſhop of Aurerre was preſent: Hector Boetius affirmeth (by authoritie of Veremond that wrote the Scotiſh chronicles) to haue chanced the ſecond time of his comming ouer into this land, where Beda auoucheth it to be at his firſt being heere. Againe the ſame Boetius writeth, that the ſame victorie chanced in the daies of Vter Pendragon. Which can not be, if it be true that Beda writeth, touching the time of the death of the ſaid Germane: for where he departed this life before the yeare of our Lord 459, as aboue is ſaid, Vter Pendragon began not his reigne till the yeare of our Lord 500 or as the ſame Hector Boetius ſaith 503, ſo that biſhop Germane was dead long before that Vter began to reigne.

North entred this land about the yeare of our Lord 501 as Matth. Weſt. noteth.

Harriſon ſuppoſeth the riuer to be called Yorts, as for the word mouth, is the fall of anie freſh riuer into the ſea.

In deed ſome writers haue noted, that the third battell which Uortimer fought againſt the Saxons, was the ſame wherein S Germane was preſent, and procured the victorie with the crie of Alleluia, as before ye haue heard. Which ſeemeth to be more agreeable to truth, and to ſtand alſo with that which holie Beda hath written, touching the time of the being heere of the ſaid Germane, that the opinion of other, which affirme that it was in the time of the reigne

reigne of Uter. The like is to be found in the reſidue of Hector Boetius his booke, touching the time ſpeciallie of the reignes of the Britiſh kings that gouerned Britaine about that ſeaſon. For as he affirmeth, Aurelius Ambroſius began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 498, and ruled but ſeuen yeares, and then ſucceeded Uter, which reigned 18 yeares, and departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 521.

¶ Notwithſtanding the premiſſes, here is to be remembred, that what ſoeuer the Britiſh writers haue recorded touching the victories of this Uter had againſt the Saxons, and how that Oſca the ſonne of Hengiſt ſhould be ſlaine in battell by him and his power: in thoſe old writers which haue regiſtred the acts of the Engliſh Saxon kings we find no ſuch matter, but rather that after the deceaſſe of Hengiſt, his ſonne Oſca or Occa reigned in Kent 24 yeares, defending his kingdome onelie, and not ſeeking to inlarge it (as before is touched.) After whoſe death his ſonne Oth, and Irmenrike ſonne to the ſame Oth ſucceeded, more reſembling their father than their grandfather or great grandfather. To their reignes are aſſigned fiftie and three yeares by the chronicles: but whether they reigned ſointlie togither, or ſeuerallie & apart either after other, it is not certeinlie perceiued.

Oſca. 34 ſaith Henrie Hunt. in corrupted copus.

## Porth the Saxon arriueth at Portesmouth, warre betweene Nazaleod king of the Britains and the Saxons, the Britains are ouethrowen and ſlaine, the kingdome of the weſt Saxons beginneth, the compaſſe or continent thereof, the meanes whereby it was inlarged.

# The eleuenth Chapter.

NOw will we breefelie diſcourſe vpon the incidents which firſt happened during the reigne of Uter Pendragon. We find that one Porth a Saxon with his two ſons Wegla and Beda came on land at Portesmouth in Suſſex, about the beginning of the ſaid Uters reigne, and ſlue a noble yong man of the Britains, and manie other of the meaner ſort with him. Of this Porth the towne & hauen of Portesmouth tooke the name, as ſome haue thought. Moreouer, about 40 yeares after the comming of the Saxons into this land with their leader Hengiſt, one Nazaleod, a mightie king amongſt the Britains, aſſembled all the power he could make to fight with Certicus king of the Weſtſaxons, who vnderſtanding of the great power of his enimies, required aid of Oſca king of Kent, alſo of Elle king of Suſſex, and of Porth and his ſonnes which were latelie before arriued as ye haue heard. Certicus being then furniſhed with a conuenient armie, diuided the ſame into two battels, reſeruing the one to himſelfe, and the other he appointed to his ſonne Kenrike. King Nazaleod perceiuing that the wing which Certicus led, was of more ſtrength than the other which Kenrike gouerned, he ſet firſt vpon Certicus, thinking that if he might diſtreſſe that part of the enimies armie, he ſhould eaſilie ouercome the other. Herevpon he gaue ſuch a fierce charge vpon that wing, that by verie force he opened the ſame, and ſo ouerthrew the Saxons on that ſide, making great ſlaughter of them as they were ſcattered. Which maner of dealing when Kenrike ſaw, he made forward with all ſpeed to ſuccour his father, and ruſhing in amongſt the Britains on their backs, he brake their armie in peeces, and ſlue their king Nazaleod, and withall put his people to flight. There died of the Britains that date 5000 men, and the reſidue eſcaped by fleeing as well as they might. In the firſt yeare after this battell, Stuff and Wightgar that were nephues to Certicus, came with three ſhips, and landed at Certicesford, and ouerthrew a number of Britains that came againſt them in order of battell, and ſo by the comming of thoſe his nephues being valiant and hardie capteins, the part of Certicus became much ſtronger. About the ſame time Elle king of the Southſaxons departed this life, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Ciſſa, of whome we find little left in writing to be made account of.

Porth entred this land about the yeare of our Lord 501 as Matth. Weſt. noteth.

Harriſon ſuppoſeth the riuer to be called Ports, as for the word mouth, is the fall of anie freſh riuer into the ſea.

The Britains ouerthrowne.

Matth. Weſt. Henr. Hunt. Stuff and Wightgar. Matth. Weſt. noteth the yeare of their arriuall to be 514.

About the yeare of our Lord 519, and in the yeare after the comming of the Saxons 71, which was in the 26 yeare of the emperour Anaſtaſius, the Britains fought with Certicus and his ſonne Kenrike at Certicesford, where the capteins of the Britains ſtood to it manfullie: but in the end they were diſcomfited, and great ſlaughter was made there of them by the Saxons, and greater had beene, if the night comming on had not parted them, and ſo manie were ſaued.

Henr. Hunt. Britains ouerthrowne by the Saxons.

From that day forward Certicus was reputed & taken for king of Weſtſaxons, & ſo began the ſame kingdome at that time, which was (as W. Hariſon noteth) in the yeare of Chriſt 519, after the building of Rome 1270, of the world 4485, of the comming of the Saxons 70, of Juſtinus Anicius emperour of the eaſt, the firſt and third of the renowmed prince Patricius Arthurus then reigning ouer the Britains. The ſaid kingdome alſo conteined the countries of Wiltſhire, Summerſetſhire, Barkeſhire, Dorſetſhire, and Cornewall, hauing on the eaſt Hamſhire, on the north the riuer of Thames, and on the ſouth and weſt the Ocean ſea. Howbeit, at the firſt the kings of the Weſtſaxons had not ſo large dominions, but they dailie wan ground vpon the Britains, and ſo in the end by inlarging their confines, they came to inioy all the foreſaid countries, and the whole at the laſt.

The kingdom of weſtſaxons

In the ninth yeere of the reigne of Certicus, he eftſones fought with the Saxons at Certicesford aforeſaid, where great ſlaughter was made on both parts. This Certicesford was in times paſt called Nazaleoy of the late remembred Nazaleod king of the Britains. About this ſeaſon at ſundrie times diuers great companies of the Saxons came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie, and got poſſeſſion of the countries of Mercia and Eaſtangle: but as yet thoſe of Mercia had no one king that gouerned them, but were vnder certeine noble men that got poſſeſſion of diuers parts in that countrie, by means wherof great warres and manie incounters inſued, with a common waſte of land both arable and habitable, whiles each one being ambitiouſlie minded, & heaping to themſelues ſuch powers as they were able to make, by ſword and bloudſhed choſe rather to haue their fortune decided, than by reaſon to ſuppreſſe the rage of their vnrulie affections. For ſuch is the nature of men in gouernement, whether they be intereſſed to it by ſucceſſion, or poſſeſſed of it by vſurpation, or placed in it by lawfull conſtitution, (vnleſſe they be guided by ſome ſupernaturall influence of diuine conceit) if they be more than one, they cannot away with equalitie, for regiment admitteth no companion: but euerie one ſeeketh to aduance himſelfe to a ſingularitie of honour, wherein he will not (to die for it) participate with another, which maie eaſilie be obſerued in this our hiſtoricall diſcourſe.

Certicesford.

The beginning of the kingdome of the *Eastsaxons, what it conteined, of Arthur,* king of Britaine, his twelue victories ouer the *Saxons against whome he mainteined continuall* warre, why the Scots and Picts enuied him his roialtie *and empire, a league betwixt Arthur and Loth king of* the Picts, Howell king of little Britaine aideth Arthur against Cheldrike king of Germanie, who taking the ouerthrow, is slaine by the duke of Cornewall, the Picts are discomfited, the Irishmen with their king put to flight, and the Scots subdued, Arthurs sundrie conquests against diuers people, the vanitie of the British writers noted.

## The twelfe Chapter.

*Erchenwin.* The kingdom of the Eastsaxons.

IN those daies also the kingdome of the Eastsaxons began, the cheefe citie whereof was London. It conteined in effect so much as at this present belongeth to the diocesse of London. One Erchenwin a Saxon was the first king thereof, the which was sonne to one Offa, the first in lineall descent from one Sarnot, from whom the kings of that countrie fetched their originall. Harison noteth the exact yeere of the erection of the kingdome of the Eastsaxons to begin with the end of the eight of Cerdicus king of the Westsaxons, that is, the 527 of Christ, and 78 after the comming of the Saxons. In the 13 yeere of the reigne of Cerdicus, he with his sonne Kenrike, and other of the Saxon capteins fought with the Britains in the Ile of Wight at Witgarsbridge, where they slue a great number of Britains, and so conquered the Ile, the which about foure yeeres after was giuen by Cerdicus vnto his nephues Stuffe and Witgar.

*Arthur.* AFter the decease of Uter Pendragon (as we doo find in the British histories) his sonne Arthur, a yong towardlie gentleman, of the age of 15 yeeres or thereabouts, began his reigne ouer the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 516, or as Matt. Westmin. saith 517, in the 28 yeere of the emperour Anastasius, and in the third yeere of the reignes of Childebert, Clothare, Clodamire, and Theodorike, brethren that were kings of the Frenchmen. Of this Arthur manie things are written beyond credit, for that there is no ancient author of authoritie that confirmeth the same: but surelie as may be thought he was some worthie man, and by all likelihood a great enimie to the Saxons, by reason whereof the Welshmen which are the verie Britains in deed, haue him in famous remembrance. He fought (as the common report goeth of him) 12 notable battels against the Saxons, & in euerie of them went away with the victorie, but yet he could not driue them quite out of the land, but that they kept still the countries which they had in possession, as Kent, Sutherie, Norfolke, and others: howbeit some writers testifie, that they held these countries as tributaries to Arthur.

516 Matth. West. hath noted 518

But truth it is (as diuers authors agree) that he held continuall warre against them, and also against the Picts, the which were allied with the Saxons: for as in the Scotish histories is conteined, euen at the first beginning of his reigne, the two kings of the Scots and Picts seemed to enuie his aduancement to the crowne of Britaine, bicause they had maried the two sisters of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter Pendragon, that is to say, Loth king of Picts had married Anne their eldest sister, and Conran king of Scots had in mariage Alda their yonger sister, so that bicause Arthur was begotten out of wedlocke, they thought it stood with more reason, that the kingdome of the Britains should haue descended vnto the sisters sonnes, rather than to a bastard, namelie Loth the Pictish king, which had issue by his wife Anna, sore repined at the matter.

Wherefore at the first, when he saw that by suit he could not preuaile, he ioined in league with the Saxons, and aiding them against Arthur, lost many of his men of warre being ouerthrowne in battell, which he had sent vnto the succours of Colgerne the Saxon prince that ruled as then in the north parts. But finallie a league was concluded betwixt Arthur and the foresaid Loth king of Picts, vpon certeine conditions, as in the Scotish historie is expressed, where ye may read the same, with many other things touching the acts of Arthur, somewhat in other order than our writers haue recorded.

¶ The British authors declare, that Arthur (immediatlie after he had receiued the crowne of Dubright bishop of Caerleon) went with his power of Britains against the Saxons of Northumberland, which had to their capteine (as before is said) one Colgrime or Colgerne, whome Arthur discomfited and chased into the citie of Yorke, within which place Arthur besieged him, till at length the same Colgrime escaped out of the citie, & leauing it in charge with his brother called Bladulfe, passed ouer into Germanie vnto Cheldrike king of that countrie, of whom he obteined succor, so that the said Cheldrike made prouision of men and ships, and came himselfe ouer into Scotland, hauing in his companie fiftéene hundred sailes one with an other.

Yorke besieged.

Cheldrike commeth in aid of Colgrime. Matt. West. saith but 700.

When Arthur was aduertised thereof, he raised his siege, and withdrew to London, sending letters with all speed vnto Howell king of little Britaine in France, that was his sisters sonne, requiring of him in most earnest wise his aid. Howell incontinentlie assembled his people, to the number of fiftæne thousand men, and taking the sea, landed with them at Southhampton, where Arthur was readie to receiue him with great ioy and gladnesse. From thence they drew northwards, where both the hosts of Arthur and Howell being assembled togither, marched forward to Lincolne, which citie Cheldrike did as then besiege. Here Arthur and Howell assailed the Saxons with great force & no lesse manhood, and at length after great slaughter made of the enimies, they obteined the victorie, and chased Cheldrike (with the residue of the Saxons that were left aliue) vnto a wood, where they compassed them about within the same, in such wise, that in the ende they were constreined to yéeld themselues, with condition that they might be suffered to depart on foot to their ships, and so auoid the land, leauing their horsse, armour, and other furniture vnto the Britains.

Howell king of Britaine commeth in aid of Arthur.

Cheldrike ouerthrowne in battell.

Hereupon the Britains taking good hostages for assurance, permitted the Saxons to go their waies, and so Cheldrike and his people got them to their ships, in purpose to returne into their countrie: but being on the sea, they were forced by wind to change their course, and comming on the coasts of the west parts of Britaine, they arriued at Totnesse, and contrarie to the couenanted articles of their last composition with Arthur, inuaded the countrie anew, and taking such armour as they could find, marched forth in robbing and spoiling the people, till they came to Bath, which towne the Britains kept and defended against them, not suffering them by anie meanes to enter there, whereupon the Saxons inuironed it with a strong siege. Arthur informed hereof, with all speed hasted thither, and giuing the enimies battell, slue the most part of Cheldrikes men.

Bath besieged.



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The Saxons ouerthrow Colgrime and Bladulfe.

Cheldrike slaine by Cador duke of Cornwall.

K. Howell besieged by the Scots.

Guillomer.

Guenhera.

W. Harison. 525.

Gothland.

men.

The Saxons ouerthrow Colgrime and Bladulfe.

There were slaine both Colgrime and Bladulfe, howbeit Cheldrike himselfe fled out of the field towards his ships, but being pursued by Cador earle of Cornwall (that had with him ten thousand men) by Arthurs appointment, he was ouertaken and in fight slaine with all his people. Arthur himselfe returned from this battell foughten at Bath with all speed towards the marshes of Scotland, for that he had receiued aduertisement, how the Scots had besieged Howell K. of Britaine there, as he lay sicke.

Cheldrike slaine by Cador duke of Cornwall.

K. Howell besieged by the Scots.

Also when Cador had accomplished his enterprise and slaine Cheldrike, he returned with as much speed as was possible towards Arthur, & found him in Scotland, where he rescued Howell, and afterwards pursued the Scots which fled before him by heaps.

Guillomer.

About the same time, one Guillomer king of Ireland arriued in Scotland with a mightie power of Irishmen (nere the place where Arthur lodged) to helpe the Scots against the Britains: whereupon Arthur turning his forces towards the same Guillomer, vanquished him, and chased him into Ireland. This done, he continued in pursute of the Scots, till he caused them to sue for pardon, and to submit themselues wholie to him; and so receiuing them to mercie, & taking homage of them, he returned to Yorke,

Guenhera.

and shortlie after tooke to wife one Guenhera a right beautifull ladie, that was nere kinswoman to Cador earle of Cornwall.

W. Harison. 525.

In the yere following, which some note to be 525, he went into Ireland, and discomfiting king Guillomer in battell, he constreined him to yeeld, and to acknowledge by doing his fealtie to hold the realme of Ireland of him. It is further remembred in those

Gothland.

British histories, that he subdued Gothland and Ireland, with all the Iles in and about those seas. Also that he ouercame the Romans in the countrie about Paris, with their capteine Lucius, and walked the most part of all France, and slue in singular combats certeine giants that were of passing force and hugenesse of stature. And if he had not beene reuoked and called home to resist his cosen Mordred, that was sonne to Loth king of Pightland that rebelled in his countrie, he had passed to Rome, intending to make himselfe emperor, and afterward to vanquish the other emperor, who then ruled the empire. ¶ But for so much as there is not anie approued author who doth speake of anie such doings, the Britains are thought to haue registred meere fables in sted of true matters, vpon a vaine desire to aduance more than reason would, this Arthur their noble champion, as the Frenchmen haue done their Rouland, and diuerse others.

Arthur is resisted by Mordred the vsurper *from arriuing in his owne land,* they ioine battell, Gawaine is slaine and his death *lamented by Arthur, Mordred taketh flight, he is* slaine, and Arthur mortallie wounded, his death, the *place of his buriall, his bodie digged vp, his bignesse coniecturable by his bones,* a crosse found in his toome with an inscription therevpon, his wife Guenhera buried with him, a rare report of hir haire, Iohn Lelands epitaph in memorie of prince Arthur.

## *The xiij. Chapter.*

KIng Arthur at his returne into Britaine, found that Mordred had caused himselfe to be made king, & hauing alied himselfe with Cheldrike a Saxon (not him whome Galfride, as ye haue heard, supposeth to haue beene wounded & slaine before) was readie to resist his landing, so that before he could come on land, he lost manie of his men: but yet at length he repelled the enimies, and so tooke land at Sandwich, where he first arriued, and ioining in battell with his enimies, he discomfited them, but not without great losse of his people: speciallie he sore lamented the death of Gawaine the brother of Mordred, which like a faithfull gentleman, regarding more his honour and loiall truth than neerenesse of bloud and cosenage, chose rather to fight in the quarrell of his liege king and louing maister, than to take part with his naturall brother in an vniust cause, and so there in the battell was slaine, togither also with Angussell, to whom Arthur afore time had committed the gouernment of Scotland. Mordred fled from this battell, and getting ships sailed westward, and finallie landed in Cornwall. King Arthur caused the corps of Gawaine to be buried at Douer (as some hold opinion:) but William Malmesburie supposeth, he was buried in Wales, as after shall be shewed. The dead bodie of Angussell was conueied into Scotland, and was there buried. When that Arthur had put his enimies to flight, and had knowledge into what parts Mordred was withdrawne, with all speed he reinforced his armie with new supplies of souldiers called out of diuerse parties, and with his whole puissance hasted forward, not resting till he came neere to the place where Mordred was incamped, with such an armie as he could assemble togither out of all parties where he had anie friends.

Rather Cerdicke as Leland thinketh.

Gawaine buried at Douer

¶ Here (as it appeereth by Iohn Leland, in his booke intituled, The assertion of Arthur) it may be douted in what place Mordred was incamped: but Geffrey of Monmouth sheweth, that after Arthur had discomfited Mordred in Kent at the first landing, it chanced so that Mordred escaped and fled to Winchester, whither Arthur followed him, and there giuing him battell the second time, did also put him to flight. And following him from thence, fought eftsoones with him at a place called Camblane, or Kemelene in Cornwall, or (as some authors haue) neere vnto Glastenburie.

Richard Turner.

This battell was fought to such proofe, that finallie Mordred was slaine, with the more part of his whole armie, and Arthur receiuing diuers mortall wounds died of the same shortlie after, when he had reigned ouer the Britains by the tearme of 26 yeres. His corps was buried at Glastenburie aforesaid, in the churchyard, betwixt two pillers: where it was found in the daies of king Henrie the second, about the yeere of our Lord 1191, which was in the last yeere of the reigne of the same Henrie, more than six hundred yeeres after the buriall thereof. He was laid 16 foot deepe vnder ground, for doubt that his enimies the Saxons should haue found him. But those that digged the ground there to find his bodie, after they had entered about seuen foot deepe into the earth, they found a mightie broad stone with a leaden crosse fastened to that part which laie downewards toward the corps, conteining this inscription:

*Hic iacet sepultus inclytus rex Arthurius in insula Aualoniæ.*

This inscription was grauen on that side of the crosse which was next to the stone: so that till the crosse was taken from the stone, it was vnseene. His bodie was found, not inclosed within a toome of marble or other stone curiouslie wrought, but within a great tree made hollowe for the nonce like a trunke, the which being found and digged vp, was opened, and therein were found the kings bones, of such maruellous bignesse, that the shinbone of his leg being set on the ground, reached vp to the middle thigh of a verie tall man: as a monke of that abbeie hath

hath written, which did liue in thoſe daies, and ſaw it. ¶ But Gyraldus Cambrenſis (who alſo liued in thoſe daies, and ſpake with the abbat of the place, by whom the bones of this Arthur were then found) affirmeth, that by report of the ſame abbat, he learned, that the ſhinbone of the ſaid Arthur being ſet vp by the leg of a verie tall man (the which the abbat ſhewed to the ſame Gyraldus) came aboue the knée of the ſame man the length of three fingers breadth, which is a great deale more likelie than the other. Furthermore the ſkull of his head was of a wonderfull largeneſſe, ſo that the ſpace of his forehead betwixt his two eies was a ſpan broad. There appeared in his head the ſignes and prints of ten wounds or more: all the which were growne into one wem, except onelie that whereof it ſhould ſéeme he died, which being greater than the reſidue, appeared verie plaine. Alſo in opening the tome of his wife quéene Gueneuer, that was buried with him, they found the treſſes of hir haire whole and perfect, and finelie platted, of colour like to the burniſhed gold, which being touched, immediatlie fell to duſt. The abbat, which then was gouernour of the houſe, was named Stephan, or Henrie de Blois, otherwiſe de Sullie, nephue to king Henrie the ſecond (by whoſe commandement he had ſerched for the graue of Arthur) tranſlated the bones as well of him as of quéene Guenenuer, being ſo found, into the great church, and there buried them in a faire double tome of marble, laieng the bodie of the king at the head of the tome, and the bodie of the quéene at his féet towards the weſt part. ¶ The writer of the hiſtorie of Cambria now called Wales ſaith, that the bones of the ſaid Arthur, and Gueneuer his wife were found in the Ile of Aualon (that is, the Ile of Apes) without the abbeie of Glaſtenbury, fiftéene féet within the ground, & that his graue was found by the meanes of a Bard, whome the king heard at Penbroke ſinging the acts of prince Arthur, and the place of his buriall.

Henricus Blecenſis ſeu Soliacenſis. Io. Leland.

Dauid Pow. pag. 238, 239.

John Leland in his booke intituled Aſſertio Arthuri, *hath for the woorthie memorie* of ſo noble a prince, honored him *with a learned epitaph, as heere followeth.*

SAxonicas toties qui fudit Marte cruento
*Who vanquiſht Saxon troops ſo oft, with battels bloudie broiles,*
Turmas, & peperit ſpolijs ſibi nomen opimis,
*And purchaſt to himſelfe a name with warlike wealthie ſpoiles,*
Fulmineo toties Pictos qui contudit enſe,
*Who hath with ſhiuering ſhining ſword, the Picts ſo oft diſmaid,*
Impoſuitque iugum Scoti ceruicibus ingens:
*And eke vnweldie ſeruile yoke on necke of Scots hath laid:*
Qui tumidos Gallos, Germanos quique feroces
*Who Frenchmen puft with pride, and who the Germans fierce in fight*
Perculit, & Dacos bello confregit aperto:
*Diſcomfited, and danted Danes with maine and martiall might:*
Denique Mordredum è medio qui ſuſtulit illud
*Who of that murdring Mordred did the vitall breath expell,*
Monſtrum, horrendum, ingens, dirum, ſæuúmque tyrannum,
*That monſter griſlie, loathſome, huge, that direſome tyrant fell,*
Hoc iacet extinctus monumento Arthurius alto,
*Heere liueleſſe Arthur lies intoomd, within this ſtatelie hearſe,*
Militiæ clarum decus, & virtutis alumnus:
*Of chiualrie the bright renowme, and vertues nurſling fearſe:*
Gloria nunc cuius terram circumuolat omnem,
*Whoſe glorie great now ouer all the world dooth compaſſe flie,*
Aetherijque petit ſublimia tecta Tonantis.
*And of the airie thunder skales the loftie building hie.*
Vos igitur gentis proles generoſa Britannæ,
*Therefore you noble progenie of Britaine line and race,*
Induperatori ter magno aſſurgite veſtro,
*Ariſe vnto your emperour great, of thrice renowmed grace,*
Et tumulo ſacro roſeas inferte corollas,
*And caſt vpon his ſacred toome the roſeall garlands gaie,*
Officij teſtes redolentia munera veſtri.
*That fragrant ſmell may witneſſe well, your duties you diſplaie.*

¶ Theſe verſes I haue the more willinglie inſerted, for that I had the ſame deliuered to me turned into Engliſh by maiſter Nicholas Roſcarocke, both right aptlie yeelding the ſenſe, and alſo properlie anſwering the Latine, verſe for verſe.

## Vpon what occaſion the graue of king *Arthur was ſought for, the follie of ſuch* diſcouered as beleeued that he ſhould returne *and reigne againe as king in Britaine, whether it* be a fiction or a veritie that there was ſuch an Arthur *or no; diſcordance among writers about the place of Gawains* buriall and Arthurs death; of queene Gueneuer the wife of king Arthur, hir beautie and diſhoneſt life, great diſagreement among writers touching Arthur and his wiues to the impeachment of the hiſtoric, of his life and death.

## *The xiiij. Chapter.*

THe occaſion that mooued king Henrie the ſecond to cauſe his nephue the foreſaid abbat to ſearch for the graue of king Arthur, was, for that he vnderſtood by a Welſh minſtrell or Bard (as they call him) that could ſing manie hiſtories in the Welſh language of the acts of the ancient Britains, that in the foreſaid churchyard at Glaſtenburie, betwixt the ſaid two pillers the bodie of Arthur was to be found ſixtéene foot déepe vnder the ground. Gyraldus Cambrenſis affirmeth, that the trée in the which Arthurs bodie was found ſo incloſed, was an oke, but other ſuppoſe that it was an alder trée, becauſe that in the ſame place a great number of that kind of trées do grow, and alſo for that it is not vnknowne, that an alder lieng vnder ground where moiſture is, will long continue without rotting.

Gawaine where he is buried.

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. de regib.

¶ By the finding thus of the bodie of Arthur buried (as before ye haue heard) ſuch as hitherto beléeued that he was not dead, but conueied awaie by the fairies into ſome pleaſant place, where he ſhould remaine for a time, and then to returne againe, and reigne in as great authoritie as euer he did before, might well perceiue themſelues deceiued in crediting ſo vaine a fable. But yet (where it might otherwiſe be doubted, whether anie ſuch Arthur was at all, as the Britiſh hiſtories mention, becauſe neither Gyldas nor Beda in their works ſpeake anie thing of him) it may appéere, the circumſtances conſidered, that ſuerlie ſuch one there was of that name, hardie and valiant in armes, though not in diuerſe points ſo famous as ſome writers paint him out. William Malmeſburie a writer of good credit and authoritie amongſt the learned, hath theſe words in his firſt booke intituled *De regibus Anglorum*, ſaieng: But he being dead [meaning Mortimer] the force of the Britains wared féeble, their decaied hope went backward apace: and euen then ſuerlie had they gon to deſtruction, if Ambroſius (who alone of the Romans remained yet aliue, and was king after Vortigerne) had not kept vnder and ſtaied the loftie barbarous people, that is to ſay the Saxons, by the notable aid and aſſiſtance of the valiant Arthur.

As for example in a cemetére at Wells called pond perillous at Shaftsburie, where he and his knights ſhould ſleepe armed, till an other knight ſhould be borne that ſhould come and awake them.

Will. Malmeſ. lib. 1. de regibus Ang.

This is the ſame Arthur, of whom the trifling tales of the Britains euen to this day fantaſticallie do deſcant and report wonders: but worthie was he doubtleſſe, of whom feined fables ſhould not haue ſo dreamed, but rather that true hiſtories might haue ſet forth his worthie praiſes, as he that did for a long ſeaſon ſuſteine and hold vp his countrie that was readie to go to vtter ruine and decaie, incouraging the bold harts of the Britains vnto the warre, and finallie in the ſiege of Badon hill, he ſet vpon nine hundred of the enimies, and with incredible ſlaugh-

ter

ter did put them all to flight. On the contrarie part, the Engliſh Saxons, although they were toſſed with ſundrie haps of fortune, yet ſtill they renewed their bands with new ſupplies of their countriemen that came out of Germanie, and ſo with bolder courage aſſailed their enimies, and by little and little cauſing them to giue place, ſpread themſelues ouer the whole Ile. For although there were manie battels, in the which ſometime the Saxons and ſometime the Britains got the better, yet the greater number of Saxons that were ſlaine, the greater number of them ſtill came ouer to the ſuccour of their countriemen, being called in and ſent for out of euerie quarter about them.

Héere is alſo to be noted, that where the Britiſh hiſtorie declareth, that Gawaine or Gallowine being ſlaine in the battell fought betwixt Arthur and Mordred in Kent, was buried at Douer, ſo that his bones remained there to be ſhewed a long time after: yet by that which the foreſaid William Malmeſburie writeth in the third booke of his volume intituled *De regibus Anglorum*, the contrarie maie ſéeme true: his words are theſe. Then (ſaith he) in the prouince of Wales, which is called Roſſe, the ſepulture of Gallowine was found, who was nephue to Arthur by his ſiſter, not going out of kind from ſo worthie an vncle. He reigned in that part of Britaine which vnto this day is called Walwichia, a knight for his high proweſſe moſt highlie renowmed, but expelled out of his kingdome by the brother and nephue of Hengiſt, of whome in the firſt booke we haue made mention, firſt requiting his baniſhment with great detriment and loſſe to thoſe his enimies, wherein he was partaker by iuſt deſert of his vncles worthie praiſe, for that he ſtaied (for a great manie yéeres) the deſtruction of his countrie, which was now running headlong into vtter ruine and decaie. But Arthurs graue no where appéereth: yet the others towne (as I haue ſaid) was found in the daies of William the conqueror, king of England, vpon the ſea ſide, and conteined in length foureténe foot, where he was (as ſome ſay) wounded by his enimies, and caſt vp by ſhipwracke. But other write, that he was ſlaine at a publike feaſt or banket by his owne countriemen. Thus ſaith William Malmeſburie.

*Gawaine where he is buried.*

*Wil. Malm. lib. 3. de regib.*

¶ But hære you muſt conſider, that the ſaid Malmeſburie departed this life about the beginning of the reigne of king Henrie the ſecond, certeine yéers before the bones of Arthur were found (as ye haue heard.) But omitting this point as néedles to be controuerſled, & letting all diſſonant opinions of writers paſſe, as a matter of no ſuch moment that we ſhould néed to ſticke therein as in a glewpot; we will procéed in the reſidue of ſuch collections as we find neceſſarilie pertinent to the continuation of this hiſtorie; and now we will ſay ſomewhat of quéene Guenhera or Guenouer, the wife of the foreſaid king Arthur.

Some iudge that ſhe toke hir name of hir excellent beautie, bicauſe Guinne or Guenne in the Welſh tong ſignifieth faire, ſo that ſhe was named Guennere or rather Guenlhean, euen (as you would ſay) the faire or beautifull Elenor or Helen. She was brought vp in the houſe of one Cador earle of Cornewall before Arthur maried hir: and as it appeareth by writers, ſhe was euill reported of, as noted of incontinencie & breach of faith to hir huſband, in maner as for the more part women of excellent beautie hardlie eſcape the venemous blaſt of euill tongs, and the ſharpe aſſaults of the followers of Venus. The Britiſh hiſtorie affirmeth, that ſhe did not onelie abuſe hir ſelfe by vnlawfull companie with Mordred, but that alſo in Arthurs abſence ſhe conſented to take him to huſband. It is likewiſe found recorded by an old writer, that Arthur beſieged on a time the mariſhes néere to Glaſtenburie, for diſpleaſure that he bare to a certeine lord called Melua, who had raviſhed Guenenuer, and led hir into thoſe mariſhes, and there did kéepe hir. Hir corps notwithſtanding (as before is recited) was interred togither with Arthurs, ſo that it is thought ſhe liued not long after his deceaſſe.

Arthur had two wiues (as Gyraldus Cambrenſis affirmeth) of which the latter (ſaith he) was buried 16
with him, and hir bones found with his in one ſepulchre, but yet ſo diuided, that two parts of the towne towards the head were appointed to receiue the bones of the man, and the third part towards the fæt conteined the womans bones, apart by themſelues. Here is to be remembred, that Hector Boetius writeth otherwiſe of the death of Arthur than before in this booke is mentioned, & alſo that Guenenuer being taking priſoner by the Picts, was conueied into Scotland, where finallie ſhe died, and was there buried in Angus, as in the Scotiſh chronicles further appeareth. And this may be true, if he had thrée ſundrie wiues, each of them bearing the name of Guenenuer, as ſir Iohn Price doth auouch that he had. Now bicauſe of contrarietie in writers touching the great acts atchiued by this Arthur, and alſo for that ſome difference there is amongſt them, about the time in which he ſhould reigne, manie haue doubted of the whole hiſtorie which of him is written (as before ye haue heard.) ¶ But others there be of a conſtant beléefe, who hold it for a grounded truth, that ſuch a prince there was; and among all other a late writer, who falling into neceſſarie mention of prince Arthur, frameth a ſpéech apologeticall in his and their behalfe that were princes of the Britiſh bloud, diſcharging a ſhort but yet a ſharpe inuectiue againſt William Paruus, Polydor Virgil, and their complices, whom he accuſeth of lieng tongs, enuious detraction, malicious ſlander, reprochfull and venemous language, wilfull ignorance, dogged enuie, and cankerd minds; for that they ſpeake vnreuerentlie and contrarie to the knowne truth concerning thoſe thriſenoble princes. Which defenſitiue he would not haue depoſed, but that he takes the monuments of their memories for vndoubted verities.

*Dauid Pow. pag. 238, 239.*

The Britiſh hiſtories and alſo the Scotiſh chronicles do agrée, that he liued in the daies of the emperour Iuſtinian, about the fiftéenth yære of whoſe reigne he died, which was in the yéere of our Lord 542, as diuerſe do affirme. Howbeit ſome write farther from all likelihod, that he was about the time of the emperor Zeno, who began his reigne about the yéere of our Lord 474. The writer of the booke intituled *Aurea hiſtoria* affirmeth, that in the tenth yéere of Cerdicus king of Weſtſaxons, Arthur the warriour roſe againſt the Britains. Alſo Diouionenſis writeth, that Cerdicus fighting oftentimes with Arthur, if he were ouercome in one moneth, he aroſe in an other moneth more fierce and ſtrong to giue battell than before. At length Arthur wearied with irkeſomnes, after the twelfth yéere of the comming of Cerdicus, gaue vnto him vpon his homage done and fealtie receiued, the ſhires of Southampton and Somerſet, the which countries Cerdicius named Weſtſaxon. This Cerdicius or Cerdicus came into Britaine about the yéere of our Lord 495. In the 24 yere after his comming hither, that is to ſay, about the yéere of your Lord 519, he began his reigne ouer the Weſtſaxons, and gouerned them as king by the ſpace of 15 yéeres, as before ye haue heard. But to follow the courſe of our chronicles accordinglie as we haue begun, we muſt allow of their accounts herein as in other places, and ſo proceéd.

*542*

*Aurea hiſtoria. I. Leland.*

*weſtſaxon.*

The

The decaie of christian religion and receiuing of the Pelagian heresie in Britaine by what meanes they were procured and by whom redressed: Constantine succeedeth Arthur in the kingdome, ciuill warre about succession to the crowne, the chalengers are pursued and slaine, Constantine is vnkindlie killed of his kinsman, a bitter and reprochfull inuectiue of Gyldas against the British rulers of his time, and namelie against Constantine, Constantine that slue Constantine reigneth in Britaine, his vertues and vices, his two yeeres regiment, the seuere reprehensions of Gyldas vttered against Conan, discouering the course of his life, and a secret prophesie of his death.

## The xv Chapter.

IN this meane while that the realme was disquieted with sore & continuall warres betwixt the Britains and Saxons (as before ye haue heard) the christian religion was not onelie abolished in places where the Saxons got habitations, but also among the Britains the right faith was brought into danger, by the remnant of the Pelagian heresie, which began againe to be broched by diuers naughtie persons. But Dubritius that was first bishop of Landaffe, and after archbishop of Caerleon Arwiske, and his successour David, with other learned men earnestlie both by preaching and writing defended the contrarie cause, to the confuting of those errors, and restablishing of the truth.

The heresie of the Pelagians renued, Hist. Mag. Dubritius & David lerned bishops.

*Constantine.* 542

AFter the death of Arthur, his cosine Constantine the sonne of Cador, duke or earle of Cornewall began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 542, which was about the 15 yére of the emperour Justinianus almost ended, the 29 of Childebert king of France, and the first yére well nére complet of the reigne of Totilas king of the Goths in Italie. Arthur when he perceiued that he shuld die, ordeined this Constantine to succéd him, and so by the consent of the more part of the Britains he was crowned king: but the sonnes of Mordred sore repined thereat, as they that claimed the rule of the land by iust title and claime of inheritance to them from their father descended. Herevpon followed ciuill warre, so that diuers battels were striken betwéene them, and in the end the two brethren were constreined to withdraw for refuge, the one to London, and the other to Winchester: but Constantine pursuing them, first came to Winchester, and by force entered the citie, and slue the one brother that was fled thither within the church of saint Amphibalus: and after comming to London, entered that citie also, and finding the other brother within a church there, slue him in like maner as he had done the other. And so hauing dispatched his aduersaries, he thought to haue purchased to himselfe safetie: but shortlie after, his owne kinsman, one Aurelius Conanus arrered warre against him, who ioining with him in battell slue him in the field, after he had reigned foure yéres. His bodie was conueied to Stonheng, and there buried beside his ancestour Uter Pendragon.

Galfrid. Matth. West.

Ciuill warre.

Aurelius Conanus. Constantine slaine.

Of this Constantine that séemeth to be ment, which Gyldas writeth in his booke intituled *De excidio Britanniæ*, where inueieng against the rulers of the Britains in his time, he writeth thus: Britaine hath kings, but the same be tyrants; iudges it hath, but they be wicked, oftentimes péeling and harming the innocent people, reuenging and defending, but whom? such as be guiltie persons and robbers; having manie wiues, but yet breaking wedlocke; oftentimes swearing, and yet forswearing themselues; vowing, and for the more part lieng; warring, but maintéining ciuill & vniust warres; pursuing indeed théeues that are abroad in the countrie, and yet not onelie cherishing those that sit euen at table with them, but also highlie rewarding them: giuing almesse largelie, but on the other part heaping vp a mightie mount of sinnes; sitting in the seat of sentence, but seldome séeking the rule of righteous iudgement; despising the innocent and humble persons, and exalting so farre as in them lieth, euen vp to the heauens, most bloudie and proud murtherers, théeues and adulterers, yea the verie professed enimies of God; if he would so permit: keeping manie in prison, whome they oppresse, in loding them with irons, through craft rather to serue their owne purpose, than for anie gilt of the persons so imprisoned: taking solemne oths before the altars, and shortlie after, despising the same altars as vile and filthie stones.

Gyldas.

Of this hainous and wicked offense Constantine the tyrannicall whelpe of the lioneSse of Deuonshire is not ignorant, who this yeare, after the receiuing of his dreadfull oth, whereby he bound himselfe that in no wise he should hurt his subiects (God first, and then his oth, with the companie of saints, and his mother being there present) did notwithstanding in the reuerent laps of the two mothers, as the church, and their carnall mother, vnder the coule of the holie abbat, deuoure with sword and speare in stead of téeth, the tender sides, yea and the entrailes of two children of noble and kinglie race, and likewise of their two gouernours, yea and that (as I said) amongest the sacred altars: the armes of which persons so slaine, not stretched forth to defend themselues with weapons (the which few in those daies handled more valiantlie than they) but stretched forth (I saie) to God and to his altar in the day of iudgement, shall set vp the reuerent ensignes of their patience and faith at the gates of the citie of Christ, which so haue couered the seat of the celestiall sacrifice, as it were with the red mantle of their cluttered bloud.

These things he did not after anie good déeds done by him deseruing praise: for manie yeares before, ouercome with the often and changeable filths of adulterie, & forsaking his lawfull wife contrarie to the lawes of God, &c: he now brought forth this crime of quelling his owne kinsmen, and violating the church, but neither being losed from the snares of his former euils, he increaseth the new with the old. ¶ Thus in effect hath Gyldas written of this Constantine, with more: for turning his tale to him, he reproueth him of his faults, and counselleth him to repent.

*Conanus.* 546

AFter that Aurelius Conanus had slaine the foresad Constantine, as in the British histories is mentioned, the same Conan was made king of Britaine in the yeare of our Lord 546, in the 20 yeare of Justinianus, and in the 33 of the reigne of Childebert king of the Frenchmen. This Aurelius Conanus (as is recorded by some writers) was of a noble heart, free and liberall, but giuen much to the maintenance of strife and discord amongst his people, light of credit, and namelie had an open eare to receiue and heare the reports of such as accused other. Moreouer he was noted of crueltie, as he that toke his vncle, who of right should haue béene king, and kept him in prison, and not so satisfied slue in tyrannous maner the two sons of his said vncle. But God would not suffer him long to inioy the rule of the land in such vniust dealing; for he

March. West. writeth that he reigned 3 yeares.

he died after he had reigned the space of two yeares, and left a sonne behind him called Vortiporus, which succeeded him in the kingdome, as authors do record. Of this Aurelius Conanus Gyldas writeth, calling vnto him after he had made an end with his predecessor Constantine, saieng in this wise: And thou lions whelpe, as saith the prophet, Aurelius Conanus what dost thou? Art thou not swallowed vp in the filthie mire of murthering thy kinsmen, of committing fornications and adulteries like to the other before mentioned, if not more deadlie, as it were with the waues and surges of the drenching seas ouerwhelming thée with hir vnmercifull rage? Doest thou not in hating the peace of thy countrie as a deadlie serpent, and thirsting after ciuill wars and spoiles (oftentimes vniustlie gotten) shut vp against thy soule the gates of celestiall peace and refreshment? Thou being left alone as a withering trée in the middle of a field, call to remembrance (I praie thée) the vaine youthfull fantasie and ouertimelie death of thy fathers and thy brethren. Shalt thou being set apart, and chosen forth of all thy linage for thy godlie deserts, be reserued to liue an hundred yeares, or remaine on earth till thou be as old as Methusalem? No no. And after these reprehensions, with further threatnings of Gods vengeance, he exhorted him to amendment of life, and so proceedeth to talke with Vortiporus, whome he nameth the king, or rather the tyrant of Southwales, as after shall be rehearsed.

## The beginning of the kingdome of *Brenitia, of whome the king of Kent, Mer*tia, and west Saxons descended, Ida the Sax*on commended, the originall of the kingdome of* Deira, the circuit and bounds therof, of Ella the go*uernour of the same, when the partition of the kingdome of* Northumberland chanced; Vortiporus reigneth ouer the Britains, he vanquisheth the Saxons; Gyldas sharplie reprooueth Vortiporus for manie grieuous offenses, and exhorteth him to amendement.

# *The xvj. Chapter.*

*Ida.* 547

*Aflant. The kingdom of Brenitia. begun.*

IN the yeare of the Lord 547, which was about the first yeare of the reigne of Aurelius Conanus, the kingdome of Brenitia began vnder a Saxon ruler there called Ida, & descended of Woden, For where the said Woden had three sonnes, Weldeccius, Withlegris, and Beldecius; of the first, the kings of Kent were lineallie extracted: of the second, the kings of Mertia: and of the third sonne came the kings of West saxon, and also of him was this Ida descended, being the ninth in lineall succession from the said Beldecius and the tenth from Woden. The same Ida was vndoubtedlie a right noble personage, and changed first that dukedome into a kingdome, where before that time the Saxons that ruled there, were subiects vnto the kings of Kent. Whether he toke vpon him of his owne accord to vsurpe the kinglie title and roiall authoritie, or whether that the same was giuen to him by consent of other, the certeintie appeareth not. But sure it is, that he being a worthie prince, did not degenerate from his noble ancestors inuincible in warre abroad and at home, qualifieng his kinglie seueritie with a naturall kind of courteous humanitie. The bounds of his kingdome called (as is said) Brenitia, began in the south at the riuer of Tine, and ended in the north at the Forth in Scotland, in the British tong called Werd.

About the same time, or rather about 14 yeares after, one Ella a Saxon also reigned as king in Deira, which kingdome began at the said riuer of Tine in the north, & ended at the riuer of Humber toward the south. These two kingdomes were sometime gouerned by two seuerall kings, and afterwards at other times they were ioined in one, and gouerned by one onelie king, and named the kingdome of Northumberland, which in processe of time was much inlarged, so that it included the shires of Yorke, Notingham, Darbie, Lancaster, the bishoprike of Durham, Copland, and other countries betwixt the east and the west seas, euen vnto the riuer of Mersie. The foresaid Ella was sonne to Iffus, being descended from Woden, as the 12 in succession from him, though not by right line as William Malmesburie hath noted. Ida (as the same Malmesburie doth testifie) reigned 14 yeares.

*Ella.* 561

*The beginning of the kingdome of Deira.*

*The riuer of Mersie.*

Now Ella who was successor to Ida (as he saith) reigned thirtie yeares, and verie valiantlie inlarged his kingdome. But one author writeth how Ida reigned but 12 yeares, and that he builded the castell of Bamburge, first fensing it with pales, and after with a wall of stone. The same Ida had by his wife six sonnes, begotten in lawfull bed, Ada, Ebric, Theodoric, Athelric, Olner, and Theofred. Moreouer he begat of certeine concubines (which he kept) six bastard sonnes, Oga, Aleric, Ettha, Osbale, Segor, and Segother. These came altogither into this land, and arriued at Flemesburke with fortie ships, as Matthæus Westmonasterienſis hath recorded. The partition of the kingdome of Northumberland chanced after the decease of Ida, as the same author signifieth: for Ada the sonne of the foresaid Ida succéeded his father in the kingdome of Brenitia, reigning therein seuen yeares: and Ella the sonne of Histria, a most valiant duke, began to gouerne Deira, as both the said Matth. Westm. and others do affirme.

*Matth. West.*

*Hen. Hunt.*

*Matt. West.*

*Vortiporus.*

VOtipor the sonne of Aurelius Conanus succeeded his father, and began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 576, in the 11, yeare of the emperour Flauius Anicius Iustinus, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of Chilperic king of France, and in the fourth yeare of Clephis the Gothish king in Italie. This Vortipor vanquished the Saxons in battell, as the British histories make mention, and valiantlie defended his land and subiects the Britains, from the danger of them and other their allies. In the time of this kings reigne, the foresaid Ella began to rule in the south part of the kingdome of Northumberland called Deira, as before is mentioned, according to the account of some authors, who also take this Vortipor to begin his reigne in the yeare 548. After that Vortipor had ruled the Britans the space of 4 yeares, he departed this life, and left no issue behind him to succeed him in the kingdome.

*Matth. West. noteth 578.*

*Matth. West. noteth 3 years*

Against this Vortipor Gyldas also whetting his tong, beginneth with him thus: And why standest thou as one starke amazed? Thou (I say) Vortipor the tyrant of Southwales, like to the panther in maner and wickednesse diuerslie spotted as it were with manie colors, with thy hoarie head in thy throne, full of deceits, crafts and wiles, and defiled euen from the lowest part of thy bodie to the crowne of thy head, with diuers & sundrie murthers committed on thine owne kin, and filthie adulteries, thus prouing a naughtie sonne of a good king, as Manasses was to Ezechias. How chanceth it that the violent streames of sinnes which thou swallowest vp like pleasant wine, or rather art deuoured of them, (the end of thy life by little and little now drawing nére)

cc nere) can not yet ſatiſſie the? What meaneſt thou
cc that with fornication of all euils, as it were the full
cc heape, thine owne wife being put away, thou by hir
cc honeſt death doeſt oppreſſe thy ſoule with a certeine
cc burthen that can not be auoided, of thine vnshame-
cc fast daughter? Conſume not (I pray thée) the reſi-
cc due of thy daies to the offenſe of God, &c. These and the like words vttered he, exhorting him to repentance, with admonitions taken out of the ſcriptures both for his comfort and warning.

¶ If the circumſtance of this that Gyldas writeth of Vortipor us be marked, it may be perceiued, that Geffrey of Monmouth, and alſo Matthew of Weſtminſter, the author of the floures of hiſtories, are deceiued, in that they take him to be the ſonne of Aurelius Conanus: and rather it may be gathered, that not onlie the ſame Aurelius Conanus and Vortipor us, but alſo Conſtantinus, yea & Cuneglaſus, and Maglocunus, of the which he alſo intreateth (as partlie ſhall be hereafter touched) liued and reigned all at one time in ſeuerall parts of this Ile, and not as monarchs of the whole Britiſh nation, but as rulers each of them in his quarter, after the maner as the ſtate of Ireland hath béene in times paſt before the countrie came vnder the Engliſh ſubiection, if my coniecture herein do not deceiue me.

## Malgo reigneth ouer the Britains, the *noble qualities wherewith he was beauti-* fied by his filthie ſinnes are blemiſhed, Gyldas *reproueth Cuneglaſus for making warre againſt* God and man, and this Malgo for his manifold offenſes, *the vile iniquities whereunto the Britiſh rulers were in-*clined, the valiantneſſe of Kenrike king of the Weſtſaxons, his victories againſt diuers people his enimies, ſucceſſion in the gouernment of the Weſtſaxons, Northumberland, and Kentiſh Saxons; the firſt battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons in this Iland, Cheuling with his Weſtſaxons encounter with the Britains and get the vpper hand, three kings of the Britains ſlaine, and their people ſpoiled of their lands, goods and liues.

## The xvij. Chapter.

*Malgo.*

After the deceaſſe of Vortipor us, Malgo the nephue of Aurelius Conanus (as ſome write) was made king of Britaine, & began his reigne ouer the Britaines, in the yéere of our Lord 580, in the fiftéenth yéere of the emperour Iuſtinian, and in the 37 yéere of the reigne of Childerike king of the Frenchmen. This Malgo is reported to haue béene the comelieſt gentleman in beautie and ſhape of perſonage that was to be found in thoſe daies amongſt all the Britains, and therewith of a bold and hardie courage. He manfullie defended the country which he had in gouernance from the malice of the Saxons, and ſubdued the out Iles, as Orkenie and others. But notwithſtanding the noble qualities with the which his perſon was adorned, yet he ſpotted them all with the filthie ſinne of Sodomie, ſo that he fell into the hatred of almightie God, and being purſued of the Saxons, receiued manie ouerthrowes at their hands, as by the report of the Engliſh writers is gathered more at large. Finallie, when he had reigned fiue yéeres and od moneths, he departed this life.

Matth. Weſt. hath noted 581

580

Gal. Mon.

Matt. Weſtm. counteth not paſt fiue yeres to his reigne though other affirme that he reigned 35 yéeres.

It ſéemeth that this Malgo is named by Gyldas, Maglocunus, the which Gyldas (before he ſpeaketh of him) inueieth againſt one Cuneglaſus, whom he reproueth, for that he warred both againſt God and man: againſt God, with grieuous ſinnes, as namelie adulterie, in forſaking the companie of his lawfull wife, and kéeping to concubine a ſiſter of hirs, that had profeſſed chaſtitie: & againſt man with materiall armor and weapons, which he vſed to the deſtruction of his owne countrimen, with whom he kept warres, and not againſt the enimies of the common wealth.

From Cuneglaſus he commeth to the foreſaid Maglocunus, whome he nameth the dragon of the Iles, and the expeller of manie tyrants, not onelie out of their kingdoms, but alſo out of life, the laſt of whom he treateth (as he himſelfe ſaith) but the firſt in all miſchéefe & euill, greater than manie in power, and likewiſe in malice: verie liberall in giuing, but more plentifull in ſinne, ſtrong and valiant in arms, but ſtronger in deſtruction of his owne ſoule. And ſo proceéding, chargeth him with the ſinne of the Sodomits, & ſore blameth him, for that where it had pleaſed God to make him higher than all other dukes of Britaine in kingdome and degrée, he did not ſhew himſelfe better, but contrarilie far worſe than they both in maners and conditions. He declareth alſo a little after, that this Maglocune in his yong yéres ſlue in battell his vncle being king, with the moſt valiant ſouldiers in maner that he had. Alſo that where the ſaid Maglocune toke vpon him the profeſſion of a monke, he after renounced the ſame, and became a worſſe liuer than euer he was before, abandoning his wife, and kéeping his brothers ſonnes wife, while hir huſband yet liued.

Thus by that which Gyldas writeth of the kings and rulers of the Britains, which liued in his daies, ye may perceiue that they were giuen to all manner of wickedneſſe, and namelie to ciuill diſſention, rapine, adulterie, and fornication: ſo that it may be thought, that GOD ſtirred vp the Saxons to be a ſcourge to them, and to worke his iuſt vengeance vpon them for their wickednes and abhominable offenſes dailie cõmitted againſt his diuine maieſtie, ſo that we find recorded by writers, how that the Saxons in diuers conflicts againſt the Britains had the better, and alſo toke from them diuers townes, as alreadie partly hath bene and alſo hereafter ſhall be ſhewed.

It is furthermore to be remembred, that about the 14 yeere of the Britaine king Conanus his reigne, which was about the end of the yere of Chriſt 559, Kenrike king of the Weſtſaxons departed this life, after he had reigned xxb. yéeres complet. This Kenrike was a victorious prince, and fought diuers battels againſt the Britains. In the 18 yeere of his reigne, which was the 551 of Chriſt, we find that he fought againſt them, being come at that time vnto Saliſburie, and after great ſlaughter made on both parts, at length the victorie remained with the Saxons, and the Britains were chaſed. Againe in the two and twentith yeere of his reigne, and 555 yeere of Chriſt, the ſame Kenrike and his ſonne Cheuling fought with a great power of Britains at Branburie.

559

Hen. Hunt.

His brother as Matt. Weſt. ſaith.

H. Hunt.

Matt. Weſt.

The Britains were diuided into nine companies, three in the fore ward, three in the battell, and three in the rere ward, with their horſſemen and archers, after the maner of the Romans. The Saxons being ranged in one entire battell, valiantlie aſſailed them, and notwithſtanding the ſhot of the Britains, yet they brought the matter to the triall of handblowes, till at length by the comming on of the night, the victorie remained doubtfull: and no maruell is to be made therof (ſaith Henrie archdeacon of Huntington) ſith the Saxons were men of huge ſtature, great force, & valiant courage. The ſame yéere that Kenrike deceaſſed, Ida the king of Northumberland alſo died: he was (as ye haue heard) a right

valiant

valiant prince, & inlarged the dominion of the Saxons greatlie, he ouercame Loth king of the Picts in battell, and Goran king of Scots.

Also about the yeere of Christ 560, Conanus (as yet gouerning the Britains) Irmenrike king of Kent departed this life, of whome ye haue heard before, & Ethelbert his sonne succeeded him 52 yeares. Then after that the foresaid three princes were dead (as before ye haue heard) they had that succeeded them in their estates as here followeth. After Ienrike, his sonne Ceaulinus or Cheuling succeeded in gouernement of the Westsaxons: and after Ida, one Ella or Alla reigned in Northumberland: after Irmenrike followed his sonne Ethelbert in rule ouer the Kentish Saxons.

560

Hen Hunt.

This Ethelbert in processe of time grew to be a mightie prince, but yet in the begining of his reigne he had but sorie successe against some of his enimies: for hauing to do with the foresaid Cheuling king of Westsaxons, he was of him ouercome in battell at Wilbasdowne, where he lost two of his dukes or cheefe capteins, beside other people. This was the first battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons, one against another within this land, after their first comming into the same. And this chanced in the yere of our Lord 567, being the second yeere of the emperour Justinus.

Hen. Hunt. Alds. Wipbandune.

About the yeere 570, Cutha the brother of king Cheuling fought with the Britains at Bedford, vanquished them, & toke from them 4 townes, Liganborough, Eglesborough or Ailsburie, Bestington, and Cuesham. Also about the yeere of our Lord 581, the foresaid king Cheuling incountered with the Britains at a place called Diorth, and obteining the vpper hand, toke from them the cities of Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester. At this battell fought at Diorth, were present three kings of the Britains, whose names were these: Coinmagill, Candidan, and Farinnagill, which were slaine there through the permission of almightie God as then refusing his people, the which through their heinous sinnes and great wickednesses, had most greeuouslie offended his high and diuine maiestie, as by Gyldas it may euidentlie appeare. For they had declined from the lawes of the Lord, and were become abhominable in his sight, euen from the prince to the poore man, from the priest to the Leuit, so that not one estate among them walked vprightlie, but contrarie to dutie was gone astray, by reason whereof the righteous God had giuen them ouer as a prey to their enimies.

570.

Cutha.

Iuilburte.

581

Also in the latter end of Malgos daies or about the first beginning of the reigne of his successor Careticus, Cheuling and his sonne Cutwine fought with the Britains at a place called Fechanley or Fedanley, or (as some bookes haue) Frithenlie, where Cutwine was slaine, & the Englishmen chased: but yet Cheuling repairing his armie, wan the victorie, and chasing the Britains, toke from them manie countries, and wan great riches by the spoile. But Matth. West. saith, that the victorie abood with the Britains, and that the Saxons were chased quite out of the field. The Scotish writers record, that their king Aidan (who is noted to haue beene the 49 successiuelie possessing the regiment of that land, partlie with griefe of hart for the death of Columba a graue and wise gentleman, whome he tenderlie loued, and partlie with age [for he was growne horieheaded, and had reigned 34 yeeres] ended his life) was there in aid of the Britains, and Bindeus king of the Picts (betwixt whom and the said Aidan a sore battell was fought) in aid of the Saxons: but the same writers name the place Degastan, where this battell was made, and the forces of both sides by a sharpe incounter tried.

His brother as Matt. West. saith.

H Hunt.

Matt. West.

The begining of the kingdome of Mercia, *the bounds of the same, the heptarchie* or seuen regiments of the Saxons, how they *grew to that perfection, and by whom they were* reduced and drawne into a monarchie; Careticus is *created king of Britaine, the Saxons take occasion by the ciuill* dissentions of the Britains to make a full conquest of the land, they procure forren power to further them in their enterprise, Gurmundus king of the Africans arriueth in Britaine, the British king is driuen to his hard shifts, the politike practise of Gurmundus in taking Chichester & setting the towne on fire, he deliuereth the whole land in possession to the Saxons, the English and Saxon kings put Careticus to flight, the Britains haue onelie three prouinces left of all their countrie which before they inhabited, their religion, church, and commonwealth is in decaie, they are gouerned by three kings, Cheulings death is conspired of his owne subiects.

## *The xviij. Chapter.*

*Crida.* H. Hunt. This kingdome began in the yeere 585. as Matt. VVestm. saith. Ran Cest.

About the same time also, and 585 of Christ, the kingdome of Mercia began vnder one Crida, who was descended from Woden, and the tenth from him by lineall extraction. The bounds of this kingdome were of great distance, hauing on the east the sea vnto Humbet, and so on the north the said riuer of Humber, and after the riuer of Mercia, which falleth into the west sea at the corner of Wirhall, and so comming about to the riuer of Dee that passeth by Chester, the same riuer bounded it on the west from Wales, and likewise Seuerne vp to Bristow: on the south it had the riuer of Thames, till it came almost to London. And in this sort it conteined Lincolneshire, Notingamshire, Derbishire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Glocestershire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingtonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Warwikeshire.

¶ Thus haue ye heard how the Saxons in processe of time removing the Britains out of their seats, dailie wan ground of them, till at length they got possession of the best part of this Ile, and erected within the same seuen kingdoms, which were gouerned by seuen seuerall kings, who continued vntill the kings of Westsaxon brought them all at length into one monarchie, as after shall appeere. Matth. Westmin. reckoneth eight kingdoms as thus; The kingdom of Kent, the kingdom of Suller, the kingdom of Eller, the kingdom of Eastangle, the kingdom of Mercia, the kingdom of Westser, and the kingdom of Northumberland, which was diuided into two kingdoms, that is to say, into Deira and into Bernicia: whereunto W. Harison addeth the ninth in the first part of his chronologie, and calleth it Wales.

After that Malgo or Maglocune was departed this life, one Careticus, or (as some write him) Caretius, was made king of the Britains, and began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 586, which was in the third yeere of the emperour Mauricius, and thirteenth of Chilperike king of France. This Careticus was a nourisher of ciuill warre and dissention amongst his owne people the Britains, so that he was hated both of God and man, as writers testifie. The Saxons vnderstanding that the Britains were not of one mind, but diuided in partakings, so as one was readie to deuoure an other, thought it good time for them to aduance their conquests, and ceassed not to pursue the Britains by force and continuall warre, till they had constreined them

*Careticus* 586

Gal. Mon. See more of this Gurmundus in Ireland. Ranulf. Cest.

for refuge to withdraw into Wales. And as some haue written, the Saxons meaning to make a full conquest of the land, sent ouer into Ireland, requiring one Gurmundus a king of the Affricans to come ouer into Britaine to helpe them against the Britains.

This Gurmundus appointing his brother Turgesius to pursue the conquest of Ireland, came and arriued here in Britaine, making such cruell warre in aid of the Saxons against the Britains, that Careticus was constreined to keepe him within the citie of Chicester or Cirencester, and was there besieged, and at length by continuall assalts and skirmishes, when he had lost manie of his men, he was glad to forsake that citie, and fled into Wales. This Gurmundus tooke Cirencester or Chichester, and destroied it in most cruell maner. Some write, that he tooke this citie by a policie of warre, in binding to the feet of sparrowes which his people had caught, certeine clewes of tred or matches, finelie wrought & tempered with matter readie to take fire, so that the sparrowes being suffered to go out of hand, flue into the towne to lodge themselues within their neasts which they had made in stacks of corne, and eues of houses, so that the towne was thereby set on fire, and then the Britains issuing forth, fought with their enimies, and were ouercome and discomfited.

But whilest the battell continued, Careticus stale away, and got him into Wales. After this, the foresaid Gurmundus destroied this land throughout in pitifull wise, and then deliuered it in possession to the Saxons, the which thankfullie receiued it: and because they were descended of those that first came ouer with Hengist, they changed the name of the land, and called it Hengistland, accordinglie as the same Hengist had in times past ordeined: the which name after for shortnesse of speech was somewhat altered, and so lastlie called England, and the people Englishmen. But rather it may be thought, that sith a great part of those people which came ouer into this land out of Germanie with the said Hengist, and other capteins, were of those Englishmen which inhabited Germanie about the parts of Thoringhen, they called this land England, after their name, when they had first got habitation within it: and so both the land and people toke name of them, being called *Angli*, a long time before they entered into this Ile (as before is shewed out of Cornelius Tacitus and others.) But now to returne where we left.

Matt. VVest.

Of this Gurmundus the old English writers make no mention, nor also anie ancient authors of forren parties: and yet saith the British booke, that after he had conquered this land, and giuen it to the Saxons, he passed ouer into France, and there destroied much of that land, as an enimie to the faith of Christ. For which consideration he was the more readie to come to the aid of the Saxons, who as yet had not receiued the christian faith, but warred against the Britains, as well to destroie the faith of Christ within this land, as to establish to themselues continuall habitations in the same. There be, that omitting to make mention of Gurmundus, write thus of the expelling of the Britains out of this land at that time, when with their king Careticus they got them into Wales.

It should seeme that this historie of Gurmundus is but some fained tale except it may be that he was some Dane, Norwegian or Germane.

In the yeere of Grace 586, Careticus a louer of ciuill warre succeeded Ualgo an enimie to God and to the Britains, whose inconstancie when the English and Saxon kings perceiued, with one consent they rose against him, and after manie battels chased him from citie to citie, till at length incountering with him in a pight field, they drone him beyond Seuerne into Wales. Hereupon clerks and priests were driuen out of their places with wight swords, brandishing in all parts, and fire crackling in churches, wherewith the same were consumed. The remnant of the Britains therefore withdrew into the west parts of the land, that is to say, into Cornwall, and into Wales, out of which countries they oftentimes brake out, and made insurrections vpon the Saxons, the which in maner aforsaid got possession of the chiefest parts of the land, leauing to the Britains onlie three prouinces, that is to say, Cornwall, Southwales, and Northwales, which countries were not easie to be woone, by reason of the thicke woods inuironed with deepe maresh and waters, and full of high craggie rocks and mounteins.

The English and Saxon kings hauing thus remoued the Britains, inlarged the bounds of their dominions. There reigned in that season within this land, beside the Britaine kings, eight kings of the English and Saxon nations, as Ethelbert in Kent, Cissa in Sussex, Ceaulin in Westsex, Creda or Crida in Mercia, Erkenwine in Essex, Titila in Estangle, Elle in Deira, and Alfrid in Bernicia. In this sort the Britains lost the possession of the more part of their ancient seats, and the faith of Christ thereby was greatlie decaied: for the churches were destroied; and the archbishops of Caerleon Arwiske, London and Yorke withdrew togither with their clergie into the mounteins and woods within Wales, taking with them the reliks of saints, doubting the same should be destroied by the enimies, and themselues put to death if they should abide in their old habitations. Nante also fled into Britaine Armorike with a great fleete of ships, so that the whole church or congregation (as ye may call it) of the two prouinces, Loegria and Northumberland, was left desolate in that season, to the great hinderance and decaie of the christian religion. Careticus was driuen into Wales (as before is rehearsed) about the second or third yeere of his reigne, and there continued with his Britains, the which ceassed not to indamage the Saxons from time to time as occasion still serued.

Celric.

594

Beda. Will. Malmes.

But here is to be noted, that the Britains being thus remoued into Wales and Cornwall, were gouerned afterwards by three kings, or rather tyrants, the which ceased not with ciuill warre to seeke others destruction, till finallie (as saith the British booke) they became all subiect vnto Cadwallo, whome Beda nameth Cedwallo. In the meane time, Ceaulinus or Cheuling king of the Westsaxons, through his owne misgouernance and tyrannie, which towards his latter daies he practised, did procure not onelie the Britains, but also his owne subiects to conspire his death, so that ioining in battell with his aduersaries at Wodensdic, in the 33 yeare of his reigne, his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe constreined to depart into exile, and shortlie after ended his life before he could find meanes to be restored. Will. Malm.

¶ So that we haue here a mirror or liuelie view of a tyrant and a king, wherein there is no lesse ods in the manner of their gouernement, than there is repugnance in their names, or difference in their states. For he seeth but little into the knowledge of tongs, that vnderstandeth not what the office of a king should be, by the composition of his name, the same sounding in Greeke βασιλευς, which being resolued is in effect βασις λαος, that is, the foundation or stay of the people; from which qualitie when he reuolteth, he maketh shipwracke of that goodlie title, and degenerateth into a tyrant, than the which violent and inforced gouernement as there is none more perillous, so is it of all other the least of continuance: this is proued by historicall obseruation through the course of this historie.

Ceolric

Ceolric reigneth ouer the Weſtſaxons, *the Saxons and Britains incounter, E-* thelbert king of kent ſubdueth the Engliſh- *ſaxons, he is maried to the French kings daughter* vpon cautions of religion, the king imbraceth the *goſpell, Auguſtine the moonke and others were ſent into* this Ile to preach the chriſtian faith, the occaſion that moued Gregorie the great to ſend him, buieng and ſelling of boies, the Engliſhmen called Angli commended, Ethelbert cauſeth Auguſtine and his fellowes to come before him, they preach to the king and his traine, he granteth them a conuenient ſeat and competent reliefe in Canturburie, the maner of their going thither and their behauiour there, the king and his people receiue the chriſtian faith, and are baptiſed.

## The xix. Chapter.

Celric.

NOw after Cheuling, his nephue Celricus or Ceolric that was ſonne vnto Cutwine, the ſonne of the foreſaid Cheuling, reigned as king ouer the Weſtſaxons fiue yeares & fiue moneths. In like manner the ſame yeare died Ella or Alla king of Northumberland, after whome ſucceeded Ethelricus the ſonne of Ida, and reigned but fiue yeares, being a man well growne in yeares before he came to be king. About three yeeres after this, the Saxons & Britains fought a battell at Wodenesbourne, where the Britans being ranged in good order, the Saxons ſet vpon them boldlie indeed, but diſorderedlie, ſo that the victorie remained with the Britains. The Saxons the more valiant they had ſhewed themſelues in battell, before that time, ſo much the more ſlow and vntowardlie did they ſhew themſelues now in running awaie to ſaue themſelues, ſo that an huge number of them were ſlaine. Also about the ſame time died Crida king of Mercia 594, after whome his ſonne Wibbas or Wipha ſucceeded. And after the deceaſſe of Ethelric, one Edelbert or Edelfride ſurnamed the wild, ſucceeded in gouernement of the Northumbers. But to returne to our purpoſe.

594

Ethelbert king of Kent, not diſcouraged with the euill chance which happened in the beginning, but rather occaſioned thereby to learne more experience in feats of warre, prooued ſo perfect a maiſter therein, that in proceſſe of time he ſubdued by force of armes all thoſe Engliſh Saxons which lay betwixt the bounds of his countrie, and the riuer of Humber. Also to haue friendſhip in forraine parts, he procured a wife for himſelfe of the French nation, named the ladie Bertha, being king Cheriberts daughter of France; but with condition, that he ſhould permit hir to continue and vſe the rites and lawes of chriſtian faith and religion, and to haue a biſhop whoſe name was Luidhard, appointed to come and remaine with hir here in this land for hir better inſtruction in the lawes of the Lord. So that they two with other of the French nation that came ouer with them remaining in the court, and vſing to ſerue God in praiers and otherwiſe, according to the cuſtome of the chriſtian religion, began vndoubtedlie to giue light to the kings mind as yet darkned with the clouds of paganiſme, ſo as the bright beames of the celeſtiall clærenes of vnderſtanding remoued the thicke miſts of his vnbeléefe in tract of time, and prepared his heart to the receiuing of the goſpell, which after by heauenlie prouidence was preached to him, by occaſion, and in maner as followeth.

Beda. Will. Malmeſ.

In the yeare of our Lord 596, which was about the 14 yeare of the reigne of the emperour Mauricius, and after the comming of the Engliſh Saxons into this land, about an 147 yeares almoſt complet, the biſhop of Rome, Gregorie the firſt of that name, and ſurnamed Magnus, ſent Auguſtinus a moonke, with certeine other learned men into this Ile to preach the chriſtian faith vnto the Engliſh Saxons, which nation as yet had not receiued the goſpell. And here we hold it neceſſarie to ſhew how it is recorded by diuers writers, that the firſt occaſion whereby Gregorie was moued thus to ſend Auguſtine into this land, roſe by this meanes.

Beda. 596. 47 ſaith the ſame author.

It chanced (whileſt the ſame Gregorie was as yet but archdeacon of the ſée of Rome) certeine yong boies were brought thither to bee ſold out of Northumberland, according to the accuſtomable vſe of that countrie, in ſomuch that as we haue in our time ſéene (ſaith W. Mal.) the people of that prouince haue not yet doubted to ſell awaie their néere kinſfolke for a ſmall price. When thoſe children which at that time were brought from thence to Rome, had by reaſon of their excellent beauties and comelie ſhape of lims and bodie, turned the eies in maner of all the citizens to the beholding of them, it fortuned that Gregorie alſo came amongſt other to behold them, and when he conſidered and well viewed their faire ſkins, their ſweet viſages, and beautifull buſhes of their bright and yeallow heares, he demanded out of what region or land they came, vnto whome anſwere was made, that they were brought out of Britaine, the inhabitants of which countrie were of the like beautifull aſpect. Then he aſked whether the men of that countrie were chriſtians, or as yet intangled with blind heathenish errors? Wherevnto it was anſwered, that they were not chriſtened, but followed the religion of the Gentiles. Whereat Gregorie fetching a déepe ſigh, ſaid: Ah, alas that the author of darkeneſſe doth as yet poſſeſſe men of ſo brightſome countenances, and that with the grace of ſuch faire ſhining viſages, they beare about minds void of inward grace.

Vita Gregorii magni.

Moreouer he demanded by what name the people were called, whereto anſwere was made, that they were called Angli, that is to ſay Engliſhmen. Right worthilie (ſaith he) for they haue angels faces, and ſuch as ought to be made fellow heires with angels in heauen. Then aſked he the name of the prouince from whence they were brought, and it was told him they were of Deira. It is well (ſaid he) they are to be deliuered *De ira dei*, that is to ſay, from the ire and wrath of God, and called to the mercie of Chriſt our Lord. What name (ſaid he) hath the king of that prouince? Wherevnto anſwere was made that he was called Alla, whereupon alluding to that name, he ſaid, Alleluia ought to be ſong in thoſe parts to the praiſe and honor of God the creator.

Pelagius the ſecond Will. Malmeſ.

Hereupon comming to Benedict the firſt of that name (as then biſhop of Rome) he required him that ſome learned men might be ſent into England to preach the goſpell vnto the Engliſhmen, offering himſelfe to be one of the number. But though Benedict was contented to grant his requeſt, yet the Romans had him in ſuch eſtimation, that they would not conſent that he ſhould depart ſo farre from the citie, ſo that by them he was at that time ſtaied of that his godlie purpoſe. Howbeit when he came to be biſhop, he thought to performe it though not by himſelfe, yet by other: and ſo Auguſtine and his fellowes were ſent by him about it (as before is ſaid.) By the way, as they were paſſing in their iournie, ſuch a ſudden feare entred into their hearts, that (as ſome write) they returned all. Others write, that Auguſtine was ſent backe to Gregorie, to ſue that they might be releaſed of that voi-

Pelagius.

M. Fox.

age so dangerous and vncerteine amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor whose rudenesse they were able to resist. Then Gregorie with pithie perswasions confirming and comforting him, sent him againe with letters vnto the bishop of Arles, willing him to helpe and aid the said Austine and his companie in all what so euer his neede required. Also other letters he directed by the foresaid Austine vnto his fellowes, exhorting them to go forward boldlie in the Lords worke, as by the tenor of the said epistle here following may appeare.

## Gregorie the seruant of Gods seruants, *to the seruants of our* Lord.

FOr as much as it is better not to take good things in hand, than after they be begun, to thinke to reuolt backe from the same againe, therefore now you may not nor cannot (dere children) but with all feruent studie and labour must needs go forward in that good businesse, which thorough the helpe of God you haue well begun. Neither let the wearisomnesse of your iournie, nor the slanderous toongs of men appall you, but that with all instance and feruencie ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordeined you to take in hand, knowing that your great trauell shall be recompensed with reward of greater glorie hereafter to come. Therefore as we send here Austine to you againe, whome also we haue ordeined to be your gouernour, so doo you humblie obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable for your soules what soeuer at his admonition ye shall doo. Almightie God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternall countrie the fruit of your labours, though heere I cannot labour in the same fellowship with you togither. The Lord God keepe you safe most deere and welbeloued children. Dated the tenth before the kalends of August, in the reigne of our souereigne lord Mauricius most vertuous emperor, the fourteenth of his empire.

Thus emboldned and comforted through the good words and wholesome exhortation of Gregorie, they set forward againe, and speeding forth their iournie, first arriued at the Ile of Thanet in Kent in the moneth of Julie, being in number about fortie persons, of the which diuerse were interpretors, whome they brought with them out of France. These they sent vnto king Ethelbert, signifieng the occasion of their comming, who hearing the messengers within a few daies after, went into that Ile, and there abroad out of anie house sat downe, and caused Augustine and his fellowes to come before him, for he would not come vnder anie roofe with them, fore doubting to be bewitched by them, being perswaded that they were practised in nigromancie. But they comming to him, not by the power of the diuell (as they said) but by the might and power of almightie God, bearing in steed of a banner a crosse of siluer, and an image of our Lord and Sauiour painted in a table, and thereto singing the letanies, made intercession vnto the Lord for the euerlasting preseruation of themselues, and of all them for whome and to whome they came.

The seuenfold letanies of S. Gregorie were not yet deuised.

Now when they being set downe by commandement of the king, had preached the word of life to him, and to all those that came thither with him, he made them this answer, that their words and promises were good: but for as much as the same were new & vncerteine to him that had been brought vp in the contrarie doctrine, he could not rashlie assent to their admonitions, & leaue that beleefe which he and the English nation had so long a time obserued and kept; but (said he) because ye haue trauelled farre, to the intent to make vs partakers of those things which ye beleeue to be most true and perfect, we will thus much graunt vnto you, that ye shall be receiued into this countrie, and haue harbrough, with all things sufficient found vnto you for your maintenance and sustentation; neither will we hinder you, but that ye may by preaching associat and ioine as manie of our subiects as you can vnto your law and beleefe. They had therefore assigned vnto them a place to lodge in within the citie of Canturburie, which was the head citie of all his dominion. It is said that as they approched the citie according to their maner, they had a crosse borne before them, with an image of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they followed, singing this letanie, *Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua à ciuitate ista & de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus: Alleluia.* That is to say, We beseech thee ô Lord in all thy mercie that thy furie and wrath may be taken from this citie, and from thy holie house, for we haue sinned. Praise be to thee ô Lord. After they were receiued into Canturburie, they began to follow the trade of life which the apostles vsed in the primitiue church, that is to say, exercising themselues in continuall praier, watching, and preaching to as manie as they could, despising all worldlie things, as not belonging to them, receiuing onelie of them (whome they taught) things necessarie for the sustenance of their life, & liuing in all points according to the doctrine which they set forth, hauing their minds readie to suffer in patience all aduersities what so euer, yea and death it selfe, for the confirming of that which they now preached. Hereupon, manie of the English people beleeued and were baptised, hauing in great reuerence the simplicitie of those men, and the sweetenesse of their heauenlie doctrine. There was a church neere to the citie on the east part thereof dedicated to the honor of saint Martine, and builded of old time whilest the Romans as yet inhabited Britaine, in the which the queene, being (as we haue said) a christian, vsed to make hir praiers. To this church Austine and his fellowes at their first comming accustomed to resort, and there to sing, to praie, to sale masse, to preach and to baptise, till at length the king being conuerted, granted them licence to preach in euerie place, and to build and restore churches where they thought good. After that the king being perswaded by their doctrine, good examples giuing, and diuers miracles shewed, was once baptised, the people in great numbers began to giue eare vnto the preaching of the gospell, and renouncing their heathenish beleefe, became christians, in so much that as Gregorie remembreth, there were baptised ten thousand persons in one day, being the feast of the natiuitie of our Sauiour 597, and the first indiction.

¶ Some write how this should chance toward the latter end of Augustines daies, after he was admitted to preach the gospell amongst them that inhabited about Yorke (as some write) which affirme, that the said number of ten thousand was baptised in the riuer of Swale, which (as W. Harison saith) cannot be verified, because of the indiction and death of Gregorie. But to proceed.

Beda lib. 1. cap. 26. and 27.

Beda. Matth. Weſt.

Augustine ordeined archbishop of the English nation.

The christian faith receiued of the English men.

Laurence a priest.

The renewers of the church to be deuided into 4. parts.

Liturgie.

Church seruice.

Lib. 7. cap. 24.

Polychron

Such as did forge.

Re-

Religion is not to be inforced but perſwaded and preached, *Auguſtine is made* archbiſhop of England, Gregorie informeth *Auguſtine of certeine ordinances to be made and* obſerued in the new Engliſh church, as the reuenewes *of the church to be diuided into foure parts, of liturgie, of* mariage, of eccleſiaſticall diſcipline and ordeining of biſhops: trifling queſtions obiected by Auguſtine to Gregorie, fellow helpers are ſent ouer to aſſiſt Auguſtine in his miniſterie, he receiueth his pall, reformation muſt be doone by little and little, not to glorie in miracles, the effect of Gregories letters to K. Ethelbert after his conuerſion to chriſtianitie.

## *The xx. Chapter.*

Beda lib. 1. cap. 26. and 27.

KIng Ethelbert reioiſed at the conuerſion of his people, howbeit he would not force anie man to be baptiſed, but onelie ſhewed by his behauiour, that he fauored thoſe that beleeued more than other, as fellow citizens with him of the heauenlie kingdome: for he learned of them that had inſtructed him in the faith, that the obedience due to Chriſt ought not to be inforced, but to come of good will. Moreouer he prouided for Auguſtine and his fellowes a conuenient place for their habitation within the citie of Canturburie, and further gaue them neceſſarie reuenewes in poſſeſſion for their maintenance. After that the faith of Chriſt was thus receiued of the Engliſh men, Auguſtine went into France, and there of the archbiſhop of Arles named Etherius was ordeined archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation, according to the order preſcribed by Gregorie before the departure of the ſaid Auguſtine from Rome.

Auguſtine ordeined archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation.

Laurence a prieſt.

After his returne into Britaine, he ſent Laurence a prieſt, and Peter a monke vnto Rome, to giue knowledge vnto Gregorie the biſhop, how the Engliſhmen had receiued the faith, and that he was ordeined archbiſhop of the land, according to that he had commanded, if the worke proſpered vnder his hand as it had done. He alſo required to haue Gregories aduice touching certeine ordinances to be made and obſerued in the new church of England. Whereupon Gregorie, ſending backe the meſſengers, wrote an anſwere vnto all his demands. And firſt touching the conuerſation of archbiſhops with the clergie, and in what ſort the church goods ought to be imploied, he declared that the ancient cuſtome of the apoſtolike ſee was to giue commandement vnto biſhops ordeined, that the profits and reuenewes of their benefices ought to be diuided into foure parts, whereof the firſt ſhould be appointed to the biſhop and his familie for the maintenance of hoſpitalitie: the ſecond ſhould be aſſigned to the clergie: the third giuen to the poore: and the fourth imploied vpon repairing of temples.

The reuenewes of the church to be diuided into 4. parts.

Liturgie.

Church ſeruice.

And whereas in the church of Rome one cuſtome in ſaieng maſſe or the liturgie was obſerued, and another cuſtome in France; concerning ſuch church ſeruice, Gregorie aduiſed Auſtine that if he found anie thing either in the church of Rome, either in the church of France, or in anie other church which might moſt pleaſe the almightie God, he ſhould diligentlie chooſe it out, and inſtruct the church of England (now being new) according to that forme which he ſhould gather forth of the ſaid churches: for the things are not loued for the places ſake, but the places for the things ſake. Alſo for puniſhing of ſuch as had ſtolen things out of churches, ſo neere as might be,

Such as did theale.

the offendor ſhould be chaſtiſed in charitie, ſo as he might know his fault, and (if it were poſſible) reſtore the thing taken away.

Mariages.

And touching degrees in mariage, Engliſhmen might take to their wiues, women that touched them in the third and fourth degree without reprehenſion, and if any vnlawfull mariages were found amongſt the Engliſhmen, as if the ſonne had maried the fathers wife, or the brother the brothers wife, they ought to be warned in anie wiſe to abſteine, and vnderſtand it to be a greeuous ſinne: yet ſhould they not for that thing be depriued of the communion of the bodie and bloud of our Lord, leaſt thoſe things might ſeeme to be puniſhed in them wherein they had offended (before their conuerſion to the chriſtian faith) by ignorance: for at this ſeaſon the church (ſaith he) correcteth ſome things of a feruent earneſtneſſe, ſuffreth ſome things of a gentle mildnes, and diſſembleth ſome things of a prudent conſideration, and ſo beareth and winketh at the ſame, that oftentimes the euill which ſhe abhorreth by ſuch bearing and diſſembling, is reſtreined and reformed.

Diſciplne of the church.

Moreouer touching the ordeining of biſhops, he would they ſhould be ſo placed, that the diſtance of place might not be a let, but that when a biſhop ſhould be conſecrated, there might be three or foure preſent. Alſo touching the biſhops of France, he willed Auguſtine in no wiſe to intermeddle with them, otherwiſe than by exhortation and good admonition to be giuen, but not to preſume anie thing by authoritie, ſith the archbiſhop of Arles had receiued the pall in times paſt, whoſe authoritie he might not diminiſh, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to put his ſickle into another mans harueſt. But as for the biſhops of Britaine, he committed them vnto him, that the vnlearned might be taught, the weake with wholeſome perſuaſions ſtrengthened, and the froward by authoritie reformed. Moreouer, that a woman with child might be baptiſed, and ſhe that was deliuered after 33 daies of a manchild, and after 46 daies of a womanchild, ſhould be purified, but yet might ſhe enter the church before, if ſhe would.

Ordeining of biſhops.

women with child.

The reſidue of Auguſtines demands conſiſted in theſe points, to wit:

Matters in queſtion about trifles.

1 Within what ſpace a child ſhould be chriſtened after it was borne, for doubt to be preuented by death?

2 Within what time a man might companie with his wife after ſhe was brought to bed?

3 Whether a woman, hauing hir floures, might enter the church, or receiue the communion?

4 Whether a man hauing had companie with his wife, might enter the church, or receiue the communion before he was waſhed with water?

5 Whether after pollution by night in dreames, a man might receiue the communion: or if he were a prieſt, whether he might ſay maſſe?

To theſe queſtions Gregorie maketh anſwere at full in the booke and place before cited, which for breefenelle we paſſe ouer. He ſent alſo at that time with the meſſengers aforeſaid, at their returne into England, diuers learned men to helpe Auguſtine in the harueſt of the Lord. The names of the chiefeſt were theſe, Melitus, Juſtus, Paulinus, and Ruffinianus. He ſent alſo the pall, which is the ornament of an archbiſhop, with veſſels and apparell which ſhould be vſed in churches by the archbiſhop and other miniſters. He ſent alſo with the pall other letters to Auguſtine, to let him vnderſtand what number of biſhops he would haue him to ordeine within this land. Alſo after that Melitus, and the other before mentioned perſons were departed from Rome, he ſent a letter vnto the ſame Melitus, being yet on his way toward Britaine, touching further matter

Aſſiſtance to Auguſtine.

The pall.

concerning the churches of England, wherein he confesseth that manie things are permitted to be vsed of the people latelie brought from the errors of gentilitie, in keeping feasts on the dedication daies, which haue resemblance with the old superstitious rites of the Pagan religion. For to hard and obstinate minds (saith he) it is not possible to cut away all things at once, for he that coueteth to the highest place, goeth vp by steps and not by leaps.

Bearing with them that had newlie receiued the faith, whereof superstition grew and increased.

At the same time Gregorie did send letters vnto Augustine touching the miracles, which by report he vnderstood were shewed by the same Augustine, counselling him in no wise to glorie in the same, but rather in reioising to feare, and consider that God gaue him the gift to worke such signes for the wealth of them to whom he was sent to preach the gospell: he aduised him therefore to beware of vaine-glorie and presumption, for the disciples of the truth (saith he) haue no ioy, but onlie that which is common with all men, of which there is no end, for not euerie one that is elect worketh miracles, but euerie of the elect haue their names written in heauen. These letters, with the other which Gregorie sent at this time vnto Augustine, were dated the tenth day of the kalends of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 602, which was the 19 yeare of the emperour Mauricius. Moreouer he sent most courteous letters by these messengers to king Ethelbert, in the which he greatlie commended him, in that he had receiued the christian faith, and exhorted him to continue in that most holie state of life, whereby he might worthilie looke for reward at the hands of almightie God.

Miracles.

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## What reparations and foundations Augustine finished for clergimen to the supportation of the church, the building of Paules in London and saint Peters in Westminster vncerteine, a prouinciall councell called by Augustine, he restoreth a blind man to his sight, the Britains are hardlie weaned from their old custome of beliefe, an heremits opinion of Augustine, he requireth three things to be obserued of the Britains, he ordeineth bishops at London and Rochester; Sabert reigneth ouer the Eastsaxons, Augustine dieth and is buried.

## The xxj. Chapter.

THus farre we haue waded in the forme and maner of conuerting the English nation to christianitie, by the labours of Augustine and his coadiutors: now therefore (that we may orderlie proceed) it remaineth that we say somewhat of the acts and deeds of the said Augustine: of whom we read, that after he was established archbishop, and had his see appointed him at Canturburie, he restored another church in that citie which had beene erected there in times past by certeine of the Romans that were christians, and did dedicate the same now to the honour of Christ our Sauiour. He also began the foundation of a monasterie without that citie, standing toward the east, in the which by his exhortation, king Ethelbert built a church euen from the ground, which was dedicated vnto the holie apostles Peter and Paule, in the which the bodie of the said Augustine was buried, and likewise the bodies of all the archbishops of Canturburie and kings of Kent a long time after. This abbie was called saint Austins after his name, one Peter being the first abbat thereof. The church there was not consecrated by Augustine, but by his successor Laurence, after he was dead.

Beda.

One Peter was the first Abbat.

Moreouer, king Ethelbert at the motion of Augustine built a church in the citie of London (which he latelie had conquered) and dedicated it vnto saint Paule; but whether he builded or restored this church of saint Paule it may be doubted, for there be diuers opinions of the building thereof. Some haue written that it was first builded by king Lud (as before is mentioned.) Other againe write, that it was builded afterward by Sigebert king of the Eastsaxons. Also king Ethelbert builded the church of saint Andrews in Rochester. It is likewise remembred by writers, that the same king Ethelbert procured a citizen of London to build a church to S. Peter without the citie of London toward the west, in a place then called Thorney, that is to say, the Ile of thorns, and now called Westminster: though others haue written that it was built by Lucius king of Britaine, or rather by Sibert king of the Eastsaxons. This church was either newlie built, or greatlie inlarged by king Edward surnamed the Confessor, and after that, the third Henrie king of England did make there a beautifull monasterie, and verie richlie indowed the same with great possessions and sumptuous iewels. The place was ouergrowne with vnderwoods, as thornes and brambles, before that the church was begun to be builded there in this king Ethelberts daies. ¶ Thus the faith of Christ being once begun to be receiued of the English men, toke wonderfull increase within a short time.

Ran. Higd. Ran. Higd. Westminster church builded.

In the meane season by the helpe of king Ethelbert, Augustine caused a councell to be called at a place in the confines of the Westsaxons, which place long after was called Austines oke, where he procured the bishops or doctors of the prouinces of the Britains to come before him. Among the Britains or the Welshmen, christianitie as yet remained in force, which from the apostles time had neuer failed in that nation. When Augustine came into this land, he found in their prouinces seuen bishops sées, and an archbishops sée, wherein sat verie godlie & right religious prelats, and manie abbats, in the which the Lords flocke kept their right order: but because they differed in obseruing the feast of Easter, and other rites from the vse of the Romane church, Augustine thought it necessarie to moue them to agrée with him in vnitie of the same, but after long disputation and reasoning of those matters, they could not be induced to giue their assent in that behalfe. Augustine to proue his opinion good, wrought a miracle in restoring sight to one of the Saron nation that was blind.

Ran. Cest. Beda. Sigebertus. ann. 19 Mauricij imperatoris. A synod. Austines ad. Galfrid. lib. cap. 4.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 2.

The Britains that were present, moued with this miracle, confessed that it was the right waie of iustice and righteousnesse which Augustine taught; but yet they said that they might not forsake their ancient customs without consent and licence of their nation. Whereupon they required another synod to be holden, whereat a greater number of them might be present. This being granted, there came (as it is reported) seuen bishops of the Britains, and a great number of learned men, specially of the famous monasterie of Bangor, whereof in those daies one Dionoth was abbat, who as they went toward that councell, came first to a certeine wise man, which liued amongst them an heremits life, and asked his aduise, whether they ought to forsake their traditions at the preaching of Augustine or not: who made this answer; If he be the man of God, follow him. Then said they; How shall we proue whether he be so or not? Then said he: The Lord saith, take vp my yoke and learne of me, for I am meeke & humble in hart: if Augustine be humble and meeke in hart, it is to be beleeued

Another synod.

The monasterie of Bangor. Abbat Dionoth.

" "

The counsel of a godlie man touching Austine the Englishmens apostle.



These things required by Augustine of the Britains to be obserued.

Augustine threatneth.

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Bishops ordeined at London and Rochester.

Sabert.

Ran. Cestren.

" beléeued that he also beareth the yoke of Christ, and
" offereth it to you to beare; but if he be not méeke but
" proud, it is certeine that he is not of GOD, nor his
" word to be regarded. And how shall we sée and per-
" ceiue that (said they:) Find meanes (said he) that
" he maie first come to the place of the synod with those
" of his side, and if he arise to receiue you at your com-
" ming, then know that he is the seruant of God, and
" obey him; but if he despise you, and arise not towards
" you, whereas you be more in number, let him be de-
" spised of you.

They did as he commanded, and it chanced, that when they came, they found Augustine sitting in his chaire: whome when they beheld, straightwaies they conceiued indignation, and noting him of pride, laboured to remoue all his saiengs. He told them that they vsed manie things contrarie to the custom of the vniuersall church, and yet if in three things they would obeie him, that is to say, in kéeping the feast of Easter in due time, in ministring baptisme according to the customs of the Romane church, & in preaching to the Englishmen the word of life with him & his fellowes, then would he be contented to suffer all other things patientlie which they did, though the same were contrarie to the maners and customs of the Romane iurisdiction. But they flatlie denied to do anie of those things, and gaue a plaine answer that they would not receiue him for their archbishop: for laieng their heads togither, thus they thought, If he refuse now to arise vnto vs, how much the more will he contemne vs if we should become subiect to him? Vnto whom (as it is said) Augustine in threatening wise told them afore hand, that if they would not receiue peace with their brethren, they should receiue warre of the enimies; & if they would not preach to the Englishmen the waie of life, they should suffer punishment by death at the hands of them: which thing in deed after came to passe, as in place conuenient shall be expressed. After this in the yéere of our Lord 604, the archbishop Augustine ordeined two bishops, that is to say, Melitus at London, that he might preach the word of God to the Eastsaxons, which were diuided from them of Kent by the riuer of Thames, and Iustus in the citie of Rochester within the limits of Kent.

Their things required by Augustine of the Britains to be obserued.

Augustine threatneth.

604 Bishops ordeined at London and Rochester.

*Sabert.* At that time Sabert reigned ouer the Eastsaxons, but he was subiect vnto Ethelbert king of Kent, whose nephue he was also by his sister Ricula that was married vnto king Sledda that succéeded after Erchenwine the first king of the Eastsaxons, and begat on hir this Sabert that receiued the faith. After that Augustine had ordeined Melitus to be bishop of London, as before is said, king Ethelbert builded (as some write) the church of saint Paule within the same citie, where the saune Melitus and his successors might keepe their sée. And also for the like purpose he builded the church of saint Andrew the apostle at Rochester, that Iustus and his successors might haue their sée in that place, according to Augustines institution: he bestowed great gifts vpon both those churches, endowing them with lands and possessions verie bountifullie, to the vse of them that should be attendant in the same with the bishops.

Ran. Cestren.

Finallie, Augustine after he had gouerned as archbishop the church of Canturburie by the space of 12 yéeres current, departed this life the fiue and twentieth of Maie, and was buried first without the citie nere to the church of the apostles Peter and Paule (whereof mention is made before) bicause the same church as yet was not finished nor dedicated; but after it was dedicated, his bodie was brought into the church, and reuerentlie buried in the north Ile there. He ordeined in his life time Laurence to be his successor in the sée of Canturburie, of whome ye shall heare hereafter. ¶ Thus haue ye heard in what maner the Englishmen were first brought from the worshipping of false gods, and baptised in the name of the liuing God by the foresaid Augustine (as we find in Beda and other writers.) Now we will returne to other doings chancing in the meane time amongst the people of this Ile.

10 Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph gouerneth the *Westsaxons, Ceorlus king of Mercia, Edel-* fride king of the Northumbers, and Edan king *of the Scots come in battell, Edan is discomfited,* Edelfride subdueth the citizens of Chester, the deuout *moonks of Bangor praie for safetie from the sword of the enimie,* twelue hundred of them are slaine, Edelfride entreth the citie of Chester, the Britains assembling their power vnder three capteins incounter with Edelfride, slaie manie of his souldiers, and put him to flight, warres betweene Edelfride and Redwald king of the Eastangles about Edwine the sonne of king Elle, Edelfride is slaine, Ceowlfe king of the West saxons dieth.

## *The xxij. Chapter.*

After the decease of Chelricus king of the Westsaxons, we find that Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph succéeded in gouernment of that kingdome, and reigned twelue yéeres. He began his reigne (as should appéere by some writers) about the yéere of our Lord 597, and spent his time for the more part in warres, not giuing place to idlenesse, but séeking either to defend or inlarge the confines of his dominion. He was the sonne of Cutha, which was the sonne of Kenrike, which was the sonne of Certike. After Wibba or Wipha king of Mercia (who, nothing inferiour to his father, did not onelie defend his kingdome, but also inlarge it, by subduing the Britains on ech side) one Ceorlus succéeded in that kingdome, being not his sonne but his kinsman. This Ceorlus began his reigne about the yéere of our Lord 594, as Matth. West. recorderh.

Matth. West. saith 34.

Matth. West. saith 607.

Ceorlus king of Mercia.

594 Beda Edelferd.

We haue heard that Edelferd, which otherwise is called also by writers Edelfride, surnamed the wild, gouerned still the Northumbers, which Edelferd did more damage to the Britains than anie one other king of the English nation. None of them destroied their countries more than he did: neither did anie prince make more of the Britains tributaries, or inhabited more of their countries with English people than he. Hereupon Edan king of those Scots which inhabited Britaine, being therewith moued to sée Edelfride prosper thus in his conquests, came against him with a mightie armie: but ioining in battell with Edelfride and his power, at a place called Degsastane, or Degsastone, or Deglaston, he lost the most part of his people, and with the residue that were left aliue, he escaped by flight. This was a sore foughten battell, with much bloudshed on both parties. For notwithstanding that the victorie remained with the Northumbers, Theobaldus the brother of Edelferd was slaine, with all that part of the English host which he gouerned: and it was fought in the yéere of our Lord 603, in the 19 yeere of the reigne of the foresaid Edelferd, and in the first yéere of Ceowlfe king of the Westsaxons, and in the first yéere of the emperor Phocas, or rather in the last yéere of his predecessor Mauricius. From that day, till the daies of Beda, not one of the Scotish kings durst presume to enter into Britaine againe to giue battell against the English nation, as Beda himselfe writeth.

603 Henr. Hunt. Beda lib. 1. cap. 34.

Wil. Malm. Hée in Scotland.

writeth. But the Scotish writers make other report of this matter, as in the historie of Scotland ye maie find recorded.

The Britains that dwelt about Chester, through their stoutnesse prouoked the aforesaid Edelferd king of the Northumbers vnto warre: whereupon to tame their loftie stomachs, he assembled an armie & came forward to besiege the citie of Chester, then called of the Britains Carleon ardour deué. The citizens coueting rather to suffer all things than a siege, and hauing a trust in their great multitude of people, came forth to giue battell abroad in the fields, whome he compassing about with ambushes, got within his danger, and easilie discomfited.

Chester as yet in possession of the Britains.

I. Leland. Wil. Malm.

Beda.

It chanced that he had espied before the battell ioined (as Beda saith) where a great number of the British priests were got aside into a place somewhat out of danger, that they might there make their intercession to God for the good speed of their people, being then readie to giue battell to the Northumbers. Manie of them were of that famous monasterie of Bangor, in the which it is said, that there was such a number of monks, that where they were diuided into seuen seuerall parts, with their seuerall gouernors appointed to haue rule ouer them, euerie of those parts conteined at the least three hundred persons, the which liued altogither by the labour of their hands. Manie therefore of those monks hauing kept a solemne fast for three daies togither, were come to the armie with other to make praier, hauing for their defender one Brocmale or Broemael, earle (or consull as some call him) of Chester, which should preserue them (being giuen to praier) from the edge of the enimies sword.

The number of monks in the monasterie of Bangor.

Brocmale.

King Edelferd hauing (as is said) espied these men, asked what they were, and what their intent was; and being informed of the whole circumstance and cause of their being there, he said; Then if they call to their God for his assistance against vs, suerlie though they beare no armour, yet do they fight against vs, being busied in praier for our destruction. Whereupon he commanded the first onset to be giuen them, and after slue downe the residue of the British armie, not without great losse of his owne people. Of those monks and priests which came to praie (as before is mentioned) there died at that battell about the number of 12 hundred, so that fiftie of them onelie escaped by flight. Brocmale, or Broemael at the first approch of the enimies, turning his backe with his companie, left them (whom he should haue defended) to be murthered through the enimies sword. Thus was the prophesie of Augustine fulfilled, though he was long before departed this life (as Beda saith.)

The Britains discomfited & slaine.

Henr. Hunt.

¶ Héere is to be noted, if this battell was fought in the seuenth yéere of Ceolwlfe king of Westsaxon (as some haue written) and that Augustine liued 12 yéeres after his entrance into the gouernment of the sée of Canturburie (as some write) it is euident that he liued foure yéeres after this slaughter made of the British priests and monks by Edelferd (as before is recited.) For Ceolwlfe began his reigne (as before is mentioned) about the yéere of our Lord 596, and in the seuenth yeere of his reigne the battell was fought at Degsastane betwixt the English & the Scots, which chanced in the yéere of our Lord 604, as Beda himselfe recordeth. A late chronographer running vpon this matter, and preciselie setting downe his collection, saith that Athelbright, or Edelfride, K. of the Northumbers, & Ethelbert K. of Kent, hauing Augustine in their companie, in the eight yéere after his arriuall, made warre vpon such Britains as refused to obserue the canons of the late councell mentioned 603, and killed 1200 monks of the monasterie of Bangor, which laboured earnestlie, and in the sweat of their browes, thereby to get their liuings, &c. Merelie Galf. Mon. writeth, that Ethelbert king of Kent (after he saw the Britains to disdaine and denie their subiection vnto Augustine, by whome he was conuerted to the christian faith) stirred vp Edelferd king of the Northumbers to warre against the Britains. But hereof Maister Fox doubteth, and therefore saith, that of vncerteine things he hath nothing certeinlie to saie, much lesse to iudge. But now to the matter where we left.

W. Harison.

Acts and monuments pag. 160.

After that king Edelferd had made slaughter of the Britains (as before is rehearsed) he entred the citie of Chester, and from thence marched towards Bangor. The Britains in the meane time had assembled their power vnder three capteins, that is to say, Blederike duke of Cornewall, Margadud king of Southwales, and Cadwane king of Northwales. These ioining in battell with Edelferd, slue 10066 of his souldiers, and constreined him to flée out of the field for safegard of his life, after he had receiued manie wounds. On the part of the Britains the forsaid Blederike, which was chiefe capteine of the field in that battell, chanced to be slaine. Thus saith Gal. Mon.

Blederike duke of Cornwall, Margadud king of Southwales, Cadwane k. of Northwales.

Galf. Mon.

But the ancient writers of the English kings (as Beda, William Malmesburie, and Henrie Huntington, make no mention of this last battell and victorie obteined by the Britains in maner as aboue is expressed in Galfrids booke. But contrarilie we find, that Edelferd hauing such good successe in his businesse abroad as he could wish, vpon purpose to auoid danger at home, banished Edwine the sonne of Alla or Elle, a yong gentleman of great towardnesse, latelie come to the kingdome of the Northumbers by the death of his father. But this Edwine in time of his exile, being long tossed from place to place, and finding no stedfast friendship now in time of his aduersitie, at length came to Redwald, that was king at that time of the Eastangles, the third from Uffa, and successor to Titullus, which Titullus did succéed next after the said Uffa, the first king of Eastangles (as before is mentioned.) This Redwald did verie honourablie interteine Edwine, insomuch that Edelferd being informed thereof, was highlie displeased, and sent ambassadors vnto Redwald, to require him either to deliuer Edwine into his hands, or else if he refused so to do, to declare and denounce vnto him open warres.

Edwine the sonne of king Alla banished.

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Edelfrid.

Redwald incouraged by his wife (that counselled him in no wise to betraie his friend, to whome he had giuen his faith, for the menaces of his enimie) assembled forthwith an armie, and at the sudden comming vpon Edelferd, assaulted him yer he could haue time to assemble his people togither. But yet the said Edelferd, though he was beset and brought in danger at vnwares, died not vnreuenged: for putting himselfe in defense with such power as he could then get togither, he boldlie incountred the enimies, and giuing battell, slue Remerius the sonne of Redwald, and after was slaine himselfe, hauing reigned ouer the Northumbers about 22 yéeres. This battell was fought néere to the water of Idle.

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H. Hunt.

Ethelfrid slaine.

The said Edelferd had issue by his wife Acca, the daughter of Alla, and sister to Edwine, two sonnes, Oswald being about two yéeres of age, and Oswin about foure yéeres, the which (their father being thus slaine) were by helpe of their gouernours conueied awaie into Scotland with all spéed that might be made. Ceolwlfe king of the Westsaxons, after he had reigned the space of 12 yéeres, departed this life, who in his time had mainteined great warre against manie of his neighbours, the which for briefenesse I passe ouer. One great battell he fought against them of

Hen. Hunt. Matt. West. saith 34.

The South-ſaxons ſuſteine the greater loſſe.

of Suſſex, in which the armies on both ſides ſuſteined great damage, but the greater loſſe fell to the South ſaxons.

Cinegiſcus and his ſonne Richelinus *reigne iointlie ouer the Weſtſaxons, they* fight with the Britains; the indeuour of Lau*rence archbiſhop of Canturburie in ſetting religi*on at large, and ſeeking a vniformitie in catholike *orders, he and his fellow-biſhops write to the cleargie of Bri*taine and Scotland for a reformation, Melitus biſhop of London goeth to Rome, the cauſe why, and what he brought at his returne from pope Boniface.

## *The xxiij. Chapter.*

*Cinegiſcus.*

AFter the foreſaid Ceolwlfe reigned Cinegiſcus, or Kingils, which was the ſonne of Ceola, which was the ſonne of Cutha or Cutwin, which was the ſonne of Kenricke, which was the ſonne of king Certicke. In the fourth yeere of his reigne, he receiued into fellowſhip with him in gouernance of the kingdome his ſonne Richelinus, or Onichelinus, and ſo they reigned iointlie togither in great loue and concord (a thing ſeldome ſeene or heard of.) They fought with the Britains at Beandune, where at the firſt approch of the battels togither, the Britains fled, but too late, for there died of them that were ouertaken 2062.

Wil. Malm. ſaith that Onichelinus was the brother of Cinegiſcus.

Beandune, or Beanton.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 4.

In this meane time, Laurence archbiſhop of Canturburie, who ſucceeded next after Auguſtine, admitted thereto by him in his life time (as before is ſaid) did his indeuour to augment and bring to perfection the church of England, the foundation whereof was latelie laid by his predeceſſor the foreſaid Auguſtine: who ſtudied not onelie for the increaſe of this new church, which was gathered of the Engliſh people, but alſo he was buſie to imploie his paſtorlike cure vpon the people that were of the old inhabitants of Britaine, and likewiſe of the Scots that remained in Ireland. For when he had learned that the Scots there, in reſemblable wiſe as the Britains in their countrie, led not their liues in manie points according to the eccleſiaſticall rules, aſwell in obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter contrarie to the vſe of the Romane church, as in other things, he wrote vnto thoſe Scots letters exhortatorie, requiring them moſt inſtantlie to an vnitie of catholike orders as might be agreeable with the church of Chriſt, ſpred and diſperſed through the world. Theſe letters were not written onelie in his owne name, but iointlie togither in the name of the biſhops Melitus and Iuſtus, (as followeth.)

To our deare brethren the biſhops and *abbats through all Scotland, Laurence,* Melitus and Iuſtus biſhops, the ſer*uants of the ſeruants of God* wiſh health.

WHereas the apoſtolike ſee (according to hir maner) had ſent vs to preach vnto the heathen people in theſe weſt parts, as otherwiſe throgh the world, and that it chanced to vs to enter into this Ile which is called Britaine, before we knew & vnderſtood the ſtate of things, we had in great reuerence both the Scots & Britains, which beleeued, becauſe (as we tooke the matter) they walked according to the cuſtome of the vniuerſall church: but after we had knowledge of the Britains, we iudged the Scots to be better. But we haue learned by biſhop Daganus comming into this Ile, and by Columbanus the abbat comming into France, that the Scots nothing differ in their conuerſation from the Britains: for biſhop Daganus comming vnto vs, would neither eat with vs, no nor yet come within the houſe where we did eat.

The ſaid Laurence alſo with his fellow-biſhops, did write to the Britains other letters worthie of his degree, doing what he could to confirme them in the vnitie of the Romane church: but it profited litle, as appeareth by that which Beda writeth. About the ſame time Melitus the biſhop of London went to Rome, to counſon with pope Boniface, for neceſſarie cauſes touching the church of England, and was preſent at a ſynod holden by the ſame pope at that ſeaſon, for ordinances to be made touching the ſtate of religious men, and ſate in the ſame ſynod, that with ſubſcribing he might alſo by his authoritie confirme that which was there orderlie decreed. This ſynod was holden the third kalends of March, in the laſt yeere of the emperour Phocas, which was about the yeere after the birth of our Saulour 610. Melitus at his returne brought with him from the pope, decrees commanded by the ſaid pope to be obſerued in the Engliſh church, with letters alſo directed to archbiſhop Laurence, and to king Ethelbert.

Cadwan is made king of the Britains in *the citie of Cheſter, he leuieth a power a*gainſt Ethelfred king of the Northumbers, co*uenants of peace paſſe betwixt them vpon condi*tion, the death of Ethelbert king of Kent, where he *and his wife were buried, of his Lawes; Eadbald ſucceedeth E*thelbert in the Kentiſh kingdome, his lewd and vnholie life, he is an enimie to religion; he is plagued with madneſſe; Hebert king of the Eaſtſaxons dieth, his three ſonnes refuſe to be baptiſed, they fall to idolatrie and hate the profeſſours of the truth, their irreligious talke and vndutifull behauiour to biſhop Melitus, he and his fellow Iuſtus paſſe ouer into France, the three ſonnes of Hebert are ſlaine of the Weſtſaxons in battell, the Eſtſaxons by their idolatrie prouoke archbiſhop Laurence to forſake the land, he is warned in a viſion to tarie, whereof he certifieth king Eadbald, who furthering chriſtianitie, ſendeth for Melitus and Iuſtus, the one is reſtored to his ſee, the other reiected, Melitus dieth, Iuſtus is made archbiſhop of Canturburie, the chriſtian faith increaſeth.

## *The xxiiij. Chapter.*

*Cadwan* king of Britaine.

AFter that the Britains had continued about the ſpace almoſt of 24 yeeres without anie one ſpeciall gouernour, being led by ſundrie rulers, euer ſithens that Careticus was conſtreined to flee ouer Seuerne, and fought oftentimes not onelie againſt the Saxons, but alſo one of them againſt another, at length in the yeere of our Lord 613, they aſſembled in the citie of Cheſter, and there elected Cadwan that before was ruler of Northwales, to haue the ſouereigne rule & gouernement ouer all their nation, and ſo the ſaid Cadwan began to reigne as king of Britaine in the ſaid yeere 613. But ſome authors ſay, that this was in the yeere 609, in which yeere Careticus the Britiſh king departed this life. And then after his deceaſſe the Britains or Welſhmen (whether we ſhall call them)

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them) chose Cadwan to gouerne them in the foresaid yéere 609, which was in the 7 yéere of the emperour Phocas, and the 21 of the second Lotharius king of France, and in the 13 yéere of Kilwolfe king of the Westsarons.

This Cadwan being established king, shortlie after assembled a power of Britains, and went against the foresaid Ethelfred king of Northumberland, who being thereof aduertised, did associate to him the most part of the Saxon princes, and came forth with his armie to méet Cadwan in the field. Herevpon as they were readie to haue tried the matter by battell, certeine of their friends trauelled so betwixt them for peace, that in the end they brought them to agréement, so that Ethelfred should kéepe in quiet Gal.Mon. possession those his countries beyond the riuer of Humber, and Cadwan should hold all that which of right belonged to the Britains on the south side of the same riuer. This couenant with other touching their agréement was confirmed with oths solemnelie taken, and pledges therewith deliuered, so that afterwards they continued in good and quiet peace, without hurting one an other.

What chanced afterward to Ethelfred, ye haue before heard rehersed, which for that it soundeth more like to a truth than that which followeth in the British booke, we omit to make further rehersall, passing forward to other doings which fell in the meane season, whilest this Cadwan had gouernement of the Britains, reigning as king ouer them the tearme of 22, or (as some say) but 13 yéeres, and finallie was John Hard. slaine by the Northumbers, as before hath béene, and also after shall be shewed.

In the 8 yéere after that Cadwan began to reigne, Ethelbert king of Kent departed this life, in the 21 yéere after the comming of Augustine with his fellowes to preach the faith of Christ here in this realme: and after that Ethelbert had reigned ouer the prouince of Kent the tearme of 56 yéeres (as Beda saith, but there are that haue noted three yéers lesse) he departed this world, as aboue is signified, Wil.Malm. Beda.li.2.cap.5 in the yeere of our Lord 617, on the 24 day of Februarie, and was buried in the Ile of saint Martine, within the church of the apostles Peter and Paule, without the citie of Canturburie, where his wife queene Bartha was also buried, and the foresaid archbishop Augustine that first conuerted him to the faith.

Amongst other things, this king Ethelbert with the aduise of his councell ordeined diuers lawes and statutes, according to the which decrées of iudgements should passe: those decrées he caused to be written in the English tong, which remained and were in force vnto the daies of Beda, as he declareth. And first it was expressed in those lawes, what amends he should make that stole anie thing that belonged to the church, to the bishop, or to anie ecclesiasticall person, willing by all means to defend them whose doctrine he had received.

*Eadbald.* After the deceasse of Ethelbert, his sonne Eadbald succéeded in the gouernment of his kingdome of Kent, the which was a great hinderer of the increase of the new church amongst the Englishmen in those parties: for he did not onelie refuse to be baptised himselfe, but also vsed such kind of fornication, as hath not béene heard (as the apostle saith) amongst the Gentiles, for he toke to wife his mother in law, that had béene wife to his father. By which two euill examples, manie take occasion to returne to their heathenish religion, the which whilest his father reigned, either for the prince his pleasure, or for feare to offend him, did professe the christian faith. But Eadbald escaped not worthie punishment to him sent from the liuing God for his euill deserts, insomuch that he was vexed with a certeine kind of madnesse, and taken with an vncleane spirit.

*The princes example occasion of euill.*

The foresaid storme or vnquiet troubling of the christian congregation, was afterwards greatlie increased also by the death of Sabert or Sebert king of the Eastsarons, who was conuerted to the faith of Christ, and baptized by Melitus bishop of London (as before is mentioned) & departing this life to go to a better in the blissefull kingdome of heauen, he left behind him three sonnes as true successours in the estate of his earthlie kingdome, which sonnes likewise refused to be baptised. Their names were Serred, Seward, & Sigebert, men of an ill mind, & such as in whome no vertue remained, no feare of God, nor anie respect of religion, but speciallie hating the professours of the christian faith. For after their father was dead, they began to fall to their old idolatrie, which in his life time they séemed to haue giuen ouer, insomuch that now they openlie worshipped idols, and gaue libertie to their subiects to do the like. Ran.Cest. Beda li.2.cap. Serred, Seward, and Sigebert, the sonnes of Sabert.

And when the bishop Melitus, at the solemnizing of masse in the church, distributed the eucharisticall bread vnto the people, they asked him (as it is said) wherfore he did not deliuer of that bright white bread vnto them also, as well as he had béene accustomed to do to their father Saba (for so they vsed to call him.) Vnto whome the bishop made this answer: If you will be washed in that wholesome fountaine, wherein your father was washed, ye may be partakers of that holie bread whereof he was partaker, but if you despise the washpoole of life, ye may by no meanes taste the bread of saluation. But they offended herewith, replied in this wise: We will not enter into that fountaine, for we know we haue no néed thereof: but yet neuertheless we will be refreshed with that bread. Beda lib.2. Beda. lib.2. ca.8.

After this, when they had béene earnestlie and manie times told, that vnlesse they would be baptised, they might not be partakers of the sacred oblation: at length in great displeasure they told him, that if he would not consent vnto them in so small a matter, there should be no place for him within the bounds of their dominion, and so he was constrained to depart. Whereupon he being expelled, resorted into Kent, there to take aduise with his fellowbishops, Laurence and Justus, what was to be done in this so weightie a matter. Who finallie resolued vpon this point, that it should be better for them to returne into their countrie, where with free minds they might serue almightie God, rather than to remaine amongest people that rebelled against the faith, without hope to do good amongest them. Wherefore Melitus and Justus did depart first, and went ouer into France, minding there to abide till they might see what the end would be. But shortlie after, those brethren the kings of Esser, which had expelled their bishop in maner aboue said, suffered worthilie for their wicked doings. For going forth to battell against the Westsarons, they were ouerthrowen and slaine altogither with all their armie, by the two kings Rinigils and Quicheline. But neuertheless, albeit the authors of the mischiefe were thus taken awaie, yet the people of that countrie would not be reduced againe from their diuelish worshipping of false gods, being euersones fallen thereto in that season by the incouragement and perilous example of their rulers. Wherefore the archbishop Laurence was in mind also to follow his fellowes Melitus and Justus: but when he minded to set forward, he was warned in a dreame, and cruellie scourged (as hath béene reported by the apostle saint Peter, who reproued him) for that he would so vncharitablie forsake his flocke, & leaue it in danger without a shepherd to kéepe the woolfe from the fold. *The sonnes of king Sebert slaine.* *Edwin.* Beda.lib.2. ca.5.

The

The archbiſhop imboldned by this viſion, and alſo repenting him of his determination, came to king Eadbald, and ſhewed to him his ſtripes, and the maner of his dreame. The king being herewith put in great feare, renounced his heathenish worſhipping of idols, and was baptiſed, and as much as in him laie, from thenceforth ſuccoured the congregation of the chriſtians, and aduanced the church to his power. He ſent alſo into France, and called home the biſhops Melitus and Juſtus, ſo that Juſtus was reſtored to his ſée of Rocheſter.

But the Eaſtſaxons would not receiue Melitus to his ſée at London, but continued in their wicked mawmetrie, in obeieng a biſhop of their pagan law, whom they had erected for that purpoſe. Neither was king Eadbald of that authoritie and power in thoſe parties, as his father was before, whereby he might conſtreine them to receiue their lawfull biſhop. But ſuerlie the ſaid king Eadbald with his people, after he was once conuerted againe, gaue himſelfe wholie to obeie the lawes of GOD, and amongſt other deeds of godlie zeale, he builded a church to our ladie at Canturburie, within the monaſterie of ſaint Peter, afterwards called ſaint Agnes. This church was conſecrated by Melitus, who after the death of Laurence ſucceeded in gouernance of the archbiſhops ſée of Canturburie. After Melitus, who departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 624, Juſtus that before was biſhop of Rocheſter, was made archbiſhop of Canturburie, and ordeined one Romanus to the ſée of Rocheſter. About that time, the people of the north parts beyond Humber receiued the faith, by occaſion (as after ſhall appéere.)

Beda lib. 2.

Beda. lib. 2. ca. 8.

## Edwin reigneth ouer the Northumbers, *his great power and reputation, a* marriage betweene him and Ethelburga the *ſiſter of king Eadbald vpon religious couenants,* the traitorous attempts of murtherous Eumerus a- *gainſt him, his wife Ethelburga is deliuered of a daughter,* he aſſalteth the Weſtſaxons, and diſcomfiteth them, Boniface the fift writeth to him to deſiſt from his idolatrie, and to his ladie to perſiſt in true chriſtianitie; the viſion of Edwin when he was a baniſhed man in the court of Redwald king of the Eaſtangles, whereby he was informed of his great exaltation and conuerſion to chriſtian religion.

## *The xxv. Chapter.*

YEhatie heard how Edelfred the king of Northumberland was ſlaine in battell neere to the water of Idel, by Redwald king of the Eaſtangles, in fauour of Edwin whom the ſaid Edelfred had confined out of his dominion, 24 yéeres before. The foreſaid Redwald therefore hauing obteined that victorie, found meanes to place Edwin in gouernement of that kingdome of the Northumbers, hauing a title thereto as ſonne to Alla or Elle, ſometime king of Northumberland. This Edwin proued a right valiant prince, & grew to be of more power than anie other king in the daies of the Engliſh nation: not onelie ruling ouer a great part of the countries inhabited with Engliſh men, but alſo with Britains, who inhabited not onelie in Wales, but in part of Cheſſhire, Lancaſhire, Cumberland, and alongſt by the weſt ſea-coaſt in Galloway, and ſo forth euen vnto Dunbritaine in Scotland: which I haue thought good to note, that it may appeare in what countries Cadwallo bare rule, of whome ſo often mention is made in this part of the hiſtorie. But as concerning Edwin, his reputation was ſuch, as not onelie the Engliſh men, Britains and Scots, but alſo the Iles of Orknie, and thoſe of Man, and others the weſt Iles of ancient time called Meuania, had him in reuerence, and feared his mightie power, ſo as they durſt not attempt anie exploit to offend him.

Edwin. Beda lib. 2. ca. 5.

W. Malm. taketh Meuania to be Angleſey.

It chanced that ſhortlie after, king Redwald had aduanced him to the kingdom of Northumberland, to wit, about 6 yeares, the ſame Redwald deceaſſed, which made greatlie for the more augmentation of Edwins power. For the people of the Eaſtangles, which (whileſt Edwin remained amongſt them as a baniſhed man) had conceiued a good opinion of him for his approued valiancie and noble courage, offered themſelues to be wholie at his commandement. But Edwin ſuffering Carpwald or Erpwald the ſonne of Redwald to inioie the bare title and name of the king of that countrie, ruled all things at his owne will and pleaſure. Neither was there anie prouince within Britaine that did not obeie him, or was not readie to doo him ſeruice (the kingdome of Kent onelie excepted) for he ſuffered the Kentiſhmen to liue in quiet, becauſe he began to haue a liking to the ſiſter of king Eadbald, namelie the ladie Ethelburga, otherwiſe called Tate or Tace.

Carpwalding.

He made requeſt therefore by ſending ambaſſadours to hir brother, to haue the ſaid ladie in marriage, and at length obteined hir, with condition that ſhe being a chriſtian woman, might not onelie vſe the chriſtian religion, but alſo that all thoſe, whether men or women, prieſts or miniſters, which came with hir, might haue licence to doo the ſame, without trouble or impeachment of anie maner of perſon. Herevpon ſhe being ſent vnto him, there was appointed to go with hir (beſides manie other) one Pauline, which was conſecrated biſhop by the archbiſhop Juſtus the 21 of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 625, who at his comming into Northumberland thus in companie with Ethelburga, trauelled earneſtlie in his office, both to preſerue hir and ſuch chriſtians in the faith of Chriſt, as were appointed to giue their attendance on hir, leaſt they ſhould chance to fall: and alſo ſought to win ſome of the Pagans (if it were poſſible) vnto the ſame faith, though at the firſt he little profited in that matter.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 9.

Matth. Weſt. Beda. lib. 2. cap. 9.

625

In the yeare following, there came a murtherer vnto the court of king Edwin, as then ſoiourning in a palace which ſtood vpon the ſide of the riuer of Derwent, being ſent from Quichelme king of the Weſtſaxons, to the intent to murther Edwin, becauſe he had of late ſore damnified the countries of the Weſtſaxons. This murtherer was called Eumerus, & caried vnder his coate a ſhort double edged woodknife inuenomed of purpoſe, that if the king being but a little hurt therewith, ſhould not die of the wound, yet he ſhould not eſcape the danger of the poiſon. This Eumerus on Eaſter mondaie came to the king, and making forth to him as it had béene to haue declared ſome meſſage from his maiſter, when he had eſpied his time, drew his weapon, and offered to ſtrike the king. But one of the kings ſeruants named Lilla, perceiuing this, ſtept betwixt the king and the blow. Howbeit the murtherer ſet the ſtripe forward with ſuch force, that the knife running through the bodie of Lilla wounded alſo the king a little: and before this murtherer could be beaten downe, he ſlue another of the kings ſeruants, a knight that attended vpon him, called Fordher.

Other ſay an axe, as Matth. Weſt.

Eumerus.

The ſame night Ethelburga was deliuered of a daughter named Eanfled, for the which when king Edwin gaue thanks vnto his gods, in the preſence of

Eanfled borne

of bishop Pauline, the bishop did admonish him, rather to giue thanks vnto the true and onelie God, by whose goodnesse it came to passe that the queene was safelie and without danger delinered. The king giuing good eare vnto the bishops wholesome admonition, promised at that present to become a christian, if he might reuenge his iniuries receiued at the hands of the Westsaxons. And to assure Pauline that his promise should take place, he gaue vnto him his new borne daughter to be made holie to the Lord, that is to say, baptised. The bishop receiuing hir, on Whitsundaie next following baptised hir, with twelue other of the kings household, she being the first of the English Northumbers that was so washed in the founteine of regeneration.

In the meane time K. Edwin being recouered of his hurt, assembled an armie, and went against the Westsaxons, with whome incountring in battell, he either slue or brought to his subiection all them that had conspired his death, and so returned as a conquerour into his countrie. But yet he delaied time in performance of his promise to become a christian: howbeit he had left his doing of sacrifice to idols, euer since he made promise to be baptised. He was a sage prince, and before he would alter his religion, he politikelie thought good to heare matters touching both his old religion, and the christian religion throughlie examined.

Now whilest he thus hong in doubt vnto whether part he should incline, there came letters to him from pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by sundrie kinds of gentle perswasions, to turne to the worshipping of the true and liuing God, and to renounce the worshipping of maumets and idols. The pope wrote also to quéene Ethelburga, praieng hir to continue in hir good purpose, and by all meanes possible to doo what might be doone for the conuerting of hir husband vnto the faith of Christ. But the thing that most moued the king, was a vision which sometime he had while he remained as a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the Eastangles, as thus.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 10.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 11.

A vision.

Beda. cap. 12.

After that king Ethelfred was informed that the foresaid Redwald had receiued Edwin, he ceased not by his ambassadours to mone Redwald either to deliuer Edwin into his hands, or to make him awaie. At length by often sending, & promises made of large summes of monie, mired with threatnings, he obteined a grant of his sute, so that it was determined that Edwin should either be murthered, or else deliuered into his enimies hands. One of Edwins friends hauing intelligence hereof, in the night season came to Edwins chamber, and leading him abroad, told him the whole practise, and what was purposed against him, offering to helpe him out of the countrie, if he would so aduenture to escape. Edwin being wonderoullie amazed, thanked his friend, but refused to depart the countrie, sith he had no iust cause outwardlie giuen to play such a slipper part, chosing rather to ieopard his life with honour, than to giue men cause to thinke that he had first broken promise with such a prince as Redwald was, to whome he had giuen his faith.

The honorable consideration of Edwin.

Herevpon his friend departing from him, left him sitting without the doores: where after he had reuolued manie things in his mind, and thought long vpon this matter, at length he perceiued one to come towards him vnknowne, and in strange apparell, séeming to him in euerie point a stranger, at which sight (for that he could not imagine who it should be) Edwin was much afraid: but the man comming to him saluted him, and asked of him what he made there at that time of the night when other were at rest. Edwin on the other part asked what he had to doo therewith, and whether he vsed to lie abroad in the night, or within house? Who answering said; Thinke not Edwin that I am ignorant of thy heauinesse, of thy watchings, and this thy solitarie sitting here without doores. For I know who thou art, wherefore thou art thus pensiue, and what euils thou fearest to be towards thée at hand. But tell me, what wouldest thou giue him, that could deliuer thée out of this heauinesse, and perswade Redwald that he should neither doo thée hurt, nor deliuer thée to thine enimies? Here with when Edwin said that he would gladlie giue all that in him might lie to such a one in reward? The other said; What wouldst thou giue then, if he should promise in good soth that (all thine enimies being destroied) thou shouldest be king, and that thou shouldest passe in power all the kings which haue reigned in the English nation before thy time? Edwin being better come to himselfe by such demandes, did not sticke to promise that he would requite his friendship with worthie thanks.

Then replied he to his words and said; If he that shall prophesie to thee this good hap to come, shall also be able to informe thee in such counsell for thy health and life, as neuer anie of thy forefathers or kinsfolke yet haue heard, wouldest thou obey him, and also consent to receiue his wholesome aduertisement? Wherevnto without further deliberation Edwin promised, that he would in all points follow the instruction of him that should deliuer him out of so manie and great calamities, and bring him to the rule of a kingdome. Which answere being got, this person that thus talked with him, laid his hand vpon his head, saieng: When this therefore shall chance to thée, be not forgetfull of this time, nor of this communication, and those things that thou now doest promise, sée thou performe. And therewith he vanished awaie. So that Edwin might well perceiue it was no man but a vision that thus had appeared vnto him.

[¶ This vnaccustomed course it pleased God to vse for the conuersion of the king (to whose example it was no doubt but the people and inferiour sort would generallie be conformed) who otherwise had continued in paganisme and blind ignorance both of Gods truth and true christianitie. And it maie be that there was in him, as in other kings his predecessors, a settled perswasion in gentilish error, so that neither by admonition nor preaching (though the same had proceeded from the mouth of one allotted to that ministerie) he was to be reuoked from the infidelitie and misbeléefe wherein he was nuzzeled and trained vp. For it is the nature of all men, to be addicted to the obseruation of such rites and customes as haue béene established and left in force by their progenitors, and sooner to stand vnto a desire and earnest purpose of adding somewhat to their elders corrupt constitutions, and irreligious course of conuersation, than to be inclinable to anie article or point tending to innouation: so inflexible is the posteritie to swarue from the traditions of antiquitie, & stand the same vpon neuer so grosse and palpable absurdities.]

Edwin still reioising in the foresaid comfortable talke, but thoughtfull in mind what he should be, or from whence he came that had talked in this sort with him; behold his friend returned that first had brought him forth of his chamber, and declared vnto him good newes, how the king by perswasion of the quéene had altered his determination, and minded to mainteine his quarell to the vttermost of his power: and so he did in deed. For with all diligence he raised an armie, and went against Ethelfrid, vanquished him in battell, and placed Edwin in the kingdome (as before ye haue heard.)

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Kin-

King Edwin is put in mind of his viſion *by Pauline who ſawe the ſame in ſpirit*, he is licenced to preach the goſpell, biſhop *Coifi deſtroieth the idols, Edwin and his people re-* ceiue the chriſtian faith, his two ſonnes Oſfride and *Eadfride become conuerts, Redwald king of the Eaſtangles is* baptiſed, he ſerueth God and the diuell, Sibert receiueth the faith, Felix biſhop of Burgongne commeth ouer to Honorius archbiſhop of Canturburie, he preacheth to the Eaſtangles, the Northumbers and Lincolnſhiremen are conuerted, manie are baptiſed in the riuer of Trent; king Edwins iuſtice how effectuall and commendable, his care for the common-wealth, his prouidence for the refection of trauellers, pope Honorius confirmeth Pauline archbiſhop of Yorke, the tenor of his letters touching the mutuall election of the archbiſhop of Canturburie and Yorke, if either of them happened to ſuruiue other, his letters to the Scots touching the keeping of Eaſter and auoiding the Pelagian hereſie, Cadwallo king of Britaine rebelleth againſt Edwin, Penda king of Mercia enuieth his good eſtate, Cadwallo and Penda inuade Northumberland, Edwin and his ſonne Offride are ſlaine, Penda putteth his other ſonne Eadfride cruellie to death.

## *The xxvj. Chapter.*

NOtwithſtanding the former viſion, king Edwin deferred time yer he would receiue the chriſtian faith, in ſomuch that Pauline vpon a daie came vnto him as he ſat muſing what he were beſt to doo, and laid his hand vpon his head, aſking him if he knew that ſigne. Whereat when the king would haue fallen downe at his feet, he lifted him vp, and as it were in familiar wiſe thus
" ſaid vnto him: Behold, by the aſſiſtance of Gods
" fauour thou haſt eſcaped the hands of thine enimies,
" whome thou ſtoodſt in feare of: behold through his
" bountious liberalitie, thou haſt obteined the king-
" dome which thou diddeſt deſire, remember then that
" thou delaie no time to performe the third thing that
" thou diddeſt promiſe, in receiuing his faith, and kee-
" ping his commandements, which deliuering thee
" from worldlie aduerſities, hath thus aduanced thee
" to the honor of a king: and if from henceforth thou
" wilt obey his will, which by my mouth hee ſetteth
" and preacheth to thee and others, he will deliuer thee
" from euerlaſting torments, and make thee partaker with him in his celeſtiall kingdome. It is to be thought that the viſion which the king had in times paſt receiued, was in ſpirit reuealed vnto Pauline, whereupon without delaie of time, he put him in remembrance of it in maner as aboue is mentioned.

The king hauing heard his words, anſwered, that he would and ought to receiue the faith which he taught, but firſt he would conferre with his nobles, and if they would agree to doo the like, then would they be baptiſed altogither at one time. Pauline ſatiſfied herewith, Edwin did as he had promiſed, calling togither the wiſeſt men of his realme, and of them aſked the queſtion what they thought of this diuinitie, which was preached vnto them by Pauline, vnto whome his chiefe biſhop named Coifi, incontinentlie made this anſwer; that Suerlie the religion which they had hitherto followed was nothing worth.
" For ſaith he, there is none of thy people that hath
" more reuerentlie worſhiped our gods than I haue
" done, and yet be there manie that haue receiued far
" greater benefits at thy hands than I haue done:
" and therefore if our gods were of anie power, then
" would they rather helpe me to high honor and digni-
" tie than others. Therefore if it maie be found that
" this new religion is better & more auailable than
" our old, let vs with ſpeed imbrace the ſame.

Edwin conſulteth with his nobles.

The anſwere of an heathen biſhop.

Fmallie, when other of the kings councell & men of high authoritie gaue their conſents, that this doctrine which Pauline taught ought to be receiued, if therein appeered more certeintie of ſaluation than could be found in the other: at length the king gaue licence to Pauline openlie to preach the goſpell, and renouncing his worſhipping of falſe gods, profeſſed the chriſtian faith. And when he demanded of his biſhop Coifi who ſhould firſt deface the altars of their idols, and the tabernacles wherewith they were compaſſed about: he anſwered, that himſelfe would doo it. For what is more meet (ſaith he) than that I, which thorough fooliſhneſſe haue worſhipped them, ſhould now for example ſake deſtroie the ſame, thorough wiſedome giuen me from the true and liuing God? And ſtreightwaies throwing awaie the ſuperſtition of vanitie, required armour and weapon of the king, with a ſtoned horſſe, vpon the which he being mounted, rode forth to deſtroie the idols.

Pauline licenced to preach the goſpell.

This was a ſtrange ſight to the people; for it was not lawfull for the biſhop of their law to put on armour, or to ride on anie beaſt, except it were a mare. He hauing therefore a ſword girt to him, toke a ſpeare in his hand, and riding on the kings horſſe, went to the place where the idols ſtood. The common people that beheld him had thought he had beene ſtarke mad, and out of his wits: but he without longer deliberation, incontinentlie vpon his comming to the temple, began to deface the ſame, and in contempt threw his ſpeare againſt it, & reioiſing greatlie in the knowledge of the worſhipping of the true God, commanded his companie to deſtroie & burne downe the ſame temple with all the altars. This place where the idols were ſometime worſhiped was not farre from Yorke, towards the eaſt part of the riuer of Derwent, and is called Gotmundin Gaham, where the foreſaid biſhop by the inſpiration of God defaced and deſtroied thoſe altars, which he himſelfe had hallowed.

King Edwin therefore with all the nobilitie, and a great number of his people, receiued the faith and were baptiſed, in the yeere of our Lord 627, in the tenth yeere of his reigne, and about the 178 yeere after the firſt comming of the Engliſhmen into this land. He was baptiſed at Yorke on Eaſter daie (which fell that yeere the day before the Ides of Aprill) in the church of S. Peter the apoſtle, which he had cauſed to be erected and built vp of timber vpon the ſudden for that purpoſe, and afterwards began the foundation of the ſame church in ſtone-worke of a larger compaſſe, comprehending within it that oratorie which he had firſt cauſed to be built: but before he could finiſh the worke, he was ſlaine (as after ſhall be ſhewed) leauing it to be performed of his ſucceſſor Oſwald.

King Edwin with his people receiue the chriſtian faith. Beda lib. 2. cap. 14.

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Pauline continued from thenceforth during the kings life, which was ſix yeeres after, in preaching the goſpell in that prouince, conuerting an innumerable number of people to the faith of Chriſt, among whom were Oſfride and Eadfride the two ſonnes of Edwin, whom he begot in time of his baniſhment of his wife Quinburga, the daughter of Cearlus king of Mercia. Alſo afterwards he begot children on his ſecond wife Ethelburga, that is to ſay, a ſonne called Edilhimus, and a daughter named Ediltrudis, and another ſonne called Buſſirea, of the which the two firſt died in their cradels, and were buried in the church at Yorke. To be briefe: by the kings aſſiſtance & fauour ſhewed vnto Pauline in the worke of the Lord, great multitudes of people dailie receiued the faith, and were baptiſed of Pauline in manie places, but ſpeciallie in the riuer of Glenie within the prouince of Bernicia, and alſo in Swale in the prouince of Deira: for as yet in the beginning thus

Ediltrudis.

of the church in thoſe countries, no temples or fonts could be builded or ereced in ſo ſhort a time.

Of ſuch great zeale was Edwin (as it is reported) towards the ſetting forth of Gods truth, that he perſuaded Carpwald the ſonne of Redwald king of the Eaſtangles to abandon the ſuperſtitious worſhipping of idols, and to receiue the faith of Chriſt with all his whole prouince. His father Redwald was baptiſed in Kent long before this time, but in daine: for returning home, through counſell of his wife and other wicked perſons, he was ſeduced, and being turned from the ſincere puritie of faith, his laſt dooings were worſſe than his firſt, ſo that according to the maner of the old Samaritans, he would ſeeme both to ſerue the true God and his falſe gods, (whom before time he had ſerued) and in one ſelfe church had at one time both the ſacraments of Chriſt miniſtred at one altar, and ſacrifice made vnto diuels at another.

This chanced in the yeare 632, as Matt. Weſt. ſaith. Redwald king of Eaſtangles baptiſed.

Redwald would ſerue God and the diuell.

But Carpwald within a while after he had receiued the faith, was ſlaine by one of his owne countrimen that was an ethnike, called Richbert, and then after his death, that prouince for the tearme of three yeares was wrapped eftſoones in errour, till Sibert or Sigibert, the brother of Carpwald, a moſt chriſtian prince, and verie well learned, obteined the rule of that kingdome, who whileſt he liued a baniſhed man in France during his brothers life time, was baptiſed there, and became a chriſtian: and when he came to be king, he cauſed all his prouince to be partaker of the ſame fountaine of life, wherein he had beene dipped himſelfe.

Sibert or Sigibert.

Vnto his godlie purpoſe alſo, a biſhop of the parties of Burgoigne named Felix was a great furtherer, who comming ouer vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie Honorius that was ſucceſſor vnto Iuſtus, and declaring vnto him his earneſt deſire, was ſent by the ſame archbiſhop to preach the word of life vnto the Eaſtangles, which he did with ſuch good ſucceſſe, that he conuerted the whole countrie to the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and placed the ſee of his biſhoprike at Dunwich, ending the courſe of his life there in peace after he had continued in that his biſhoplike office the ſpace of 17 yeares. Moreouer Pauline, after that he had conuerted the Northumbers, preached the word of God vnto them of Lindſey, which is a part of Lincolnſhire: and firſt he perſuaded one Blecca the gouernour of the citie of Lincolne to turne vnto Chriſt, togither with all his familie. In that citie he alſo builded a church of ſtone worke. Thus Pauline trauelled in the worke of the Lord, the ſame being greatlie furthered by the helpe of Edwin, in whoſe preſence he baptiſed a great number of people in the riuer of Trent, neere to a towne, which in the old Engliſh tong was called Tiovulfingaceſter. This Pauline had with him a deacon named James, the which ſhewed himſelfe verie diligent in the miniſterie, and profited greatlie therein.

A biſhop ordeined at Dunwich. Beda lib. 1. cap. 16.

This chanced in the yeare 628, as Matth. Weſt. ſaith.

But now to returne to king Edwin, who was a prince verelie of worthie fame, and for the politike ordering of his countries and obſeruing of iuſtice, deſerued highlie to be commended: for in his time all robbers by the high waie were ſo baniſhed out of his dominions, that a woman with hir new borne child alone, without other companie, might haue trauelled from ſea to ſea, and not haue incountred with anie creature that durſt once haue offered hir iniurie. He was alſo verie carefull for the aduancement of the commoditie & common wealth of his people, inſomuch that where there were any ſweet and cleare water-ſprings, he cauſed poſſes to be ſet vp, and iron diſhes to be faſtened thereto with chaines, that waifaring men might haue the ſame readie at hand to drinke with: and there was none ſo hardie as to touch the ſame but for that vſe. He vſed whereſoeuer he went within the cities or elſewhere abroad, to haue a banner borne before him, in token of iuſtice to be miniſtred by his roiall authoritie.

Wil. Malm.

Matth. Weſt. Beda lib. 2. cap. 16.

In the meane ſeaſon, pope Honorius the fift, hearing that the Northumbers had receiued the faith (as before is mentioned) at the preaching of Pauline, ſent vnto the ſaid Pauline the pall, confirming him archbiſhop in the ſee of Yorke. He ſent alſo letters of exhortation vnto king Edwin, to kindle him the more with fatherlie aduiſe to continue and proceed in the waie of vnderſtanding, into the which he was entered. At the ſame time alſo, becauſe Iuſtus the archbiſhop of Canturburie was dead, and one Honorius elected to that ſee, pope Honorius ſent to the ſaid elect archbiſhop of Canturburie his pall, with letters, wherein was conteined a decree by him made, that when either the archbiſhop of Canturburie or Yorke chanced to depart this life, he that ſuruiued ſhould haue authoritie to ordeine another in place of him that was deceaſſed, that they ſhould not need to wearie themſelues with going to Rome, being ſo farre diſtant from them. The copie of which letter is regiſtred in the eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie of Beda, bearing date the third Ides of June, in the yeere of our Lord 633. The ſame pope ſent letters alſo to the Scotiſh people, exhorting them to celebrate the feaſt of Eaſter in ſuch due time as other churches of the chriſtian world obſerued. And alſo becauſe the hereſie of the Pelagians began to renew againe amongſt them (as he was informed) he admoniſhed them to beware thereof, and by all meanes to auoid it. For he knew that to the office of a paſtor it is neceſſarilie incident, not onelie to exhort, teach, and ſhew his ſheepe the waies to a chriſtian life, but alſo ſtronglie to withſtand all ſuch vniuſt meanes, as might hinder their proceeding in the truth of religion. For as poiſon is vnto the bodie, that is hereſie vnto veritie. And as the bodie by poiſon is diſabled from all naturall faculties, and vtterlie extinguiſhed, vnleſſe by preſent meanes the force thereof be vanquiſhed: ſo truth and veritie by errors and hereſies is manie times choked and recouereth, but neuer ſtrangled.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 17.

633 The feaſt of Eaſter.

The hereſie of the Pelagians.

I decree concerning the archbiſhops of Canturburie and Yorke.

But now that the kingdome of Northumberland flouriſhed (as before is partlie touched) in happie ſtate vnder the proſperous reigne of Edwin, at length, after he had gouerned it the ſpace of 17 yeares, Cadwalline, or Cadwallo king of Britaine, who ſucceeded Cadwane, as Gal. Mon. ſaith, rebelled againſt him. For ſo it commeth to paſſe, that nothing can be ſo ſure confirmed by mans power, but the ſame by the like power may be againe deſtroied. Penda king of Mercia enuieng the proſperous proceedings of Edwin, procured Cadwallo to moue this rebellion againſt Edwin: and ioining his power with Cadwallo, they inuaded the countrie of Northumberland iointlie togither. Edwin hereof aduertiſed, gathered his people, & came to incounter them, ſo that both armies met at a place called Hatfield, where was fought a verie ſore and bloudie battell. But in the end Edwin was ſlaine with one of his ſonnes named Oſfride, and his armie beaten downe and diſperſed. Alſo there was ſlaine on Edwins part, Eodbald king of Orkenie. Moreouer there was another of Edwins ſonnes named Eadfride conſtreined of neceſſitie to giue himſelfe into the hands of Penda, and was after by him cruellie put to death, contrarie to his promiſed faith in king Oſwalds daies that ſucceeded Edwin. Thus did king Edwin end his life in that battell, fought at Hatfield aforeſaid, on the fourth ides of October, in the yere of our Lord 633, he being then about the age of 47 yeares and vpwards.

Cadwallin, or Cadwallo king of Britaine.

Penda king of Mercia.

King Edwin ſlaine. Matth. Weſt.

The

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo.

The archbiſhop Pauline flieth into Kent.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 1. Oſrike king of Deira.

Eanfrid king of Bernicia.

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo after their victorie, the Britains make no account of religion, Archbiſhop Pauline with queen Ethelburga flie out of Northumberland into Kent, honorable perſonages accompanie him thither, Romanus biſhop of Rocheſter drowned, Pauline vndertaketh the charge of that ſee; Oſrike is king of Deira, and Eaufride king of Bernicia, both kings become apoſtatas, and fall frõ chriſtianitie to paganiſme, they are both ſlaine within leſſe than a yeeres ſpace; Oſwald is created king of Northumberland, his chiefe practiſe in feats of armes, Cadwallo king of Britaine hath him in contempt, Oſwalds ſuperſtitious deuotion and interceſſion to God againſt his enimies; both kings ioine battell; Cadwallo is ſlaine, Penda king of Mercia his notable vertues linked with foule vices, he maketh warre on whom he will without exception.

## The xxvij. Chapter.

CAdwallo and Penda hauing obteined the victorie aforſaid, vſed it moſt cruellie. For one of the capteins was a pagan, and the other wanting all ciuilitie, ſhewed himſelfe more cruell than anie pagan could haue done. So that Penda being a worſhipper of falſe gods with his people of Mercia, and Cadwallo hauing no reſpect to the chriſtian religion which latelie was begun amongſt the Northumbers, made hauocke in all places where they came, not ſparing man, woman nor child: and ſo continued in their furious outrage a long time in paſſing through the countrie, to the great decay and calamitie of the chriſtian congregations in thoſe parties. And ſtill the chriſtian Britains were leſſe mercifull than Penda his heathenith ſouldiers. For euen vnto the daies of Beda (as he affirmeth) the Britains made no account of the faith or religion of the Engliſhmen, nor would communicate with them more than with the pagans, bicauſe they differed in rites from their accuſtomed traditions.

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo.

When the countrie of the Northumbers was brought into this miſerable caſe by the enimies inuaſion, the archbiſhop Pauline taking with him the quéene Ethelburga, whom he had brought thither, returned now againe with hir by water into Kent, where he was honorablie receiued of the archbiſhop Honorius, and king Eadbald. He came thither in the conduct of one Baſſus a valiant man of warre, hauing with him Eaufred the daughter, and Vulfrea the ſonne of Edwin, & alſo Iffi the ſonne of Oſfride Edwins ſonne, whom their mother after for feare of the kings Edbold and Oſwold did ſend into France where they died. The church of Rocheſter at that time was deſtitute of a biſhop, by the death of Romanus, who being ſent to Rome vnto pope Honorius, was drowned by the way in the Italian ſeas. Whereupon at the requeſt of archbiſhop Honorius, and king Eadbald, Pauline toke vpon him the charge of that ſée, and held it till he died.

The archbiſhop Pauline fleeth into Kent.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 1.

*Oſrike king of Deira.*

After it was knowne that Edwin was ſlaine in battell (as before ye haue heard) Oſrike the ſonne of his vncle Elfrike toke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Deira, which had receiued the ſacrament of baptiſme by the preaching and vertuous inſtruction of Pauline. But the other kingdome of Northumberland called Bernicia, Eaufride the ſon of Edelferd or Edelfride, toke vpon him to gouerne. This Eaufride during the time of Edwins reigne, had continued in Scotland, and there being conuerted to the chriſtian faith was baptiſed. But both theſe

Eaufrid king of Bernicia.

princes, after they had obteined poſſeſſion of their earthlie kingdoms, did forget the care of the heauenlie kingdome, ſo that they returned to their old kind of idolatrie. But almightie God did not long ſuffer this their vnthankefulneſſe without iuſt punithment: for firſt in the next ſummer, when Oſrike had raſhlie beſieged Cadwallo king of the Britains, within a certeine towne, Cadwallo brake forth vpon him, and finding him vnprouided to make reſiſtance, ſlue him with all his armie. Now after this, whileſt Cadwallo not like a conqueror gouerned the prouinces of the Northumbers, but like a tyrant waſted and deſtroied them, in ſleaing the people in tragicall maner, he alſo ſlue Eaufride, the which with twelue men of warre came vndiſcréetlie vnto him to ſue for peace: and thus within leſſe than twelue moneths ſpace both theſe runagate kings were diſpatched.

The two kings of Northumberland ſlaine.

*Oſwald* began his reigne in the yeare 635. Beda lib. 3. cap. 3.

When Oſwald the ſonne of Edelfred, and brother to the foreſaid Eaufride was created king of the Northumbers, the firſt in number from Ida. This Oſwald after that his father was ſlaine, liued as a baniſhed perſon a long time within Scotland, where he was baptiſed, and profeſſed the chriſtian religion, and paſſed the flower of his youth in good exerciſes, both of mind & bodie. Amongſt other things he practiſed the vnderſtanding of warlike knowledge, minding ſo to vſe it as it might ſtand him in ſtead to defend himſelfe from iniurie of the enimies that ſhould prouoke him, and not otherwiſe. Herevpõ Cadwallo king of the Britains made in maner no account of him: for by reaſon that he had atchiued ſuch great victories againſt the Engliſhmen, and hauing ſlaine their two kings (as before is expreſſed) he ceaſſed not to proceed in his tyrannicall doings, reputing the Engliſh people for ſlouthfull, and not apt to the warre, boaſting that he was borne to their deſtruction. Thus being ſet vp in pride of courage, he feared no perils, but boldlie (without conſidering at all the ſkilfull knowledge which Oſwald had ſufficientlie learned in feates of war) toke vpon him to aſſaile the foreſaid Oſwald, that had brought an armie againſt him, and was encamped in a plaine field nére vnto the wall which the Romans had builded in times paſt againſt the inuaſion of Scots and Picts.

Cadwallo ſtreight prouoked Oſwald to trie the matter by battell, but Oſwald forbare the firſt day, and cauſed a croſſe to be erected in the ſame place where he was incamped, in full hope that it ſhould be an enſigne or trophie of his victorie, cauſing all ſouldiers to make their praiers to God, that in time of ſuch neceſſitie it might pleaſe him to ſuccour them that worſhip him. It is ſaid, that the croſſe being made, and the hole digged wherein it ſhould be ſet, he toke the croſſe in his owne hands, and putting the foot thereof into that hole, ſo held it till his ſouldiers had filled the hole, and rammed it vp: and then cauſed all the ſouldiers to knéele downe vpon their knées, and to make interceſſion to the true and liuing God for his aſſiſtance againſt the proud enimie, with whom they ſhould fight in a iuſt quarell for the preſeruation of their people and countrie.

After this, on the next morning he boldlie gaue battell to his enimies, ſo that a ſore and cruell fight inſued betwixt them. At length Oſwald perceiued that the Britains began ſomwhat to faint, and therfore cauſed his people to renew their force, and more luſtilie to preaſſe forward, ſo that firſt he put that moſt cruell enimie to flight, and after purſuing the chaſe ouertoke him, and ſlue him with the moſt part of all his huge and mightie armie, at a place called Denisborne, but the place where he cauſed the croſſe to be erected he named Heuenfield. Thus Cad-

Beda. Wil. Malm.

wallo the moſt cruell enimie of the Engliſh name ended his life: he was terrible both in nature and countenance, for the which cauſe they ſay the Britains did afterwards ſet vp his image, that the ſame might be a terror to the enimies when they ſhould behold it.

¶ But here is to be remembred by the Britiſh hiſtorie of Gal. Mon. it ſhould appeare that Cadwallo was not ſlaine at all, but reigned victoriouſlie for the ſpace of 48 yéeres, and then departed this life, as in place afterwards it ſhall appéere. But for that the contrarietie in writers in ſuch points may ſooner be perceiued than reformed, to the ſatisfieng of mens fanſies which are variable, we will leaue euerie man to his libertie to thinke as ſéemeth him good, noting now and then the diuerſitie of ſuch writers, as occaſion ſerueth.

*Penda. 636*

PEnda the ſonne of Wilba ſucceéded in the gouernement of the kingdome of Mercia after Ciarlus, and began his reigne in the yéere of our Lord 636. He was fiftie yéeres of age before he came to be king, and reigned 30 yeres, he was a prince right hardie and aduenturous, not fearing to ieopard his perſon in place of danger, aſſured and readie of remembrance in time of greateſt perill. His bodie could not be ouercome with anie trauell, nor his mind vanquiſhed with greatneſſe of buſineſſe. But theſe his vertues were matched with notable vices, as firſt with ſuch bitternеſſe of maners as had not béene heard of, crueltie of nature, lacke of courteſie, great vnſtedfaſtneſſe in performing of word and promiſe, and of vnmeaſurable hatred toward the chriſtian religion.

Now vpon confidence in theſe his great vertues and vices from that time he was made king (as though the whole Ile had bene due to him) he thought not good to let anie occaſion paſſe that was offered to make war, as wel againſt his friends & confederats, as alſo againſt his owne ſworne enimies. Part of his doings ye haue heard, and more ſhall appeare hereafter. ¶ Of the kings of the Eaſtſaxons & Eaſtangles ye haue heard before: of whom in places conuenient ye ſhall find further mention alſo, and ſo likewiſe of the kings of the Southſaxons: but becauſe their kingdom continued not paſt fiue ſucceſſions, litle remembrance of them is made by writers.

Cadwallo king of Britain, diuers deeds *of his as the Britiſh writers haue record*ed them, wherevpon diſcord aroſe betweene *Cadwallo & Edwin, who for two yeres ſpace were* linked in friendſhip, Cadwallo vanquiſht, his flight, *of Pelitus the Spaniſh wizard, Cadwallo ouerthroweth Penda* and his power beſieging Exceſter, he arreareth battell againſt the Northumbers, and killeth Edwin their king, he ſeeketh to expell the Saxons out of the land, Penda ſlaieth Oſwald, whoſe brother and ſucceſſor Oſunus by gifts and ſubmiſſion obteineth peace, whom Penda ſpitefullie attempting to kill is killed himſelfe, Cadwallo dieth, a braſen image on horſſebacke ſet vp in his memoriall, ſaint Martins at Ludgate builded.

## *The xxviij. Chapter.*

*Cadwallo, or Cadwalline. 635.*

CAdwallo or Cadwalline, (for we find him ſo named) began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yéere of our Lord 635, in the yéere of the reigne of the emperour Heracleus 35, and in the 13 yere of Dagobert K. of France. Of this man ye haue heard partlie before touching his dealings and warres againſt the Northumbers, and other of the Engliſh nation: but forſomuch as diuers other things are reported of him by the Britiſh writers, we haue thought good in this place to rehearſe the ſame in part, as in Gal. Mon. we find written, leauing the credit ſtill with the author, ſith the truth thereof may be the more ſuſpected, becauſe other authors of good authoritie, as Beda, Henrie Huntington, William Malmeſburie, and others ſéeme greatlie to diſagrée from him herein. But thus it is written.

Edwin how not ſonne to Ethelfred how to Ella, &c. le, as in other places plainlie appeareth.

This Cadwallo and Edwin the ſonne of Ethelfred, as Galfride ſaith, were brought vp in France, being ſent thither vnto Salomon king of Britaine, by king Cadwane, when they were verie yong. Now after their returne into this land, when they were made kings, Cadwallo of the Britains, & Edwin of the Northumbers, there continued for the ſpace of two yéeres great friendſhip betwixt them, till at length Edwin required of Cadwallo that he might weare a crowne, and celebrate appointed ſolemnities within his dominion of Northumberland, as well as Cadwallo did in his countrie. Cadwallo taking aduice in this matter, at length by perſuaſion of his nephue Brian, denied to grant vnto Edwin his requeſt, wherewith Edwin tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſent word vnto Cadwallo, that he would be crowned without his leaue or licence, ſith he would not willinglie grant it. Wherto Cadwallo anſwered, that if he ſo did, he would cut off his head vnder his diademe, if he preſumed to weare anie within the confines of Britaine. Hereof diſcord ariſing betwixt theſe two princes, they began to make fierce and cruell warre either of them againſt the other, and at length ioining in batell with their maine forces, Cadwallo loſt the field, with many thouſands of his men, and being chaſed fled into Scotland, and from thence got ouer into Ireland, and finally paſſed the ſeas into Britaine Armorike, where, of his coſin king Salomon he was courteouſlie receiued, and at length obteined of him 10000 men to go with him backe into his countrie, to aſſiſt him in recouerie of his lands & dominions, the which in the meane time were cruellie ſpoiled, waſted and haried by king Edwin.

Oſwald ſlaine

Oſwie. Matth. Weſt. 654

678 Matt. Weſt. ſaith 676.

Cadwallo vanquiſhed by Edwin.

Cadwallo flieth the land.

At the ſame time Brian the nephue of Cadwallo, whom he had ſent into Britaine a little before to ſlea a certeine wizard or ſouthſaier, whom king Edwin had gotten out of Spaine named Pelitus, that by diſcloſing the purpoſe of Cadwallo vnto Edwin, greatlie hindered Cadwallos enterpriſes, had fortified the citie of Exceſter, mening to defend it till the comming of Cadwallo, wherevpon Penda king of Mercia beſieged that citie with a mightie army, purpoſing to take it, and Brian within it. Cadwallo then aduertiſed hereof, immediatlie after his arriuall haſted to Exceſter, and diuiding his people in 4 parts, ſet vpon his enimies, tooke Penda, and ouerthrew his whole armie. Penda hauing no other ſhift to eſcape, ſubmitted himſelfe wholie vnto Cadwallo, promiſing to become his liegeman, to fight againſt the Saxons in his quarrell. Penda being thus ſubdued, Cadwallo called his nobles togither which had bene diſperſed abroad a long ſeaſon, & with all ſpéed went againſt Edwin king of Northumberland, and ſlue him in battell at Hatfield (as before is mentioned) with his ſon Offride, and Eodbold king of the Ile of Orknie, which was come thither to his aid.

¶ By this it ſhould appeare, that Fabian hath gathered amiſſe in the account of the reignes of the Britiſh kings: for it appeareth by Beda and others, that Edwin was ſlaine in the yéere of our Lord 634. And where Fabian (as before is ſaid) attributeth that act & diuers other vnto Cadwan the father of this Cadwallo: yet both Gal. Mon. and Beda with the moſt part

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part of all other writers signifie that it was done by Cadwallo. Harding assigneth but 13 yéeres to the reigne of Cadwan, and declareth that he died in the yéere of our Lord 616, in the which (as he saith) Cadwallo began his reigne, which opinion of his séemeth best to agrée with that which is written by other authors. But to returne to the other doings of Cadwallo, as we find them recorded in the British storie. After he had got this victorie against the Northumbers, he cruellie pursued the Saxons, as though he ment so farre as in him lay, to destroie the whole race of them out of the coasts of all Britaine: and sending Penda against king Oswald that succéeded Edwin, though at the first Penda receiued the ouerthrow at Heauenfield, yet afterwards Cadwallo himselfe highly displeased with that chance, pursued Oswald, and fought with him at a place called Bourne, where Penda slue the said Oswald. Whereupon his brother Osunus succéeding in gouernment of the Northumbers, sought the fauour of Cadwallo now ruling as king ouer all Britaine, and at length by great gifts of gold and siluer, and vpon his humble submission, obteined peace, till at length vpon spite, Penda king of Mercia obteined licence of Cadwallo to make warres against the said Osunus, in the which (as it hapned) Penda himselfe was slaine. Then Cadwallo after two yéeres granted that Alfridus the sonne of Penda should succéed in Mercia.

Oswald slaine

Osric. Matth. West. 654

Thus Cadwallo ruled things at his appointment within this land. And finallie when he had reigned 48 yéeres, he departed this life the 22 of Nouember. His bodie being embalmed and dressed with swéet confections, was put into a brasen image by marueilous art melted and cast, which image being set on a brazen horsse of excellent beautie, the Britains set vp aloft vpon the west gate of London called Ludgate, in signe of his conquests, and for a terror to the Saxons. Moreouer the church of S. Martin vnderneath the same gate, was by the Britains then builded. Thus haue the Britains made mention of their valiant prince Cadwallo, but diuerse thinke that much of this historie is but fables, bicause of the manifest varieng both from Beda and other autentike writers (as before I haue said.)

678 Matt. West. saith 676.

## The true storie of the forenamed king *Oswald, his desire to restore christian religion*, Cormans preaching taking small effect *among the Northumbers, persuadeth him to de-*part into his owne countrie, he slandereth them be-*fore the Scotish clergie, Aidan a godlie man telleth the cause* of the peoples not profiting by Cormans preaching, Aidan commeth into England to instruct the people in the faith, he varieth in the obseruation of Easter from the English churches custome, the Northumbers haue him & his doctrine in reuerence, Oswalds earnest zeale to further religion by Aidans preaching and ministerie, 15000 baptised within 7 daies; Oswald hath the Britains, Scots, Picts, & English at his commandement, his commendable deed of christian charitie, the West saxons conuerted to the faith by the preaching of Birinus, king Kinigils is baptised, he maketh Birinus bishop of Dorcester, Penda king of Mercia maketh war against the christian kings of the Westsaxons, both sides after a bloudie battell fall to agrement, Ercombert the first English king that destroied idols throughout the whole land, he ordeineth Lent; why English men became moonks, and English women nunnes in monasteries beyond the seas; why Penda king of Mercia enuieth vertuous king Oswald, he is assaulted, slaine in battell, and canonized a saint after his death.

## *The xxix. Chapter.*

NOw will we (after all these differing discourses of the British chronologers) approch and draw as néere as we can to the truth of the historie touching Oswald king of the Northumbers, of whom we find, that after he had tasted of Gods high fauour extended to him wards, in vanquishing his enimies, as one minding to be thankefull therefore, he was desirous to restore the christian faith through his whole kingdome, sore lamenting the decay thereof within the same, and therefore euen in the beginning of his reigne, he sent vnto Donwald the Scotish king (with whome he had béene brought vp in the time of his banishment the space of 18 yéeres) requiring him to haue some learned Scotishman sent vnto him, skilfull in preaching the word of life, that with godly sermons and wholesome instructions, he might conuert the people of Northumberland vnto the true and liuing God, promising to intertein him with such prouision as apperteined.

Oswald meaneth to be thankefull to God for his benefits. Beda li. 3. cap. 3. 5. 6. Hector Boet.

At his instance, there was sent vnto him one Corman, a clerke singularlie well learned, and of great grauitie in behauiour: but for that he wanted such facilitie, and plaine vtterance by waie of gentle persuading, as is requisite in him that shall instruct the simple, onelie setting forth in his sermons high mysteries, and matters of such profound knowledge, as the verie learned might scarselie perceiue the perfect sense and meaning of his talke, his trauell came to small effect, so that after a yéeres remaining there, he returned into his countrie, declaring amongst his brethren of the cleargie, that the people of Northumberland was a froward, stubborne and stiffe-harted generation, whose minds he could not frame by anie good meanes of persuasion to receiue the christian faith: so that he iudged it lost labour to spend more time amongst them, being so vnthankfull and intractable a people, as no good might be done vnto them.

Corman.

Amongst other learned and vertuous prelats of the Scots, there chanced one to be there present at the same time called Aidan, a man of so perfect life, that (as Beda writeth) he taught no otherwise than he liued, hauing no regard to the cares of this world, but whatsoeuer was giuen him by kings or men of wealth and riches, that he fréelie bestowed vpon the poore, exhorting other to do the like. This Aidan hearing Cormans words, perceiued anon that the fault was not so much in the people as in the teacher, and therefore declared, that (as he thought) although it were so that the people of Northumberland gaue no such attentiue eare vnto the preaching of that reuerend prelate Corman, as his godlie expectation was they should haue done, yet might it be that his vttering of ouer manie mysticall articles amongst them, farre aboue the capacitie of the vnderstanding of simple men, was the cause why they so lightlie regarded his diuine instructions, whereas if he had (according to the counsell of Saint Paule) at the first ministred vnto their tender vnderstandings, onelie milke, without harder nourishments, he might happilie haue wone a farre greater number of them vnto the receiuing of the faith, and so haue framed them by little and little to haue digested stronger food. And therefore he thought it necessarie in discharge of their duties towards God, and to satisfie the earnest zeale of king Oswald, that some one amongst them might be appointed to go againe into Northumberland, to trie by proceeding in this maner afore alledged, what profit would thereof insue.

Aidan.

S. Paules counsell.

The bishops hearing the opinion of Aidan, and therewith knowing Cormans maner of preaching, iudged the matter to be as Aidan had declared, and thereupon not onelie allowed his words, but also willed him to take the iournie vpon him, sith they knew none so able with effect to accomplish their wished desires in that behalfe. Aidan, for that he would not seeme to refuse to take that in hand which he himselfe had motioned, was contented to satisfie their request, and so set forward towards Northum-

Aidan commeth into England to preach the gospell.

berland, and comming thither, was ioifullie receiued of king Oſwald, who appointed him the Ile of Lindesfarne, wherein to place the ſee of his new biſhoprike.

Beda li.3.ca.3. Hector Boet.

This Aidan in one point varied from the vſe of the new begun church of England, that is to ſay, touching the time of obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter, in like maner as all the biſhops of the Scots and Picts inhabiting within Britaine in thoſe daies did, following therein (as they tooke it) the doctrine of the holie and praiſe-worthie father Anatholius. But the Scots that inhabited the ſouth parts of Ireland, alreadie were agreed to obſerue that feaſt, according to the rules of the church of Rome. Howbeit Aidan being thus come into Northumberland, applied himſelfe ſo earneſtlie in praier and preaching, that the people had him within ſhort while in wonderfull eſtimation, chiefelie for that he tempered his preachings with ſuch ſweet and pleaſant matter, that all men had a great deſire to heare him, inſomuch that ſometime he was glad to preach abroad in churchyards, becauſe the audience was more than could haue rome in the church.

One thing was a great hinderance to him, that he had not the perfect knowledge of the Saxon tong. But Oſwald himſelfe was a great helpe to him in that matter, who being deſirous of nothing ſo much, as to haue the faith of Chriſt rooted in the harts of his ſubiects, vſed as an interpretor to report vnto the people in their Saxon tong, ſuch whole ſermons as Aidan vttered in his mother tong. For Oſwald hauing beene brought vp (as ye haue hard) in Scotland during the time of his baniſhment, was as readie in the Scotiſh, as he was in the Saxon tong. The people then ſeeing the kings earneſt deſire in furthering the doctrine ſet forth by Aidan, were the more inclined to heare it: ſo that it was a maruellous matter to note, what numbers of people dailie offred themſelues to be baptiſed, inſomuch that within the ſpace of ſeuen daies (as is left in writing) he chriſtened 15 thouſand perſons, of the which no ſmall part forſaking the world, betooke themſelues to a ſolitarie kind of life.

Beda. Oſwald an interpretor to the preacher.

Hector Boet.

Thus by his earneſt trauell in continuall preaching and ſetting forth the goſpell in that countrie, it came to paſſe in the end, that the faith was generallie receiued of all the people, and ſuch zeale to aduance the glorie of the chriſtian religion dailie increaſed amongſt them, that no where could be found greater. Hereupon were no ſmall number of churches built in all places abroad in thoſe parties by procurement of the king, all men liberallie conſenting (according to the rate of their ſubſtance) to be contributorie towards the charges. By this meanes the kingdome of the Northumbers flouriſhed, as well in fame of increaſe in religion, as alſo in ciuill policie and prudent ordinances: inſomuch that (as Beda writeth) Oſwald atteined to ſuch power, that all the nations and prouinces within Britaine, which were diuided into foure tongs (that is to ſay) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Engliſhmen, were at his commandement. But yet he was not lifted vp in anie pride or preſumption, but ſhewed himſelfe maruellous courteous and gentle, and verie liberall to poore people and ſtrangers.

Oſwalds zeale to aduance religion

Beda lib.5.ca.6

Oſwald had in eſtimation with his neighbours.

It is ſaid, that he being ſet at the table vpon an Eſter day, & hauing biſhop Aidan at diner then with him, his almoner came in as the biſhop was about to ſay grace, and declared to the king that there was a great multitude of poore folks ſet before the gates to loke for the kings almes. The king herewith tooke a ſiluer diſh, which was ſet on the table before him with meate, & commanded the ſame meate ſtreightwaies to be diſtributed amongſt the poore, & the diſh broken into ſmall peeces, and diuided amongſt them: for which act he was highlie commended of the biſhop, as he well deſerued. By the good policie and diligent trauell of this king, the prouinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had beene at variance, were brought to peace and made one.

About the ſame time, the Weſtſarons were conuerted to the chriſtian faith, by the preaching of one Birinus a biſhop, who came into this land at the exhortation of pope Honorius, to ſet forth the goſpell vnto thoſe people which as yet were not baptiſed. By whoſe diligent trauell in the Lords harueſt, Cinigils or Kinigils, one of the kings of that countrie receiued the faith, and was baptiſed about the fiue & twentith yeere of his reigne. K. Oſwald that ſhould haue had his daughter in mariage, was preſent the ſame time, who firſt yer he became a ſonne in law, was made a godfather vnto Kinigils (that ſhould be his father in law) by receiuing him at the fontſtone, in that his ſecond birth of regeneration. To this Birinus, who was an Italian, king Kinigils (now that he was become a conuert or chriſtian) appointed and aſſigned the citie of Dorceſter, ſituat by the Thames, diſtant from Oxford about ſeuen miles, to be the ſee of his biſhoprike, where he procured churches to be built, and by his earneſt trauell & ſetting forth the word of life, conuerted much people to the right beliefe. In the yeere following, Quichelmus the other king of the Weſtſarons, and ſonne to Kinigils was alſo chriſtened, and died the ſame yeere, and ſo Cinigilſus or Kinigils reigned alone.

Beda lib.3.ca. Birinus conuerteth the Weſtſaxons to the chriſtian faith.

Kinigils king of Weſtſaxons becommeth a chriſtian.

Polydor.

Dorceſter appointed a biſhops ſe.

In this meane while Penda king of Mercia that Henr. Hunt. ſucceeded next after Ciarlus, being a man giuen to ſeeke trouble in one place or other, leauied warre againſt the kings of Weſtſaxon, Kinigils and Quichelmus, the which gathering their power, gaue him battell at Cirencheſter, where both the parties fought it out to the vttermoſt, as though they had forſworne to giue place one to another, inſomuch that they continued in fight and making of cruell ſlaughter till the night parted them in ſunder. And in the morning, when they ſaw that if they ſhuld buckle together againe, the one part ſhould vtterlie deſtroie the other, they fell to agreement in moderating each others demands.

This chaunce in the yeere 620, as Matth. West. ſaith.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 640, Eadbald king of Kent departed this life, after he had reigned 24 yeeres, leauing his kingdome to his ſonne Ercombert. This Ercombert was the firſt of the Engliſh kings, which tooke order for the vtter deſtroieng of all idols throughout his whole kingdome. He alſo by his roiall authoritie commanded the faſt of fortie daies in the Lent ſeaſon to be kept and obſerued, appointing worthie and competent puniſhment againſt the tranſgreſſors of that commandement. He had by his wife Segburga, that was daughter vnto Anna king of the Eaſtangles, a daughter named Earlongatha, a profeſſed nunne within the monaſterie of Briege or Cala in France: for in thoſe daies, becauſe there were not manie monaſteries builded within this land, a great number of Engliſhmen, that tooke vpon them the profeſſion of a religious life, got them ouer vnto abbeies in France, and there profeſſed themſelues monks: and manie there were which ſent their daughters ouer to be profeſſed nuns within the nunneries there, and ſpeciallie at Briege, Cala, and Andelie: amongſt other, there were Sedrike the lawfull daughter, and Edelburgh the baſtard daughter of the ſaid king Anna, both which in proceſſe of time were made abbeſſes of the ſaid monaſterie of Briege.

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Beda lib.3. cap.7. Matth. West.

Lent firſt appointed to be kept in England.

Segburga.

Aimoinus.

Ye haue heard alreadie, how Oſwald king of Northumberland bare himſelfe in all points like a moſt worthie prince, not ceaſing to releeue the neceſſitie

ceſſitie of the poore, aduancing the good, and reforming the euill, whereby he wan to himſelfe exceeding praiſe and commendation of all good men, and ſtill his fame increaſed for his vertuous doings; namelie, for the ardent zeale he had to the aduancing of the chriſtian faith. Herevpon Penda king of Mercia, enuieng the proſperous proceedings of Oſwald, as he that could neuer abide the good report of other mens well-doings, began to imagine how to deſtroie him, and to conquere his kingdome, that he might ioine it to his owne. At length he inuaded his countrie by open warre, met with him in the field at a place called Maſerfield, and there in ſharpe and cruell fight Oſwald was ſlaine on the fift day of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord 642, and in the 38 yeare of his age, after he had reigned the tearme of eight or nine yeares after ſome, which account that yeare vnto his reigne, in the which his predeceſſors Oſrike and Eanfride reigned, whome they number not amongeſt kings, becauſe of their wicked apoſtaſie and renouncing of the faith which before they had profeſſed. Such was the end of that vertuous prince king Oſwald, being cruellie ſlaine by that wicked tyrant Penda. Afterwards, for the opinion conceiued of his holineſſe, the foreſaid Oſwald was canonized a ſaint, and had in great worſhip of the people, being the firſt of the Engliſh nation that approued his vertue by miracles ſhewed after his departure out of this life.

Penda inuadeth the Northumbers. Beda. lib. 3. cap. 9. King Oſwald ſlaine. Matt. Weſtm. Iuſtin 644. W. Malmeſ.

## Oſwie ſucceedeth Oſwald in the kingdome of Northumberland, he is ſore vexed by Penda, Oſwie and Oſwin are partners in gouernement, they fall at ſtrife, Oſwin is betraied into the hands of Oſwie and ſlaine, a commendation of his perſonage and goodlie qualities, biſhop Aidan dieth; Cenwalch king of the Weſtſaxons, Penda maketh warre againſt him for putting away his wife, his flight, he becommeth a chriſtian and recouereth his kingdome, biſhop Agilbert commeth into Weſtſaxon, and afterwards departing (vpon occaſion) is made biſhop of Paris, Wini buieth the biſhoprike of London; Sigibert king of the Eaſtangles, the vniuerſitie of Cambridge founded by him, he reſigneth his kingdome and becometh a moonke, he and his kinſman Egric are ſlaine in a skirmiſh againſt Penda king of Mercia.

## The xxx. Chapter.

Oſwie king of Northumberland. Beda li. 3. ca. 14

After that king Oſwald was ſlaine, his brother Oſwie (being about 30 yeares of age) toke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, gouerning the ſame with great trouble for the ſpace of 28 yeares, being ſore vexed by the foreſaid Penda king of Mercia and his people, which as yet were pagans. In the firſt yeare of his reigne, which was in the yeare of our Lord 644. Pauline the biſhop of Rocheſter which had bene alſo archbiſhop of Yorke departed this life, and then one Thamar an Engliſhman of the parties of Kent was ordeined biſhop of Rocheſter by Honorius the archbiſhop of Canturburie. King Oſwie had one Oſwin partener with him in gouernment of the Northumbers in the firſt beginning of his reigne, which was ſonne to Oſrike, ſo that Oſwie gouerned in Bernicia, and Oſwin in Deira, continuing in perfect friendſhip for a ſeaſon, till at length, through the counſell of wicked perſons, that coueted nothing ſo much as to ſowe diſcord and variance betwixt princes, they fell at debate, and ſo began to make warres one againſt an other, ſo that finallie when they were at point to haue tried their quarrell in open battell, Oſwin perceiuing that he had not an armie of ſufficient force to incounter with Oſwie, brake vp his campe at Wilfaresdowne, ten mile by weſt the towne of Cataracton, and after withdrew himſelfe onelie with one ſeruant named Condhere vnto the houſe of earle Hunwald, whome he toke to haue bene his truſtie friend: but contrarie to his expectation, the ſaid Hunwald did betraie him vnto Oſwie, who by his captaine Edelwine ſlue the ſaid Oſwin and his ſeruant the foreſaid Condhere, in a place called Ingethling, the 13 kalends of September, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, which was after the birth of our Sauiour 651.

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This Oſwin was a goodlie gentleman of perſon, tall, and beautifull, and verie gentle of ſpeech, ciuill in manners, and verie liberall both to high & low, ſo that he was beloued of all. Such a one he was, to be breefe, as biſhop Aidan geſſed that he ſhould not long continue in life, for that the Northumbers were not worthie of ſo good and vertuous a gouernour. Such humbleneſſe and obedience he perceiued to reſt in him towards the law of the Lord, in taking that which was told him for his better inſtruction in good part, that he ſaid, he neuer ſaw before that time an humble king. The ſame Aidan liued not paſt 12 daies after the death of the ſaid Oſwin, whome he ſo much loued, departing this world the laſt daie of Auguſt, in the ſeuenteenth yeare after he was ordeined biſhop. His bodie was buried in the Ile of Lindeſferne. After Aidan, one Finan was made biſhop in his place, a Scotiſhman alſo, and of the Ile of Hui, from whence his predeceſſor the foreſaid Aidan came, being firſt a man of religion profeſſed in the monaſterie there (as ſome writers do report.)

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Cenwalch. Hen. Hunt.

IN the meane time, after that Kinigils or Cinigiſus king of the Weſtſarons had reigned 31 yeares, he departed this life *Anno* 643, leauing his kingdome to his ſonne Cenwalch or Chenwald, who held the ſame kingdome the tearme of 30 yeares, or 31 (as ſome write) in manner as his father had done before him. In the third, or (as others ſaie) in the fift yeare of his reigne, Penda king of Mercia made ſharpe warre againſt him, becauſe he had put awaie his wife the ſiſter of the ſaid Penda, and in this warre Chenwald was ouercome in battell, & driuen out of his countrie, ſo that he fled vnto Anna king of the Eaſtangles, with whome he remained the ſpace of a yeare, or (as other ſay) three yeares, to his great good hap: for before he was growen to be an enimie to the chriſtian religion, but now by the wholeſome admonitions and ſharpe rebukes of king Anna, he became a chriſtian, and receiued his wife againe into his companie, according to the preſcript of Gods law, and (to be breefe) in all things ſhewed himſelfe a new man, imbracing vertue, & auoiding vice, ſo that ſhortlie after (through the helpe of God) he recouered againe his kingdome.

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Ran. Higd.

Agilbertus a biſhop.

Now when he was eſtabliſhed in the ſame, there came a biſhop named Agilbertus out of Ireland, a Frenchman borne (but hauing remained in Ireland a long time) to reade the ſcriptures. This Agilbert comming into the prouince of the Weſtſarons, was gladlie receiued of king Chenwald, at whoſe deſire he toke vpon him to exerciſe the roome of a biſhop there: but afterwards, when the ſaid king admitted another biſhop named Wini, which had beene ordeined in France, and knew the tong better than Agilbert, as he that was borne in England: Agilbert offended, for that the king had admitted him without making him of anie counſell therein, returned into France, and there was made biſhop of Paris: within a few yeares after, the foreſaid Wini was

Bernicia.

ni was erpelled also by king Chenwald, who got him into Mercia vnto king Vulfhere, of whome he bought the bishoprike of London, which he held during his life, and so the countrie of Westsaxon remained long without a bishop, till at length the said Agilbert at the request of king Chenwald sent to him Elutherius that was his nephue.

*Sigibert.* YE haue heard that after Carpwald, his brother Sigibert succéeded in rule of the Eastangles, a man of great vertue and worthinesse, who whilest he remained in France as a banished man, being constreined to flée his countrie vpon displeasure that king Redwald bare him, was baptised there, and after returning into his countrie, and obteining at length the kingdome, those things which he had séene well ordered in France, he studied to follow the example of the same at home, and herevpon considering with himselfe that nothing could more aduance the state of the common-wealth of his countrie than learning & knowledge in the tongs, began the foundation of certeine schooles, and namelie at Cambridge, where children might haue places where to be instructed and brought vp in learning vnder appointed teachers, that there might be greater numbers of learned men trained vp than before time had béene within this land, to the furtherance of true religion and vertue.

Beda.lib.3. cap.4.

The vniuersitie of Cambridge founded by king Sigibert.

So that England hath good cause to haue in thankfull remembrance this noble prince king Sigibert, for all those hir learned men which haue bin brought vp & come forth of that famous vniuersitie of Cambridge, the first foundation or rather renouation whereof was thus begun by him about the yeare of our Lord 630. At length when this worthie king began to grow in age, he considered with himselfe how hard a matter, and how painefull an office it was to gouerne a realme as apperteined to the dutie of a good king, wherevpon he determined to leaue the charge thereof to other of more conuenient yéeres, and to liue from thencefoorth a priuat kind of life, and so resigning the administration vnto his kinsman Egricus, he became a monke, and led the rest of his life in a certeine abbeie.

Bale saith 636.

Sigibert resigneth his kingdome to Egricus.

Shortlie after it so came to passe that Penda king of Mercia (that cruell ethnike tyrant) made sore warres vpon Egricus, whervpon the people of Eastangles compelled Sigibert to come forth of his monasterie, & to go with them into the field against Penda. Sigibert being thus constreined against his will, would not put on armour or beare anie other kind of weapon, than onelie a wand in his hand in stéed of a scepter, and so the armie of the Eastangles in hope of good spéed by the presence of Sigibert, ioined in battell with their enimies, but the Eastangles were finallie vanquished, and the more part of them slaine, togither with Sigibert and his cosen Egricus their king. This happened in the yere after the birth of our Sauiour (as some haue noted) 652.

Sigibert and Egricus slaine.

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Baleus. Beda lib.3. cap.19. Furseus.

In the daies whilest Sigibert as yet ruled the Eastangles, there came out of Ireland a deuout person named Furseus, who comming into the countrie of the Eastangles, was gladlie receiued of king Sigibert, by whose helpe afterwards he builded the abbeie of Cumbreburge, in the which Sigibert (as some haue written) when he renounced his kingdome, was professed a monke. Of this Furseus manie things are written, the which for briefenesse we ouerpasse. After that Felix the bishop of the Eastangles was dead, one Thomas was ordeined in his place, who after he had béene bishop fiue yéeres, died, and then one Berefgils was ordeined in his roome by Honorius the archbishop of Canturburie. The said Honorius himselfe when he had run the race of his naturall life, deceassed also the last of September in the yéere of our Lord 653.

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Anna king of Eastangles is slaine by *Penda king of Mercia, his brother* succeeding him is slaine also by Oswie king of Nor*thumberland, the Mercians or Middleangles re*ceiue the faith vnder vertuous Peda their prince, he *requesteth Alchfled the king of Northumberlands daughter* in mariage, he is baptised by bishop Finnan, by whose meanes the Eastsaxons imbraced christian religion vnder Sigibert their king, he is murthered of two brethren that were his kinsmen vpon a conceiued hatred against him for his good and christian life, how dangerous it is to keepe companie with an excommunicate person, the authoritie of a bishop.

## *The xxxj. Chapter.*

*Anna.* AFter Egricus succeeded Anna the sonne of Enus in the kingdome of Eastangle, and was likewise slaine by Penda king of Mercia, with the most part of his armie, as he gaue battell vnto the said Penda that inuaded his countrie. He left behind him manie children, but his brother Edelhere succéeded him in gouernment of the kingdome, who was slaine by Oswie the king of Northumberland, togither with the foresaid Penda, and worthilie, sith he would aid that tyrant which had slaine his kinsman and his brother that were predecessors with him in his kingdome. After this, when the sée of Canturburie had béene vacant by the space of one whole yeare and six moneths, one Deus dedit of the countrie of the Westsaxons, was elected and consecrated by Ithamar the bishop of Rochester, on the 7 kalends of Aprill. He gouerned the church of Canturburie by the tearme of nine yéeres, foure moneths, and two daies. When he was departed this life, the foresaid Ithamar consecrated for him one Damianus of the countrie of Sussex.

Will. Malm.

Edelhere k. of Eastangl.

Deus dedit.

*Beda hist. eccl. lib.3. cap.21.* 652.

ABout this time, the people of Mercia commonlie called Middleangles, receiued the christian faith vnder their king named Peda or Peada, the sonne of Penda king of Mercia, who being a towardlie yong gentleman, and worthie to haue the guiding of a kingdome, his father Penda aduanced him to the rule of that kingdome of the Middleangles during his owne life. [¶ Héere maie you note, that the kingdome of the Middleangles was one, and the kingdome of Mercia another, though most commonlie the same were gouerned by one king.] This yong Peda came to Oswie king of Northumberland, requiring of him to haue his daughter Alchfled in mariage: but when he was informed that he might not haue hir except he would become a christian, then vpon hearing the gospell preached, with the promise of the celestiall ioies and immortalitie, by the resurrection of the flesh in the life to come, he said that whether he had king Oswies daughter to wife or not, he would suerlie be baptised, and chieflie he was perswaded thereunto by his kinsman Alchfrid, who had in mariage his sister the daughter of Penda named Cimburgh.

Peda or Peada king of Middlangles.

Therefore he was baptised by bishop Finnan, with all those which came thither with him, at a place called At the wall, and taking with him foure priests which were thought méete to teach and baptise his people, he returned with great ioy into his owne countrie. The names of those priests were as followeth, Cedda, Adda, Betti, and Diuma, of the which, the last was a Scot by nation, and the other were Englishmen.

Ad murum

The saieng of king Penda.

Beda.lib.3. cap.22.

King Sigibert receiued the faith.

This was about the yére 649, as Matth. West. hath noted.

Cedda.

Ced or Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.

Tilberie.

glishmen. These priests comming into the prouince of the Middleangles, preached the word, and were well heard, so that dailie a great number of the nobilitie & communaltie renouncing the filthie dregs of idolatrie, were christned. Neither did king Penda forbid the preaching of the gospell within his prouince of Mercia, but rather hated and despised those whome he knew to haue professed themselues christians, and yet shewed not the works of faith, saieng, that those were wretches and not to be regarded, which would not obeie their God in whome they beleeued. This alteration of things began, about two yeres before the death of king Penda.

About the same time, the Eastsaxons at the instance of Oswie king of Northumberland, received eftsoones the faith which they had renounced, when they banished their bishop Melitus. Ye haue heard that Sebert, Sliward, and Sigibert brethren, and the sonnes of king Sabert (which brethren occasioned the reuolting of that prouince from the faith of Christ) were slaine in battell by the kings of Westsaxon, after whome succeeded Sigibert surnamed the little sonne to the middlemost brother Sliward, as some write. This Sigibert the litle left the kingdome to an other Sigibert that was sonne to one Sigebald the brother of king Sabert, which second Sigibert reigned as king in that prouince of the Eastsaxons, being a most especiall friend of king Oswie, so that oftentimes he repaired into Northumberland to visit him, wherupon king Oswie ceassed not most earnestlie at times conuenient to exhort him to receiue the faith of Iesus Christ, and in the end by such effectuall persuasions as he vsed, Sigibert gaue credit to his words, and so being conuerted, receiued the sacrament of baptisme by the hands of bishop Finnan, at the kings house called, At the wall, so named, bicause it was built neere to the wall which the Romans had made ouerthwart the Ile, as is often before remembred, being twelue miles distant from the east sea.

King Sigibert hauing now receiued the christian faith, when he should returne into his countrie, required king Oswie to appoint him certeine instructors and teachers which might conuert his people to the faith of Christ. King Oswie desirous to satisfie his request, sent vnto the prouince of the Middleangles, calling from thence that vertuous man Cedda, and assigning vnto him another priest to be his associat, sent them vnto the prouince of the Eastsaxons, there to preach the christian faith vnto the people. And when they had preached & taught through the whole countrie, to the great increase and inlarging of the church of Christ, it chanced on a time that Cedda returned home into Northumberland to conferre of certeine things with bishop Finnan which kept his see at Lindesferne, where vnderstanding by Cedda the great fruits which it had pleased God to prosper vnder his hands, in aduancing the faith among the Eastsaxons, he called to him two other bishops, and there ordeined the foresaid Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.

Hereupon, the same Cedda returned vnto his cure, went forward with more authoritie to performe the worke of the Lord, & building churches in diuerse places, ordeined priests and deacons which might helpe him in preaching, and in the ministerie of baptising, speciallie in the citie of Ithancester vpon the riuer of Pent, and likewise in Tileburge on the riuer of Thames. Whilest Ced was thus busie to the great comfort and ioy of the king and all his people, in the setting forward of the christian religion with great increase dailie procéeding, it chanced thorough the instigation of the deuill, the common enimie of mankind, that king Sigibert was murthered by two of his owne kinsmen who were brethren, the which when they were examined of the cause that should moue them to that wicked fact, they had nothing to alledge, but that they did it bicause they had conceiued an hatred against the king, for that he was so fauourable towards his enimies, and would with great mildnesse of mind forgiue iniuries committed against him: such was the kings fault for the which he was murthered, bicause he obserued the commandements of the gospell with a deuout hart.

Notwithstanding, in this his innocent death, his offense was punished, wherein he had suerlie transgressed the lawes of the church. For whereas one of them which slue him kept a wife, whome he had vnlawfullie married, and refused to put hir away at the bishops admonition, he was by the bishop excommunicated, and all other of the christian congregation commanded to abstaine from his companie. This notwithstanding, the king being desired of him came to his house to a banket, and in his comming from thence met with the bishop, whome when the king beheld, he waxed afraid, and alighted from his horsse, and fell downe at his feet, beseeching him of pardon for his offense. The bishop, which also was on horsseback likewise alighted, and touching the king with his rod which he had in his hand, as one something displeased, and protesting as in the authoritie of a bishop, spake these words; Bicause (saith he) thou wouldst not abstaine from entring the house of that wicked person being accursed, thou shalt die in the same house: and so it came to passe. The authoritie of a bishop.

Suidhelme king of the Eastsaxons, he *is baptised, the bishoplike exercises of Ced* in his natiue countrie of Northumberland; E*diswald K. of Deira reuerenceth him, the kings* deuout mind to further and inlarge religion; the m*aner of consecrating a place appointed for a holie vse*; *the old* order of fasting in Lent, bishop Ced dieth; warre betweene Oswie and Penda, Oswie maketh a vow to dedicate his daughter a perpetuall virgine to God if he got the victorie, he obteineth his request and performeth his vow, she liueth, dieth, and is buried in a monasterie, the benefit insuing Oswies conquest ouer his enimies, the first second and third bishops of Mercia, the victorious proceeding of king Oswie; prince Peada his kinsman murthered of his wife.

## *The xxxij. Chapter.*

*Suidhelme.*

After Sigbert succeeded Suidhelme in the kingdome of the Eastsaxons, he was the son of Serbald, and baptised of Ced in the prouince of the Eastangles, at a place of the kings there called Rendlesham. Edilwald king of the Eastangles (the brother of king Anna) was his godfather at the fontstone. Ced the bishop of the Eastsaxons vsed oftentimes to visit his countrie of Northumberland where he was borne, and by preaching exhorted the people to godlie life. Wherupon it chanced that king Edilwald the son of king Oswald which reigned in the parties of Deira, moued with the fame of his vertuous trade of liuing, had him in great reuerence: and therefore vpon a good zeale and great deuotion, willed him to chose forth some plot of ground where he might build a monasterie, in the which the king himselfe and others might praie, heare sermons the oftener, and haue place where to burie the dead. The bishop consenting to the kings mind, at length espied a place amongst high and desert

Beda lib. 3. cap. 22. Matt. West.

Beda lib. 3. cap. 23.

sert mounteins, where he began the foundation of a monasterie, afterwards called Lestinghem.

Wherefore meaning first of all to purge the place with prayer & fasting, he asked leaue of the king that he might remaine there all the Lent, which was at hand, and so continuing in that place for that time, fasted euerie daie (sundaie excepted) from the morning vntill euening, according to the maner, nor receiued anie thing then but onlie a little bread, and a hens eg, with a little milke mixt with water: for he said that this was the custome of them of whome he had learned the forme of his regular order, that they should consecrate those places vnto the Lord with prayer and fasting, which they latelie had receiued to make in the same either church or monasterie.

The maner of the old fast.

And when there remained ten daies of Lent yet to come, he was sent for to the king: wherefore he appointed a brother which he had, being also a priest named Cimbill, to supplie his roome, that his begun religious worke should not be hindered for the kings businesse. Now when the time was accomplished, he ordeined a monasterie there, appointing the monks of the same to liue after the rules of them of Lindesferne where he was brought vp. Finallie this bishop Ced comming vnto this monasterie afterwards by chance in time of a sickenesse, died there, and left that monasterie to the gouernance of another brother which he had named Ceadda, that was after a bishop, as afterwards shall be shewed. There were foure brethren of them, and all priests, Ced, Cimbill, Cenlin, and Ceadda, of the which Ced and Ceadda were bishops, as before is said.

Lindesferne holie Iland.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

About the same time, Oswie king of Northumberland was sore oppressed by the warres of Penda king of Mercia, so that he made great offers of high gifts, and great rewards vnto the said Penda for peace, but Penda refused the same, as he that meant vtterlie to haue destroied the whole nation of Oswies people, so that Oswie turning himselfe to seeke helpe at the hands of the almightie, said: If the pagan refuse to receiue the gifts which we offer, let vs make offer vnto him that knoweth how to accept them: and so binding himselfe by vow, promised that if he might obtein victorie, he would offer his daughter to be dedicate to the Lord in perpetuall virginitie: and further would giue twelue mannors, lordships or farmes to the building of monasteries: and so with a small armie he put himselfe in hazard of battell.

War betweene king Oswie & king Penda

It is said that Penda had thirtie companies of men of warre, furnished with thirtie noble capteins or colonels, against whome came Oswie with his sonne Alchfrid, hauing but a small armie, but confirmed yet with hope in Christ Jesus. His other son Ecgfrid remained in hostage at that time with queene Cinnise. Edilwald the sonne of Oswald that gouerned Deira, & ought to haue aided Oswie, was on the part of Penda against his countrie, and against his vncle, but in time of the fight he withdrew himselfe aside, to behold what chance would follow. The battell being begun, the thirtie pagan capteins were ouerthrowne and put to flight, and those that came to aid Penda were almost all slaine, among whome was Edilhere king of the Eastangles, that reigned after his brother Anna, and was the procurer of this warre. This battell was fought neere to the water of Inwet, the which being risen as then by reason of great raine, drowned more of the enimies than died of the Northumbers swords.

The victorie of the Northumbers.

After that Oswie had obteined this victorie, he performed promise in bestowing his daughter to the profession of virginitie, and also gaue the twelue mannors, whereof six were in Deira, and six in Bernicia, conteining euerie of them ten houholds a peece. Elfled also king Oswies daughter was professed in the monasterie of Hertheu, where one Hilda was abbesse, which Hilda purchasing a lordship of ten houholds in Streanshall, now called Whitbie, builded a monasterie there, in the which first the said Elfled was a nouice, and after a ruler, till at length being of the age of fortie yeres she departed this life, and was buried there; and so likewise was hir mother Eanfled, and hir grandfather Edwin, with manie other high estates within the church of saint Peter the apostle. The victorie aboue mentioned got by king Oswie in the countrie of Lodes on the 17 kalends of December, & in the thirteenth yeere of his reigne, happened to the great commoditie and gaine of both the people, for by the same he deliuered his countrie of Northumberland from the cruell destruction made in the same by the pagan people of Mercia, and conuerted those pagans themselues, and the countries neere adioining to them wholie vnto the faith of Jesus Christ.

Hertesey saith Matt. West.

Hilda.

Lodes.

The first bishop in the prouince of Mercia, and also of Lindesferne and the Middleangles was one Diuma, who died amongst the Middleangles. The second was Cellach, the which leauing his bishoprike returned into Scotland, for they were both of the nation of the Scots. The third was an Englishman named Trumhere, but instructed and ordeined of the Scots. He was abbat of the monasterie of Ingethlingum, being builded in that place where king Oswin was slaine (as before is mentioned.) Forquene Eanfled that was his kinswoman got of hir husband king Oswie a place there for the foresaid Trumhere to build that abbeie vpon.

The first bishop of Mercia.

King Oswie hauing slaine king Penda, gouerned the people of Mercia, and also other of the south prouinces, & subdued a great part of the Pictish nation to the English dominion. About the same time king Oswie gaue vnto Peada the son of king Penda (because he was his kinsman) the countrie of the Southmercies, conteining 5000 houholds, and separated from the Northmercies by the riuer Trent. The countrie of the Northmercies conteined in those daies 7000 houholds. But Peada in the next spring was wickedlie murthered through the treason of his wicked wife (as was said) in the feast of Easter.

The victorious proceeding of king Oswie.

Southmercia.

Northmercia.

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Matt. West.

## The dukes of Mercia rebell against Oswie, recouer their owne bounds, and create Wulfhere their king; Cenwald king of the *Westsaxons fighteth with the Britaines and preuaileth*, he is vanquished by Wulfhere; Adelwold *king of Sussex hath the Ile of Wight giuen him, and why*; succession of Edelher, Edelwald, and Aldulfe in the kingdome of Eastangles; Colman a Scot first made bishop of Northumberland, controuersie about the obseruation of Easter, about bald crownes or shauing the haire, superstition punished by God, Ceadda bishop of Yorke, his course of life and diligence in his office commended; Egbert king of Kent, the see of Canturburie void, the preferment thereto refused, Theodore a moonke supplieth the roome at the popes appointment, all the English clergie obey him as their head, his visitation and reformation, singing vsed in churches, Theodore and Adrian woorthilie praised, English men happie, glasiers first brought into this Iland.

## *The xxxiij. Chapter.*

After three yeeres were complet, next ensuing the death of king Penda, the dukes of the countrie of Mercia, Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert rebelled against king Oswie, aduancing one Wulfhere a yong gentleman

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

Henr. Hunt. Matt. West.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24. Colman ordeined bishop.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 25.

Controuersie about shauing of crownes.

Cap. 6.

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man the sonne of Peda, and brother to Peada, whom they had kept in secret to be their king; and expelling the lieutenants of king Oswie, they recouered both their owne confines and libertie withall, and so liuing in freedome with their owne naturall king the foresaid Vulfhere, they also continued with glad hearts in seruice of the celestiall king our God and Sauior.

*Vulfhere.* Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

This Vulfhere gouerned the Mercies seuentéene yeares, the which Mercies (during the reigne of the said Vulfhere) had foure bishops successiuelie gouerning the church of that prouince one after another, as the aboue mentioned Trumhere, Jaroman, Ceadda, and Winfrid, as hereafter shall more at large appeare.

Henr. Hunt. Matt. West.

About the beginning of king Vulfhers reigne, that is to say, in the seuentéenth yeare of the reigne of Cenwald king of the Westsaxons, the same Cenwald fought with the Britains at Pennum, where the Britains being assembled in great number, proudlie incountred with the Englishmen, and at the first put them to the worst, but when the Englishmen would in no wise giue ouer, but did sticke to their tackle, at length the Britains were put to flight, so that the posteritie of Brute receiued that day an incurable wound. But within three yeares after, that is, in the nineténth yeare of the said Cenwald, he had not the like lucke in battell against the foresaid Vulfhere king of Mercia, as he had before against the Britains, for the said Vulfhere vanquishing him in the field, passed through his countrie with a great armie vnto the Ile of Wight, which he conquered, and deliuered it vnto Adelwold king of Suffex, as a gift at that time, when he receiued him at the font stone after he had conuerted him to the faith. He gaue vnto Adelwold that Ile, to the end he should cause the people there to receiue the faith and religon of Christ. Now after that Edelhere king of Eastangles was slaine, as before is mentioned, his brother Edelwald succéeded him in that kingdome, reigning as king thereof by the space of nine yeares. Then after Edelwald succéeded Aldulfe the son of Edelhere in gouernment of that kingdome, and reigned 25 yeares.

*Th Britains put to flight by Cenwald.*

*Cenwald vanquished by Vulfhere.*

*Adelwold of Suffex.*

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

After Finan bishop of the Northumbers that held his sée at Lindesferne, as Aidan did before him, one Colman was ordeined bishop, a Scot borne, and an earnest obseruer of the customes vsed amongest them of his nation, so that when the controuersie began to be reuiued for the holding of the feast of Easter, he would by no meanes yéeld to them that would haue perswaded him to haue followed the rite of the Romane church. There was a great disputation kept about this matter, and other things, as shauing or cutting of heares, and such like in the monasterie of Whitbie, at the which king Oswie and his sonne Alcfrid were present, where Colman for his part alledged the custome of John the euangelist, and of Anatholius; and the contrarie side brought in proofe of their opinion, the custome of Peter and Paule. At length, when bishop Colman perceiued that his doctrine was not so much regarded, as he thought of reason it ought to haue béene, he returned into Scotland with those, which taking part with him, refused to obserue the feast of Easter according to the custome of the church of Rome, nor would haue their crownes shauen, about which point no small reasoning had béene kept. This disputation was holden in the yeare of our Lord 664, and in the yeare of the reigne of king Oswie 22, and 30 yeare after the Scotishmen began first to beare the office of bishops within Northumberland, which was (as W. Harison saith) 624. For Aidan gouerned 17 yeares, Finan 10 yeares, & Colman 3 yeares. After that Colman was returned into his countrie, one Tuda that had béene brought vp amongest the Southerne Scots, and ordeined bishop by them, succéeded in his roome, hauing his crowne shauen, and obseruing the feast of Easter according to the custome of the prouince and rite of the Romane church. ¶ The same yeare, there chanced a great eclipse of the sunne, the third of Maie about 10 of the clocke in the day. A great dearth and mortalitie insued, both in all the parties of this our Britaine, and likewise in Ireland. Amongest other, the foresaid bishop Tuda died, and was buried in the abbeie of Pegnalech. After this Tuda, succéeded in gouernement of the church of Lindesferne, otherwise called Holie Iland, one Wilfrid, which was sent by king Alcfrid into France, to be ordeined there.

*Tuda ordeined bishop.*

*Cap. 27. Ineclipse. Punishment of God for yelding to superstition.*

*Wilfrid bishop.*

About the same time king Oswie, the father of king Alcfrid, moued with the good example of his sonne, sent Ceadda, the brother of Ced sometime bishop of the Eastsaxons into Kent, to be ordeined bishop of Yorke; but at his comming into Kent he found that Deus dedit the archbishop of Canturburie was dead, and none other as yet ordeined in his place, so that Ceadda repaired into the prouince of the Westsaxons, where he was ordeined by bishop Wini, who toke two other bishops of the British nation vnto him to be his associats, which vsed to obserue the feast of Easter contrarie to the custome of the Romane church. But there was no other shift, sith none other bishop was then canonicallie ordeined in the prouince of the Westsaxons in those daies, this Wini onlie excepted, and therefore was he constreined to take such as he might get and prouide.

*Cap. 28.*

*Ceadda ordeined archbishop of Yorke.*

After that Ceadda was thus ordeined, he began forthwith to follow the true rules of the church, liued right chastlie, shewed himselfe humble and continent, applied his studie to reading, and trauelled abroad on foot and not on horsseback through the countries, townes, and villages, to preach the word of God. He was the disciple of Aidan, and couuted by his example, and also by the example of Ced, to instruct his hearers with the like doings & maners as he had knowen them to doo. Wilfrid also being consecrated bishop, and returned into England, indeuored to plant the orders of the Romane church in the churches of England, whereby it came to passe, that the Scots which inhabited amongst the Englishmen, were constreined either to follow the same, or else to returne into their owne countrie.

In this meane time, king Ercombert being departed this life, after he had gouerned the Kentishmen by the space of twentie yeares, his sonne Egbert succéeded him in the kingdome, and reigned nine yeares. There is little remembrance of his doings, which in that short time were not much notable, except ye will ascribe the comming into this land of the archbishop Theodorus, and the abbat Adrian vnto his glorie, which chanced in his time. For in the yeare of the great eclipse and sore mortalitie that insued, it chanced that both king Ercombert, & the archbishop Deus dedit departed this life, so that the sée of Canturburie was void a certeine time, in so much that king Egbert, who succéeded his father Ercombert, togither with king Oswie, did send one Wighart a priest of good reputation for his excellent knowledge in the scriptures, vnto Rome, with great gifts and rich vessels of gold and siluer, to be presented vnto the pope, requiring him that he would ordeine the foresaid Wighart archbishop of Canturburie, to haue rule of the English church. But this Wighart comming vnto Rome, and

*Egbert king of Kent.*

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 9. *Wighart.*

*Controuersie about shauing of crownes.*

Cap. 6.

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and declaring his message vnto Vitalianus then gouerning the church of Rome, immediatlie after he died of the pestilence (that then reigned in that citie) with all those that came with him.

Beda. lib. 4. cap. 1.

The pope then taking aduice whome he might ordeine vnto the see of Canturburie, being thus destitute of an archbishop, appointed a monke named Adrian to take that office vpon him, but Adrian excused himselfe as not sufficient for such a rome, and required the pope to appoint one Andrew a monke also, wherevnto the pope consented. But when Andrew was preuented by death, ertsones Adrian should haue beene made archbishop, but that he named one Theodore an other monke that abode as then in Rome, but was borne in the citie of Tharsus in Cilicia, verie well learned both in the Greeke and Latine, and being of reuerend yeares, as of 76. This Theodore by the presentment of Adrian, was appointed to be ordeined archbishop of Canturburie, with condition, that Adrian should neuertheless attend vpon him into England, both for that he had beene twise before this time in France, and so knew the coasts; and againe, for that he might assist him in all things, and loke well to the matter, that Theodore should not bring into the church of England anie rite or custome of the Greekes, contrarie to the vse of the Romane church. Theodore being first ordeined subdeacon, tarried foure moneths till his heare was growen, that he might haue his crowne shauen after the maner of Peter. For he was rounded or shauen after the maner of the East church, which was as they persuaded themselues, according to the vse of saint Paule the apostle. And so at length was this Theodore ordeined archbishop of Canturburie by pope Vitalianus in the yeare of our Lord 668, the first kalends of June, and with Adrian sent into Britaine.

Adrian.

Theodore ordeined archbishop of Canturburie.

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These with their retinue came to France, and being come thither, shortlie after king Egbert had knowledge thereof: whereupon with all conuenient speed he sent ouer one of his nobles named Redfrid to bring the archbishop into England, and so he did: but Adrian was staied for a time, because he was suspected to haue had some commission from the emperour to haue practised with the Englishmen, for the disquieting of the realme of France. Howbeit, after it was perceiued that this suspicion was grounded on no truth, he was also suffered to follow the archbishop, and so comming vnto Canturburie, he was made abbat of the monasterie of saint Augustines. The archbishop Theodore came thus vnto his church of Canturburie in the second yeare after his consecration, about the second kalends of June, being sundaie. He gouerned the same church also 21 yeares and 16 daies, and was the first archbishop to whome all the churches of England did acknowledge their obeisance.

Ran. Cest. Matth. West.

Beda.

Being accompanied with the foresaid Adrian, he visited all the parts of this land, ordeined bishops and ministers in churches where he thought conuenient, and reformed the same churches as seemed to him needfull, as well in other things which he misliked, as also in causing them to obserue the feast of Easter, according to the rite and vsage of the church of Rome. Ceadda that was bishop of Yorke, because he was not lawfullie ordeined, as he himselfe confessed, was remoued from the see of Yorke, and Wilfrid was thereunto restored, so that Ceadda (though he were not disgraded of his degree of bishop) liued yet a priuat kind of life, till he was admitted bishop of Mercia, as after shall be shewed.

Singing in churches brought in vse.

Also whereas before time there was in maner no singing in the English churches, except it were in Kent, now they began in euerie church to vse singing of diuine seruice after the rite of the church of Rome. The archbishop Theodore finding the church of Rochester void by the death of the last bishop named Damian, ordeined one Putta a simple man in worldlie matters, but well instructed in ecclesiasticall discipline, and namelie well seene in song and musicke to be vsed in the church after the maner as he had learned of pope Gregories disciples.

Putta bish. of Rochest.

To be breefe, the archbishop Theodore, and the abbat Adrian deserued great commendation in this, that whereas they were notablie well learned themselues in the Greeke and the Latine tongs, and also had good knowledge as well in the liberall arts, as in the scripture, they toke great paines to traine vp scholers in knowledge of the same, so that the Englishmen had not seene more happie times than in those daies, hauing as then kings of great puissance, so as strangers stood in feare of them; and againe, those that coueted learning, had instructors at hand to teach them, by reason whereof diuers being giuen to studie, proued excellent both in knowledge of the Greeke and Latine. There came in companie of the said archbishop from Rome, an Englishman named Benedict Biscop, which had taken vpon him the habit of a monke in Italie, and now returning into his countrie, builded two abbeis, the one named Wiremouth, because it was placed at the mouth of the riuer of Wire, and the other Girwie, distant from Wiremouth about fiue miles, and from the towne of Newcastle foure miles, situated neere to the mouth of Tine. Wiremouth was built in the yeare 670, and Girwie in the yeare 673. There were a 600 monks found in those two houses, and gouerned vnder one abbat. The said Benedict was the first that brought glasiers, painters, and other such curious craftsmen into England. He went fiue times to Rome, and came againe.

The worthie praise of Theodore and Adrian.

English men happie and why.

Beda. Benedict or Benet surnamed Biscop.

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Glasiers first brought into England. Ran. Cest.

Sighere and Sebbie associats reigne ouer the Eastsaxons, *the one falleth from,* the other cleaueth to the faith, Vulfhere king *of Mercia sendeth bishop Iaroman to redresse that* apostasie of the prince and the people, Cead bishop *of Mercia, the king of that countrie hath him in hie reputation*, Egfrid king of Northumberland, a synod of bishops holden at Herford, articles propounded out of the canons by Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Bisi vnable to discharge his episcopall office, a remedie therefore; Kenwalke of a very euill prince becometh a verie good ruler, his wife gouerneth the kingdome after his death, Escuius succeedeth hir in the roome, of Thunnir a murtherer king Egberts principall vicegerent, bishop Winfrid deposed for disobedience, Sebbie king of the Eastsaxons a professed moonke, his death.

## The xxxiiij. Chapter.

ABout the same time, after that Suidhelme king of the Eastsaxons was dead, Sighere the son of Sigbert the little, and Sebbie the son of Suward succeeded him in gouernement of that kingdome, albeit they were subiect vnto Vulfhere the king of Mercia. Sighere in that time, when the great mortalitie reigned, renounced the faith of Christ, with that part of the people which he had in gouernement, for both the same Sighere and others of his chiefest lords, and also part of his commons louing this life, and not regarding the life to come, began to repaire their idolish churches, and fell to the worshipping of idols, as though thereby they should haue beene defended from

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 30.

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Egfrid. Beda lib. 4. cap. 5. Matth. West. 673

A synod holden at Herford.

Articles propouned by Theodore.

Matth. West.

from that mortalitie. But his aſſociat Sebbie with great deuotion continued ſtedfaſt in the faith which he had receiued.

King Wulfhere being informed of Seghers apoſtaſie, and how the people in his part of the prouince of Eaſtſaxons were departed from the faith, ſent thither biſhop Jaruman or Jaroman, that was ſucceſſour vnto Trumhere, which vſed ſuch diligence and godlie meanes, that he reduced the ſaid king and all his people vnto the right beliefe, ſo as the wolliſh synagogs were deſtroied, and the idols alſo with their altars quite beaten downe, the chriſtian churches againe ſet open, and the name of Chriſt eſtſoones called vpon amongeſt the people, coueting now rather to die in him with hope of reſurrection in the world to come, than to liue in the ſeruice of idols, ſpotted with the filth of errors and falſe beleefe. And thus when biſhop Jaroman had accompliſhed the thing for the which he was ſent, he returned into Mercia.

Biſhop Jarumman or Jaroman.

After this, when the ſaid Jaroman was departed this life, king Wulfhere ſent vnto the archbiſhop Theodorus, requiring him, to prouide the prouince of the Mercies of a new biſhop. Theodorus not minding to ordeine anie new biſhop at that time, required Oſwie king of Northumberland, that biſhop Cead might come into Mercia to exerciſe the office of biſhop there. This Cead liued as it were a priuat life at that time in his monaſterie of Leſtingham, for Wilfrid held the biſhoprike of Yorke, extending his authoritie ouer all Northumberland & amongeſt the Picts alſo, ſo farre as king Oſwies dominion ſtretched. Therefore Cead hauing licence to go into Mercia, was gladlie receiued of king Wulfhere, and well enterteined, in ſo much that the ſaid king gaue vnto him lands and poſſeſſions conteining 50 families or houſholds to build a monaſterie in a certeine place within the countrie of Lindſey called Etbearne. But the ſee of his biſhoprike was aſſigned to him at Lichfield in Staffordſhire, where he made him a houſe nére to the church, in the which he with 7 or 8 other of his brethren in religion vſed in an oratorie there to praie and reade, ſo often as they had leaſure from labour and buſineſſe of the world. Finallie, after he had gouerned the church of Mercia by the ſpace of two yeares and an halfe, he departed this life, hauing 7 daies warning giuen him (as it is reported) from aboue, before he ſhould die, after a miraculous maner, which becauſe in the iudgement of the moſt it may ſéeme méere fabulous, we will omit and paſſe ouer. His bodie was firſt buried in the church of our ladie, but after

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that the church of ſaint Peter the apoſtle was builded, his bones were tranſlated into the ſame.

In the yeare of our Lord 671, which was the ſecond yeare after that Theodorus the archbiſhop came into this land, Oſwie king of Northumberland was attached with a grieuous ſickneſſe, and died thereof the 15 kalends of March, in the 58 yeare of his age, after he had reigned 28 yeares complet.

Marth. Weſt.

*Egfrid.*
Beda lib. 4. cap. 5.
Matth. Weſt.

After Oſwie, his ſonne Egfrid ſucceeded in rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, in the third yeare of whoſe reigne, that is to ſay, in the yeare of our Lord 673, Theodorus the archbiſhop of Canturburie kept a ſynod at Herford, the firſt ſeſſion whereof began the 24 of September, all the biſhops of this land being preſent either in perſon or by their deputies, as Biſi biſhop of Eſtangle, Wilfrid of Northumberland by his deputie Putta biſhop of Rocheſter, Eleutherius biſhop of Weſtſaxon, and Wilfrid biſhop of Mercia. In the preſence of theſe prelats, the archbiſhop ſhewed a booke, wherein he had noted ten chapters or articles taken out of the booke of the canons, requiring that the ſame might be receiued.

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A ſynod holden at Herford.

Articles propoſed by Theodore.

1 The firſt chapter was, that the feaſt of Eaſter ſhould be kept on the ſundaie following the fourteenth day of the firſt moneth.

2 The ſecond, that no biſhop ſhould intermeddle in an others dioceſſe, but be contented with the cure of his flocke committed to him.

3 The third, that no biſhop ſhould diſquiet in anie thing anie monaſterie conſecrated to God, nor take by violence anie goods that belonged vnto the ſame.

4 The fourth, that biſhops being monks ſhould not go from monaſterie to monaſterie, except by ſufferance and permiſſion of their abbats, & ſhould continue in the ſame obedience wherein they ſtood before.

5 The fift, that none of the cleargie ſhould depart from his biſhop to run into anie other dioceſſe, nor comming from anie other place ſhould be admitted, except he brought letters of teſtimonie with him. But if anie ſuch chanced to be receiued, if he refuſed to returne, being ſent for home, both he and his receiuer ſhould be excommunicated.

6 The firt, that biſhops and other of the cleargie being ſtrangers ſhould hold them content with the benefit of hoſpitalitie, & ſhould not take in hand anie prieſtlie office, without licence of the biſhop, in whoſe dioceſſe he chanced ſo to be remaining.

7 The ſeuenth, that twice in the yeare a ſynod ſhould be kept, but becauſe of diuers impediments herein, it was thought good to them all, that in the kalends of Auguſt a ſynod ſhould be kept once in the yeare, at a certeine place called Clofeſhough.

8 The eighth chapter was, that no one biſhop ſhould by ambition ſéeke to be preferred abone another, but that euerie one ſhould know the time and order of his conſecration.

9 The ninth, that as the number of the chriſtians increaſed, ſo ſhould there be more biſhops ordeined.

10 The tenth was touching mariages, that none ſhould contract matrimonie with anie perſon, but with ſuch as it ſhould be lawfull for him by the orders of the church: none ſhould match with their kinſfolke, no man ſhould forſake his wife, except (as the goſpell teacheth) for cauſe of fornication. But if anie man did put awaie his wife which he had lawfullie married, if he would be accounted a true chriſtian, he might not be coupled with an other, but ſo remaine, or elſe be reconciled to his owne wife.

These articles, being intreated of and concluded, were confirmed with the ſubſcribing of all their hands, ſo as all thoſe that did go againſt the ſame, ſhould be diſgraded of their prieſthood, and ſeparated from the companie of them all.

Biſi biſhop of the Eaſtangles.

The forſaid Biſi that was biſhop of the Eaſtangles, and preſent at this ſynod, was ſucceſſor vnto Bonifacius, which Bonifacius held that ſée 17 yéeres, and then departing this life, Biſi was made biſhop of that prouince, and ordeined by the archbiſhop Theodore. This Biſi at length was ſo viſited with ſickneſſe, that he was not able to exerciſe the miniſtration, ſo that two biſhops were then & there elected and conſecrated for him, the one named Aeccl, and the other Baldwin.

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In this meane while, that is, about the yéere of our Lord 872, or in the beginning of 873, as Hariſon noteth, Kenwalch king of the Weſtſaxons departed this life, after he had reigned 30 yéeres. This Kenwalch was ſuch a prince, as in the beginning he was to be compared with the worſt kind of rulers, but in the middeſt and later end of his reigne, to be matched with the beſt. His godlie zeale borne towards the aduancing of the chriſtian religion well appéered in the building of the church at Wincheſter, where

Matt. Weſt. de reg. lib. 1.

the bishops sée of all that prouince was then placed. His wife Segburga ruled the kingdome of Westsarons after him, a woman of stoutnesse inough to haue atchiued acts of worthie remembrance, but being preuented by death yer she had reigned one whole yéere, she could not shew anie full proofe of hir noble courage. I remember that Matth. West. maketh other report hereof, declaring that the nobilitie remoued hir from the gouernment. But I rather follow William Malmesburie in this matter.

*Escuinus.* Will. Malmes.

TO proceed, after Segburga was departed this life, or deposed (if you will néeds haue it so) Escuinus or Escuinus, whose grandfather called Cuthgislo, the brother of K. Kinigils, succeeding in gouernment of the Westsarons, reigned about the space of two yéeres: and after his decease, one Centuinus or Centwine tooke vpon him the rule, and continued therein the space of nine yéeres. But Beda saith that these two ruled at one time, and diuided the kingdom betwixt them. Escuinus fought against Wulfhere king of Mercia, a great number of men being slaine on both parties, though Wulfhere yet had after a maner the vpper hand, as some haue written.

Hen. Hunt.

Beda *lib. & ca. supr. dict.*

In the same yéere that the synod was holden at Herford, that is to say, in the yéere of our Lord 673, Egbert the king of Kent departed this life in Julie, and left the kingdome to his brother Lothaire, which held the same eleuen yéeres, & seuen moneths.

Jo. Lothaire.

Wil. Malm. Bedade reg. lib. 1.

Some haue written that king Egbert by the suggestion of one Thunnir, who had the chiefe rule of the kingdome vnder him, suffered the same Thunnir in lamentable maner to kill the two innocent sonnes of Ermenredus the brother of king Ercombert, that was father vnto king Egbert, for doubt least they being towardlie yong gentlemen, might in time grow so into fauour with the people, that it should be easie for them to depriue both Egbert, and his issue of the kingdome. Also, that they were priuilie put to death, and secretlie buried at the first, but the place of their buriall immediatlie being shewed after a miraculous maner, their bodies long after in the daies of king Egilred the sonne of king Edgar, were taken vp, & conueied vnto Ramsey, and there buried. And although Egbert being giltie of the death of those his cosens, did sore repent him, for that he vnderstood they died giltlesse, yet his brother Lothaire was thought to be punished for that offense, as after shall be shewed.

Thunnir. A vile murther.

Bishop Winfrid deposed.

Winfrid bishop of the Mercies, for his disobedience in some point, was depriued by archbishop Theodore, and one Seruulfe that was the builder and also the abbat of the monasterie of Medhamsted, otherwise called Peterborough, was ordeined and consecrated in his place. About the same time, Erkenwald was ordeined bishop of the Eastsarons, and appointed to hold his sée in the citie of London. This Erkenwald was reputed to be a man of great holinesse and vertue. Before he was made bishop, he builded two abbeies, the one of monks at Chertsey in Southerie, where he himselfe was abbat, and the other of nuns at Berking, within the prouince of the Eastsarons, where he placed his sister Ethelburga, a woman also highlie estéemed for hir deuout kind of life. She was first brought vp and instructed in the rules of hir profession by one Hildelitha a nun of the parties beyond the seas, whome Erkenwald procured to come ouer for that purpose.

Seruulfe ordeined bishop of the Mercies. 685, as Matth. VVestm. saith.

Bishop Erkenwald.

Ethelburga.

Iohn Capgraue.

After Erkenwald, one Waldhere was made bishop of London, in whose daies Sebbie king of the Eastsarons, after he had reigned thirtie yéeres, being now vered with a grieuous sickenesse, professed himselfe a monke: which thing he would haue done long before, if his wife had not kept him backe. He died shortlie after within the citie of London, and was buried in the church of saint Paule. King Sighere, which in the beginning reigned with him, and gouerned a part of the Eastsarons, was departed this life before, so that in his latter time, the foresaid Sebbie had the gouernment of the whole prouince of the Eastsarons, and left the same to his sonnes Sighard and Sewfred. About the yéere of our Lord 675, Wulfhere king of Mercia departed this life, after he had reigned (as some say) 19 yéeres, but (as other affirme) he reigned but 17 yéeres. Howbeit they which reckon 19, include the time that passed after the slaughter of Penda, wherein Oswie and Peada held the aforesaid kingdome.

Waldhere. Sebbie king of Eastsarons Beda. lib. 4. cap. 16.

Will. Malm.

But others affirme that he reigned 17 yéeres.

Beda.

Peada or other Weda.

## Edilred king of Mercia inuadeth the kingdome of Kent, and maketh great waste without resistance of Lothaire the king thereof. Putta of a bishop becommeth a poore curat and teacheth musicke. Wilfred deposed from his bishoprike by king Egfrid, vpon displeasure, he preacheth the gospell in Sussex by the licence of king Edilwalke no raine in Sussex for the space of three yeeres, the woord and sacraments bring blessings with them; bishop Wilfrid the first teacher to catch fish with nets; the people haue him in great reuerence, a great and bloudie battell betweene Egfrid & king Edilred, they are reconciled by the meanes of archbishop Theodore; a synod holden at Hatfield, the clergie subscribe to certeine articles, of Hilda the famous abbesse of Whitbie.

## *The xxxv. Chapter.*

*Edilred.*

AFter Wulfhere, his brother Edilred or Ethelred succéeded in gouernment of the kingdome of Mercia. This Edilred inuaded the kingdome of Kent with a mightie armie, in the yéere of our Lord 677, destroieng the countrie afore him, not sparing churches nor abbeies, but spoiling the same without respect, as well as other common places. King Lothaire durst not appéere in the field to giue him battell, so that Edilred went thorough the countrie, destroied the citie of Rochester, and with great riches gotten by the spoile he returned home. Putta the bishop of Rochester, after that his church was spoiled and defaced by the enimies, went to Seruulfe bishop of Mercia, and there obteining of him a small cure, and a portion of ground, remained in that countrie, not once labouring to restore his church of Rochester to the former state, but went about in Mercia to teach song, and instruct such as would learne musicke, whersoeuer he was required, or could get intertainment.

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Hen. Hunt.

Catching of fish with nets.

Herevpon the archbishop Theodore consecrated one William bishop of Rochester in place of Putta, and after, when the said William constreined by pouertie, left that church, Theodore placed one Gebmound in his stéed. In the yéere of our Lord 678, in the moneth of August, a blasing starre appéered, with a long bright beame like to a piller. It was séene euerie morning for the space of three moneths together. The same Egfrid king of Northumberland, banished bishop Wilfrid vpon displeasure taken with him, out of his sée, and then were two bishops ordeined in his place, to gouerne the church of the Northumbers, the one named Bosa at Yorke, and the other called Eata at Hagustald or Lindesferne. Also one Eadhidus was ordeined about the same time bishop of Lindsey, the which prouince king Egfrid had of late conquered and taken from Wulfhere the late king of Mercia, whome he ouercame in battell, and droue him out of that countrie. The said three bishops

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A blasing starre.

Match. West. Beda lib. 4. ca. 12.

Bishop Wilfrid banished. Hagustald. Yerham. Eadhidus. Lindesferne Holie Iland.

bishops were consecrated at Yorke by the archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus, the which within three yéeres after ordeined two bishops more in that prouince of the Northumbers, that is to say, Tumbert at Hagulstald, Eata that was appointed to remaine at Lindesferne, & Trumuine was ordeined to haue the cure of the prouince of those Picts which as then were vnder the English dominion. Also bicause Edilred king of Mercia recouered the countrie of Lindsey, and ioined it to his dominion, bishop Eadhedus comming from thence, was appointed to gouerne the church of Ripon.

The church of Ripon.

After that bishop Wilfrid was expelled out of his diocesse and prouince of the Northumbers, he went to Rome, and returning from thence, came into the kingdome of the Southsaxons, the which conteining seuen thousand households or families, as yet was not conuerted to the christian faith. Wherefore the said Wilfrid began there to preach the gospell with licence of king Edilwalke, who (as before is mentioned) was conuerted and baptised in Mercia by the procurement of king Wolfher, that then became his godfather, and gaue him at the same time the Ile of Wight, and the prouince of the people ancientlie called Meanuari, which he had won from the Westsaxons. Bishop Wilfrid then by king Edilwalke his furtherance and helpe baptised the chiefest lords and gentlemen of that prouince. But certein priests baptised the residue of the people, either then or in the time following.

Wilfrid by licence of king Edilwalke preacheth the gospel to them of Sussex.

Lacke of raine.

¶ It chanced that for the space of three yeeres (as it is said) before the comming thither of bishop Wilfrid, there had fallen no raine from the aire within that prouince of the Southsaxons, so that the people were brought into great miserie by reson of famine, which through want of necessarie fruits of the earth sore afflicted the whole countrie, insomuch that no small numbers threw themselues hedlong into the sea, despairing of life in such lacke of necessarie vittels. But as God would, the same day that Wilfrid began to minister the sacrament of baptisme, there came downe sweet and plentifull showers of raine, so watering the earth, that thereby great store of all fruits plentifullie toke rot, and yelded full increase in growth, to the great comfort and releefe of all the people, which before were in maner starued and lost through want of food.

Catching of fish with nets.

Bishop Wilfrid also taught them in that countrie the maner how to catch fish with nets, where before that time, they had no great skill in anie kind of fishing, except it were in catching éles. Hereby the said bishop grew there in great estimation with the people, so that his words were the better credited amongst them, for that through him they receiued so great benefits, God by such meanes working in the peoples hearts a desire to come to the vnderstanding of his lawes. The king also gaue vnto Wilfrid a place called Sealesew, compassed about on each side (except on the west halfe) with the sea, conteining 87 households or families, where he built an abbeie, and baptised all his tenants there, amounting to the number of 250 bondmen and boondwomen, whome he made free both in bodie and soule: for he did not onelie baptise them, but also infranchised them of all bodilie seruitude and bondage.

Bondmen made truelie free.

In this meane while manie things happened in other parts of this land, and first in the yeere after the appearing of the blasing starre before mentioned, a mightie battell was fought betwixt the said Egfrid and Edilred king of Mercia, neere to the riuer of Trent, where Alfwine the brother of king Egfrid was slaine, with manie other of the Northumbers, so that king Egfrid was constreined to returne home with losse. The archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus perceiuing that great warre and effusion of bloud was like to follow thereupon, trauelled so in the matter betwixt them, that they were made friends, and Egfrid had a peece of monie in recompense of his losses. The foresaid battell was fought in the yeere of our Lord 679, and in the yeere following, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 680, which was also in the tenth yeere of the reigne of Egfrid king of Northumberland, the first yeere of Edelred king of Mercia, the 17 of Aldulfe king of Eastangles, and in the 7 of Lother king of Kent.

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The archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus held another synod at Hatfield, about the 15 kalends of October, in the which all the clergie there present subscribed to certeine articles touching the beléefe of the trinitie of persons, in the vnitie of the Godhead of the like substance, and also of the same vnitie in trinitie, according to the true faith of the church of God. Moreouer, they acknowledged by the like subscription, the fiue generall councels, of Nice, of Constantinople the first, of Ephesus, of Calcedon, and of Constantinople the second, with the synod also holden at Rome in the daies of Martin bishop of Rome about the yeere of the emperour Constantine. At this synod holden at Hatfield, was present one John the archchanter of S. Peters church at Rome, sent into this land of purpose to bring from hence a certificat vnto pope Agatho of the agréement of the English church in matters of faith, with other churches of the christian world: but the foresaid archchanter died by the way in France, as he returned homewards, and was buried at Towers in Towraine.

A synod at Hatfield.

Articles subscribed.

The same yeere that famous woman Hilda abbesse of Whitbie departed this life, or (as other say) fiue yeeres after, hauing first beene deteined long with greeuous sickenesse. She was the daughter of one Herrericus the nephue of king Edwin, and conuerted to the faith of Christ at the preaching of bishop Pauline, and afterwards instructed by bishop Aidan, she professed hirselfe a nun, applieng hir whole studie to the reading of the scriptures, to praier, & other godlie exercises. She builded the abbeie of Whitbie, wherein were placed both men and women, with such an equalitie in all things, that there was no rich person amongst them, nor anie that wanted things necessarie. She departed this life on the 15 kalends of December, being 66 yeeres of age. As some haue written she argued stoutlie on bishop Colmans part, at the disputation holden in the monasterie of Whitbie, in the yeere of Grace 664, whereof ye haue heard before. About the yeere of our Lord 682, that is to say, in the seuenth yere of Centwine or Centiuinus king of Westsaxons, the same Centwine fought with the Britains, and ouercame them in battell, pursuing them with fire and sword vnto the sea side.

Bale. The abbesse Hilda. Beda.

Bale. Ran. Cest. Matth. West. Beda.

Henrie Hunt.

The Britains discomfited.

¶ Thus (at this time as also at diuerse other times) they were discomfited and put to flight, being a people allotted and shared out as it were to suffer many an ouerthrow, and abide manie a sharpe and shamefull repulse at the hands of their enimies, who conuerted the distresse of that people to their profit, and toke pleasure in the extreamitie of the miseries wherein they were plunged, as may be obserued by the pitifull alteration of their state vnder diuerse gouernors, and speciallie vnder the Danish dominion, who kept them in no lesse vile seruitude than Pharao did the Hebrues at the making of bricke & chopping of straw. So that some thinke this land to be corruptlie named Britania, but ought rather to be called Bridania, that is, *Libera Dania, siue regio in qua Dani liberè viuant*, for they liued as lords in the land, & did (for the time being) what they liked. But of this matter more shall be spoken hereafter in place conuenient.

Gorop. in Gotodanica lib. 7. pag. 759.

Cadwallader king of Britaine, the peo-
*ple are brought into great miſerie, and he*
forced to flee the land, he dieth at Rome, the
*Britiſh writers noted of error, Ceadwalla king of*
the Weſtſaxons, the kingdome is diuided; the valo-
*rous mind of Ceadwalla, he is forced to forſake his countrie, he*
vanquiſheth and killeth Edilwalke king of the Weſtſaxons, his
returne into his kingdome with reuenge vpon Berthun duke
of Suſſex and other his heauie friends, his vow if he might con-
quer the Ile of Wight, his bountifull offer to biſhop Wilfrid,
the Ile of Wight receiueth the faith; Ceadwalla inuadeth
Kent, of a barbarous warriour he becommeth a religious chri-
ſtian, his vertues, his death and buriall at Rome; Egfrid king
of Northumberland inuadeth Ireland, he is ſlaine by Bru-
deus king of the Picts; the neglect of good counſell
is dangerous; Etheldreda a wife and a widow
(hauing vowed chaſtitie) liued a virgine 12
yeeres with hir husband Egfride, ſhe
was called ſaint Auderie
of Elie.

## *The xxxvj. Chapter.*

*Cadwal-*
*lader.*

BVt now to returne vnto that which is found in the Britiſh hiſtories, by the tenor wherof it ſhould appeare, that when their king Cadwallo was dead, his ſon Cadwallader ſucceeded him in gouernement of the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 678, which was about the 10 yeere of the emperour Conſtantius Paganotus, and in the 13 yeere of the reigne of Childericus king of France. This Cadwallader, being the ſonne of Cadwallo, was begot by him of the halfe ſiſter of Penda king of Mercia, for one father begot them both, but of two ſundrie mothers, for ſhe had to mother a ladie deſcended of the noble blood of the Weſtſaxons, and was maried vnto Cadwallo when the peace was made betwixt him and hir brother the ſaid Penda. After that Cadwallader had reigned the ſpace of 12 yeers (as Geffrey of Monmouth ſaith) or (as others write) but 3 yeeres, the Britains were brought into ſuch miſerie through ciuill diſcord, and alſo by ſuch great and extreme famine as then reigned through all the land, that Cadwallader was conſtreined with the cheefeſt part of his people to forſake their natiue countrie, and by ſea to get them ouer into Britaine Armorike, there to ſeeke relefe by vittels for the ſuſtentation of their languiſhing bodies.

676 ſaith Matth. Weſt.

Galfrid.

Cadwallader conſtreined to forſake the land.

¶ Long proceſſe is made by the Britiſh writers of this departure of Cadwallader, & of the Britains out of this land, and how Cadwallader was about to haue returned againe, but that he was admoniſhed by a dreame to the contrarie, the which becauſe it ſeemeth but fabulous, we paſſe ouer. At length he went to Rome, and there was confirmed in the chriſtian religion by pope Sergius, where ſhortlie after he fell ſicke, and died the 12 kalends of May, in the yeere of our Lord 689. But herein appeareth the error of the Britiſh writers in taking one for another, by reaſon of reſemblance of names, for where Ceadwalla king of the Weſtſaxons about that time moued of a religious deuotion, after he was converted to the faith, went vnto Rome, and was there baptiſed, or elſe confirmed of the foreſaid pope Sergius, and ſhortlie after departed this life in that citie in the foreſaid yeere of 689 or therabouts. The Welſhmen count him to be their Cadwallader: which to be true is verie vnlike by that which may be gathered out of the learned writings of diuers good and approued authors.

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*Cead-*
*walla.*

THis Ceadwalla king of the Weſtſaxons ſucceeded after Centwine or Centuinus, which Centwine reigned nine yeeres, though it ſhould appeare by that which is written by authors of good credit, that during two of thoſe yeeres at the leaſt, the kingdome of Weſtſaxons was diuided betwixt him and Eleuinus or Eſcuinus, ſo that he ſhould not reigne paſt ſeuen yeeres alone. Wil. Malm. Beda

But now to Ceadwalla, whome ſome take to be all one with Cadwallader, we find that he was lineallie deſcended from Cutha or Cutwine, the brother of Ceauline or Keuling king of Weſtſaxons, as ſonne to Kenbert or Kenbright that was ſonne to Ceadda the ſonne of the foreſaid Cutha or Cutwin. Thus being extract of the noble houſe of the kings of Weſtſaxons, he proued in his youth a perſonage of great towardneſſe, and ſuch a one as no ſmall hope was of him conceiued: he would let no occaſion paſſe wherein he might exerciſe his force, to ſhew proofe of his high valiancie, ſo that in the end with his worthie attempts ſhewed therein, he purchaſed to himſelfe the enuie of thoſe that ruled in his countrie, by reaſon whereof he was baniſhed in a conſpiracie made againſt him. Wherevpon he tooke occaſion as it were in reuenge of ſuch vnthankefulneſſe to withdraw out of his countrie, leading with him all the principall youth of the ſame, the which either pitieng his preſent eſtate, or moued with pleaſure taken in his valiant doings, followed him at his going into exile. Wil. Malm. Ranulf. Ceſt. Ceadwalla driuen to depart out of his countrie.

The firſt brunt of his furious attempts after he was out of his countrie, Edilwalke the king of the Southſaxons talked, who in defenſe of himſelfe coming to trie battell with Ceadwalla, was ſlaine with the moſt part of all his armie. Ceadwalla then perceiuing the valiant courages of his ſouldiers, filled with good hope of this happie atchiued victorie, returned with good and proſperous ſpeed into his owne countrie, and that yer he was looked for, and earneſtlie purſuing his aduerſaries, droue them out of the kingdome, and taking vpon him to rule the ſame as king, reigned two yeeres, during the which he atchiued diuers notable enterpriſes.

And firſt, whereas Berthun and Authun dukes of Suſſex ſubiects vnto the late king Edilwalke, had both expelled him out of that countrie, after he had ſlaine the ſaid Edilwalke, and alſo taken vpon them the rule of that kingdome, hauing now attrined to the gouernement of the Weſtſaxons, he inuaded the countrie of Suſſex againe, and ſlue Berthun in battell, bringing that countrie into more bondage than before. He alſo ſet vpon the Ile of Wight, and well-neere deſtroied all the inhabitants, meaning to inhabit it with his owne people. He bound himſelfe alſo by vow, although as yet he was not baptiſed, that if he might conquer it, he would giue a fourth part thereof vnto the Lord. And in performance of that vow, he offered vnto biſhop Wilfride (who then chanced to be preſent) when he had taken that Ile, ſo much therof as conteined 300 houſholds or families, where the whole conſiſted in 1200 houſholds. Wilfrid receiuing thankefullie the gift, deliuered the ſame vnto one of his clearks named Bernewine that was his ſiſters ſonne, appointing to him alſo a prieſt named Hildila, the which ſhould miniſter the word and the ſacrament of baptiſme vnto all thoſe that would receiue the ſame. Thus was the Ile of Wight brought to the faith of Chriſt laſt of all other the parties of this our Britaine, after that the ſame faith had failed here by the comming of the Saxons. Beda lib. 4. cap. 15. Berthun a duke of Suſſex ſlaine. Ceadwalla his vow. The Ile of Wight conquerred. The Ile of Wight receiueth the faith

Moreouer, king Ceadwalla inuaded the kingdome of Kent, where he loſt his brother Mollo, as after ſhall appeare, but yet he reuenged his death with great ſlaughter made of the inhabitants in that countrie. Finallie, this worthie prince Ceadwalla

turning

turning himſelfe from the deſire of warre and bloudſhed, became right courteous, gentle and liberall towards all men, ſo that ye could not haue wiſhed more vertuous manners to reſt in one as yet not chriſtened. And ſhortlie after, willing to be admitted into the fellowſhip of the chriſtians (of whoſe religion he had taken good taſt) he went to Rome, where of pope Sergius he was baptiſed, and named Peter, and ſhortlie after ſurpriſed with ſickneſſe, he died, and was buried there within the church of ſaint Peter in the yeere of our Lord 689.

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Beda.lib.4. cap.26.

In the meane while, that is to ſay, in the yeere of our Lord 684, Egfride king of Northumberland ſent an armie vnder the guiding of a capteine named Bertus into Ireland, the which waſted that countrie, ſparing neither church nor monaſterie, ſore indamaging the people of that countrie, which had euer beene friends vnto the Engliſh nation, and deſerued nothing leſſe than ſo to be inuaded and ſpoiled at their hands. The Iriſh men defended themſelues to their power, beſeeching God with manie a ſalt teare, that he would reuenge their cauſe in puniſhing of ſuch extreme iniuries. And though curſers may not inherit the kingdome of heauen, yet they ceaſed not to curſe, hoping the ſooner that thoſe which with good cauſe were thus accurſed, ſhould woorthilie be puniſhed for their offenſes by God, & ſo (peradnenture) it fell out. For in the yeere following, the ſaid Egfride had lead an armie into Pictland againſt Brudeus king of the Picts, and being trained into ſtraits within hils and craggie mounteins, he was ſlaine with the moſt part of all his armie, in the yeere of his age 40, and of his reigne 15, vpon the 13 kalends of June.

Ireland inuaded by the Northumbers.

King Egfride ſlain by Brudeus king of the Picts.

There were diuers of Egfrides friends, and namelie Cutberd (whome he had aduanced the ſame yeere vnto the biſhops ſee of Lindeſferne) that aduiſed him in no wiſe, either to haue taken this warre in hand againſt the Picts, or the other againſt them of Ireland, but he would not be counſelled, the puniſhment appointed for his ſinnes being ſuch, that he might not giue eare to his faithfull friends that aduiſed him for the beſt. From that time forth, the hope and power of the Engliſh people began to decaie. For not onelie the Picts recouered that part of their countrie which the Engliſhmen had held before in their poſſeſſion, but alſo the Scots that inhabited within this Ile, and likewiſe ſome part of the Britains tooke vpon them libertie, which they kept and maintained a long time after, as Beda confeſſeth.

These Britains were thoſe vndoutredlie that dwelt in the northweſt parts of this Ile, and is not meant onlie by them of Wales.

Egfride died without iſſue, & left no children behind him. He had to wife one Ethelreda or Etheldrida, daughter vnto Anna king of the Eaſtangles, which liued with hir huſband the forſaid Egfride twelue yeeres in perfect virginitie (as is ſuppoſed) contrarie to the purpoſe of hir huſband, if he might haue perſuaded hir to the contrarie, but finallie he was contented that ſhe ſhould keepe hir firſt vow of chaſtitie which ſhe had made. She was both widow and virgine when he maried hir, being firſt coupled in wedlocke with one Eunbert a noble man, and a ruler in the ſouth parts of the countrie, where the people called Giruij inhabited, which is the ſame where the fennes lie in the confines of Lincolnſhire, Norfolke, Huntingtonſhire, & Cambridgeſhire, howbeit he liued with hir but a ſmall while. After ſhe had obteined licence to depart from the court, ſhe got hir firſt into Coldingham abbeie, and there was profeſſed a nun. Then ſhe went to Elie, and there reſtored the monaſterie, and was made abbeſſe of the place, in the which after ſhe had gouerned ſeuen yeeres, ſhe departed this life, and was there buried. This ſame was ſhe which commonlie is called ſaint Audrie of Elie, had in great reuerence for the opinion conceiued of hir great vertue and puritie of life.

Ethelreda.

Giruij.

Alfride (the baſtard) king of Northumberland, *his life and death, Iohn archbiſhop* of Canturburie reſigneth his ſee, Lother king *of Kent dieth of a wound, Edrike getteth there-*giment thereof but not without bloudſhed, Coadwalla *waſteth Kent being at ſtrife in it ſelfe, his brother Mallo* burned to death; Withred made king of Kent, he vanquiſheth his enimies, Inas king of Weſtſaxons is made his friend, Suebhard and Nidred vſurpers of the Kentiſh kingdome, the age and death of Theodore archbiſhop of Canturburie, Brightwald the firſt archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation; the end of the Britiſh regiment, and how long the greateſt part of this Iland was vnder their gouernement.

## The xxxvij. Chapter.

After that king Egfride was ſlaine (as before is mentioned) his brother Alfride was made king of Northumberland. This Alfride was the baſtard ſonne of king Oſwie, and in his brothers daies (either willinglie, or by violent means conſtreined) he liued as a baniſhed man in Ireland, where applieng himſelfe to ſtudie, he became an excellent philoſopher. And therfore being iudged to be better able to haue the rule of a kingdome, he was receiued by the Northumbers, and made king, gouerning his ſubiects the ſpace of 20 yeares and more, with great wiſedome and policie, but not with ſuch large bounds as his anceſtors had done: for the Picts (as before is mentioned) had cut off one peece of the north part of the ancient limits of that kingdome. About the 13 yeare of his reigne, that is to ſay, in the yeare of our Lord 698, one of his capteins named earle Berthred, or Bertus, was ſlaine in battell by the Picts, whoſe confins he had as then inuaded. The curſe of the Iriſh men, whoſe countrie in the daies of king Egfrid he had cruellie waſted (as before is mentioned) was thought at this time to take place. Finallie king Alfride, after he had reigned 20 yeares & od months, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 705.

Alfride 685.

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Beda in Epit. Matt. VVeſt.

705
Beda.

In the beginning of king Alfrids daies, Eata the biſhop of Yerham being dead, one Iohn a man of great holineſſe was admitted biſhop, and after that, biſhop Wilfrid was reſtored, when he had remained a long time in exile. The ſaid Iohn was remoued to the church of Yorke, the ſame being then void by the death of the archbiſhop Boſa. At length the foreſaid Iohn wearied with the cares of publike affaires reſigned his ſee, and got him to Beuerley, where he liued a ſolitarie life for the ſpace of foure yeares, and then died, about the yeare of our Lord 721, king Oſrike as then reigning in Northumberland. He continued biſhop for the ſpace of 24 yeares, and builded a church, and founded a colledge of prieſts at Beuerley aforeſaid, in which church he lieth buried.

Iohn archbiſhop of yorke.

He reſigneth his ſee.

721

The ſame yeare, or in the yeare after that king Egfrid was ſlaine, Lother king of Kent departed this life, the 8 Ides of Februarie, of a wound by him receiued in a battell which he fought againſt the Southſaxons, the which came in aid of Edrike, that was ſonne vnto his brother Egbert, and had maintеined warre againſt his vncle the ſaid Lother, euen from the beginning of his reigne, till finallie he was now in the ſaid battell ſtriken thorough the bodie with a dart, and ſo died thereof, after he had reigned 11 yeares, and ſeuen moneths. It was thought

686 ſaith March. Weſt. Lother king of Kent dieth of a wound.

that he was disquieted with continuall warres and troubles, and finallie brought to his end before the naturall course of his time, for a punishment of his wicked consent giuen to the putting to death of his cousins Ethelbert & Ethelbrit, as appeared, in that when they were reported to be martyrs, because it was knowen they died innocentlie, he mocked them and made but a iest at it, although his brother in acknowledging his fault, repented him thereof, and gaue in recompense to their mother a part of the Ile of Thanet to the building of a monasterie.

Wil. Malm.

Capgraue saith, their sister.

*Edricke.*

THe foresaid Edricke (after Lother was dead) got the dominion of Kent, and ruled as king thereof, but not without ciuill warre, insomuch that before he had reigned the full terme of two yeares, he was slaine in the same warre. Then Ceadwalla king of the West saxons being thereof aduertised, supposing the time now to be come that would serue his purpose, as one still coueting to worke the Kentishmen all the displeasure he could, entred with an armie into their countrie, and began to waste and spoile the same on ech side, till finallie the Kentishmen assembled themselues togither, gaue battell to their enimies, and put them to flight. Mollo brother to Ceadwalla was driuen from his companie, and constrained to take an house for his refuge: but his enimies that pursued him set fire thereon, and burned both the house and Mollo within it to ashes. Yet did not Ceadwalla herewith depart out of the countrie, but to wreake his wrath, and to reuenge the griefe which he took for the death of his brother, he wasted and destroied a great part of Kent yer he returned home, and left (as it were) an occasion to his successor also to pursue the quarell with reuenging. Wherein we see the cankerd nature of man, speciallie in a case of wrong or displeasure; which we are so far from tollerating & forgiuing, that if with tooth and naile we be not permitted to take vengeance, our hearts will breake with a full conceit of wrath. But the law of nature teacheth vs otherwise to be affected, namelie,

Mollo brother to king Ceadwalla burnt to death.

*——— per te nulli vnquam iniuria fiat,*
*Sed verbis alijsque modis fuge lædere quenquam,*
*Quod tibi nolles, alijs feciſſe caueto,*
*Quódque tibi velles, alijs præſtare ſtudeto;*
*Hæc eſt naturæ lex optima, quam niſi ad vnguem*
*Seruabis, non ipſe Deo (mihi crede) placebis,*
*Póſtque obitum infœlix non aurea ſydera adibis.*

Which lesson taught by nature, and commanded of God, if these men had followed (as they minded nothing lesse in the fier of their furie) they would haue béene content with a competent reuenge, and not in such outragious maner with fier and sword haue afflicted one another, nor (which is more than tigerlike crueltie) haue ministred occasion to posterities to reuenge wrongs giuen and taken of their ancestors. But we will let this passe without further discourse, meaning hereafter in due place to declare the processe.

The Kentishmen being destitute of a king, after that diuers had coueted the place, and sought to attaine thereto, as well by force as otherwise, to the great disquieting of that prouince for the space of 6 yeares togither, at length in the 7 yeare after Edricksdeath, Withred an other of the sonnes of king Egbert, hauing with diligent trauell ouercome enuie at home, & with monie redéemed peace abroad, was with great hope conceiued of his worthinesse made king of Kent, the 11 of November, & 205 after the death of Hengist, he reigned 33 yeares, not deceiuing his subiects of their good conceiued opinion of him: for ouercomming all his aduersaries which were readie to leuie ciuill warre against him, he also purchased peace of Inas king of the West saxons, which ment to haue made him warre, till with monie he was made his friend.

Withred made king of Kent.

A little before that Withred was confirmed in the kingdome of Kent, there reigned two kings in that countrie, Suebhard and Nidred, or rather the same Withred, if the printed copie of Bedas booke intituled *Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria gentis Anglorum* haue not that name corrupted: for where he sheweth that the archbishop Theodorus being of the age of 88 yeares, departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 690, in the next chapter he declareth, that in the yeare 692, the first date of Julie one Brightwald was chosen to succéed in the archbishops see of Canturburie, Withredus and Suebhardus as then reigning in Kent: but whether Withredus gouerned as then with Suebhardus, or that some other named Nidred, it forceth not: for certeine it is by the agreement of other writers, that till Withred obteined the whole rule, there was great strife and contention moued about the gouernement, and diuers there were that sought and fought for it. But this ought to be noted, that the forenamed Brightwald was the eight archbishop in number, and first of the English nation that sat in the sée of Canturburie: for the other seuen that were predecessors to him, were strangers borne, and sent hither from Rome.

Hen. Hunt. Beda lib. 5.

Suebhard and Nidred kings by vsurpation and not by succession, as Hen. Hunt. writeth.

Brightwald the first archbishop of the English nation.

Iust. 689

¶ Here endeth the line and gouernement of the Britains, now called Welshmen, which toke that name of their duke or leader Wallo or Gallo; or else of a queene of Wales named Gales or Wales. But howsoeuer that name fell first vnto them, now they are called Welshmen, which sometime were called Britains or Brutons, and descended first of the Troians, and after of Brute, and lastlie of Mulmucius Dunwallo: albeit they were mingled with sundrie other nations, as Romans, Picts, &c. And now they be called English that in their beginning were named Saxons or Angles. To conclude therefore with this gouernement, so manie times intercepted by forren power, it appeareth by course of histories treating of these matters, that the last yeare of Cadwallader was the yeare of our Lord 686, which makes the yere of the world 4647. So that (as Fabian saith) the Britains had the greater part of this land in rule (reckoning from Brute till this time) 1822 yeares. Which terme being expired, the whole dominion of this realme was Saxonish.

The Britains cease to reigne in this land.

Fabian. H. Hunt.

*Thus farre the interrupted regiment of the Britains, ending at the fift booke.*

The

# THE SIXT BOOKE of the Historie of England.

Inas king of the Westsaxons, the whole *monarchie of the realme falleth into their* hands, Inas for a summe of monie granteth *peace to the Kentishmen, whom he was purposed to* haue destroied, he & his coosen Nun fight with Ge*rent king of the Britains, and Ceolred king of Mercia, and* Ealdbright king of Southsaxons, the end of their kingdoms, Inas giueth ouer his roialtie, goeth in pilgrimage to Rome, and there dieth; his lawes written in the Saxon toong; of what buildings he was the founder, queene Ethelburgas deuise to persuade Inas to forsake the world, he was the first procurer of Peter pence to be paid to Rome; king Ethelred, king Kenred, and king Offa become moonks; the setting vp of images in this land authorised by a vision; king Ethelbalds exploits, he is slaine of his owne subiects by the suggestion of Bernred the vsurper, Boniface his letter of commendation to king Ethelbald, nuns kept for concubines, their pilgrimage.

## *The first Chapter.*

*Inas. 689*

After that Ceadwalla, late K. of the Westsaxons was gone to Rome, where he departed this life (as afore is shewed) his coosen Inas or Ine was made king of the Westsaxons, begining his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 689, in the third yeere of the emperor Justinianus the third, the 11 yeere of the reigne of Theodoricus K. of France, and about the second yeere of the reigne of Eugenius king of Scots. Now because the rule of the Britains commonlie called Welshmen, ceassed in this realme, as by confession of their owne writers it appeereth, and that in the end the whole monarchie of the same realme came to the hands of the kings of Westsaxons, we haue thought meet to refer things generall vnto the reignes of the same kings, as before we did in the Britaine kings, reseruing the particular doings to the kings of the other prouinces or kingdoms, as the same haue fallen out, and shall come to hand.

*The Britaines ceasse to reigne in this land.*

Fabian. H. Hunt.

This Inas, whome some (mistaking N for V) do wrongfullie name Iue or Ielwe, proued a right excellent prince, he was descended of the ancient linage of the kings of the Westsaxons, as sonne to one Kenred, that was sonne to Ceolwald the son of Cutha or Cutwine, that was sonne to Kenricke the sonne of Certicus, the first king of Westsaxons. But he was admitted to the kingdome more for the daliant prowes knowne to rest in his worthie person, than for the successiue offspring of which he was descended. The first voiage that he made, was against the Kentishmen, on whome he purposed to reuenge the death of his coosen Mollo, the griefe whereof as yet he kept in fresh memorie. But when the Kentishmen perceiued, that to resist him by force, they were nothing able, they attempted by monie to buy their peace, and so obteined their purpose, vpon paiment made to him of thirtie thousand marks of siluer. Matt. Westm. Wil. Malm.

After this, about the 21 yeere of his reigne, king Inas and his coosen Nun fought with Gerent king of the Britains. In the beginning of the battell, one Higelbald a noble man of the Westsaxons part was slaine, but in the end Gerent with his Britains was chased. In the 26 yeere of his reigne, the same Inas fought a mightie battell against Ceolred king of Mercia, at Wodenesburie, with doubtfull victorie, for it could not well be iudged whether part sustained greater losse. In the 36 yeere of his reigne, king Inas inuaded the Southsaxons with a mightie armie, and slue in battell Ealdbright or Aldinus king of the Southsaxons, and ioined that kingdome vnto the kingdome of the Westsaxons: so that from thencefoorth the kingdome of those Southsaxons ceassed, after they had reigned in that kingdome by the space of fiue kings successiuelie, that is to say, Ella, Cissa, Ethelwalke, Berutius, and this last Aldinius or Ealdbright. Anno 708, as is noted by Matt. West. H. Hunt. Matt. VVest. saith 718. Matth. West. saith 722. The end of the kingdome of the Southsaxons.

Finallie, when Inas had reigned 37 yeeres, and 100 or 11 od moneths, he renounced the rule of his kingdome, togither with all worldlie pompe, and went vnto Rome as a poore pilgrime, and there ended his life: but before this, during the time of his reigne, he shewed himselfe verie deuout and zealous towards the aduancement of the christian religion. He made and ordeined also good wholesome lawes for the amendment of maners in the people, which are yet extant and to be read, written in the Saxon toong, and translated into the Latine in times past, and now latelie againe by William Lambert gentleman, and printed by Iohn Day, in the yeere 1568, togither with the lawes and statutes of other kings before the conquest, as to the learned maie appeere. Inas went to Rome and there died.

Moreouer, king Ine builded the monasterie of Glastenburie, where Joseph of Arimathea in times past builded an oratorie or chappell (as before is recited) when he with other christians came into this land in the daies of Aruiragus, & taught the gospell heere to the Britains, conuerting manie of them to the faith. Moreouer, king Ine or Inas builded the church of Welles, dedicating it vnto saint Andrew, where afterwards a bishops see was placed, which at length was translated vnto Salisburie. He had to wife one Ethelburga, a woman of noble linage, who had beene earnest with him a long time to persuade him to forsake the world: but she could by no meanes bring hir purpose to passe, till vpon a time the king and she had lodged at a manor place in the countrie, where all prouision had beene made for the receiuing of them and their traine in most sumptuous maner that might be, as well in rich furniture of houshold, as also in costlie viands, and all other things need- Polydor. Ethelburga. Will. Malmes.

full,

full, or that might serue for pleasure, and when they were departed, the quéene the foresaid Ethelburga caused the keeper of that house to remoue all the bedding, hangings, and other such things as had béen brought thither and ordeined for the beautifull setting forth of the house, and in place thereof to bring ordure, straw, & such like filth, as well into the chambers and hall, as into all the houses of office, and that done, to laie a sow with pigs in the place where before the kings bed had stood. Hereupon when she had knowledge that euerie thing was ordered according to hir appointment, she perswaded the king to returne thither againe, feining occasions great and necessarie.

The deuise of quéene Ethelburga to perswade hir husband to forsake the world

Now when he was returned to that house, which before séemed to the eie a palace of most pleasure, and now finding it in such a filthie state as might loath the stomach of anie man to behold the same, she take occasion therevpon to perswade him to the consideration of the vaine pleasures of this world, which in a moment turne to naught, togither with the corruption of the flesh, being a filthie lumpe of claie, after it should once be dissolued by death: and in fine, where before she had spent much labour to moue him to renounce the world, though all in vaine, yet now the beholding of that change in his pleasant palace, wherein so late he had taken great delight, wrought such an alteration in his mind, that hir words lastlie take effect: so that he resigned the kingdome to his cosen Ethelard, and went himselfe to Rome (as aboue is mentioned) and his wife became a nun in the abbeie of Barking, where she was made abbesse, and finallie there ended hir life. This Inas was the first that caused the monie called Peter pence, to be paid vnto the bishop of Rome, which was for euerie houshold within his dominion a penie.

Peter pence.

In this meane time Edilred or Ethelred, hauing gouerned the kingdome of Mercia by the tearme of 29 yéres, became a monke in the abbeie of Bardenie, and after was made abbat of that house. He had to wife one Osfrida the sister of Egfride king of Northumberland, by whome he had a sonne named Ceolred. But he appointed Kenred the sonne of his brother Vulfher to succéed him in the kingdome. The said Osfrida was cruellie slaine by the treason of hir husbands subiects, about the yéere of our Lord 697. And as for Kenred, he was a prince of great vertue, deuout towards God, a furtherer of the commonwealth of his countrie, and passed his life in great sincéritie of maners. In the fift yéere of his reigne, he renounced the world, and went to Rome, togither with Offa king of the Eastsaxons, where he was made a monke; and finallie died there, in the yéere of our Lord 711. By the aid and furtherance of this Kenred, a monke of saint Benets order (called Egwin) builded the abbeie of Euesham, who afterwards was made bishop of Worcester.

King Ethelred becommeth a monk. Osfrida.

Beda in Epit. 697

King Kenred

711

Nauclerus. Egwin bishop of Worcester.

¶ We find recorded by writers, that this Egwin had warning giuen him by visions (as he constantlie affirmed before pope Constantine) to set vp an image of our ladie in his church. Whereupon the pope approuing the testifications of this bishop by his buls, writ to Brightwald archbishop of Canturburie, to assemble a synod, and by authoritie thereof to establish the vse of images, charging the kings of this land to be present at the same synod, vpon paine of excommunication. This synod was holden about the yéere of our Lord 712, in the daies of Inas king of Westsaxons, and of Ceolred king of Mercia successor to the foresaid Kenred.

A fabulous and trifling deuise.

Bale. 712

After Kenred succéeded Ceolred, the sonne of his vncle Edilred, & died in the 8 yeere of his reigne, and was buried at Lichfield. Then succéeded Ethelbaldus that was descended of Eopa the brother of king Penda, as the fourth from him by lineall succession. This man gouerned a long time without anie notable trouble: some warres he had, and sped diuerslie. In the 18 yéere of his reigne, he besieged Hommerton and wan it. He also inuaded Northumberland, and got there great riches by spoile and pillage, which he brought from thence without anie battell offered to him. Ran. Cestren.

He ouercame the Welshmen in battell, being then at quiet, and ioined as confederats with Cuthred k. of Westsaxons. But in the 37 yéere of his reigne, he was ouercome in battell at Bereford by the same Cuthred, with whome he was fallen at variance, and within foure yéeres after, that is to say, in the 41 yéere of his reigne, he was slaine in battell at Secandon, or Sckenton, by his owne subiects, which arreared warres against him, by the procurement and leading of one Bernred, who after he had slaine his naturall prince, take vpon him the kingdome: but he prospered not long, being slaine by Offa that succéeded him in rule of the kingdome of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. The bodie of Ethelbald was buried at Ripton. Hen. Hunt. Bereford. 755 Three miles from Tamworth. Wil. Malm. 758 Matth. West.

Bonifacius the archbishop of Mentz or Moguntz, hauing assembled a councell with other bishops and doctors, deuised a letter, and sent it vnto this Ethelbald, commending him for his good deuotion and charitie in almes-giuing to the releefe of the poore, and also for his vpright dealing in administration of iustice, to the punishment of robbers and such like misdoers: but in that he abstained from marriage, and wallowed in filthie lecherie with diuerse women, and namelie with nuns, they sore blamed him, and withall declared in what infamie the whole English nation in those daies remained by common report in other countries for their licentious liuing in sinfull fornication, and namelie the most part of the noble men of Mercia by his euill example did forsake their wiues, and defloured other women which they kept in adulterie, as nuns and others. Moreouer, he shewed how that such euill women, as well nuns as other, vsed to make awaie in secret wise their children which they bare out of wedlocke, and so filled the graues with dead bodies, and hell with damned soules. The same Bonifacius in an other epistle which he wrote vnto Cuthert the archbishop of Canturburie, counselled him not to permit the English nuns to wander abroad so often on pilgrimage, because there were few cities either in France or Lombardie, wherein might not be found English women, that liued wantonlie in fornication and whordome. The bishop of Magd. Nuns kept for concubines. Pilgrimage of nuns.

Offa king of the Eastsaxons with other *go to Rome, he is shauen and becommeth a* moonke, succession in the kingdome of the *Eastsaxons and Eastangles, Osred king of Nor*thumberland hath carnall knowledge with nuns, he *is slaine in battell, Osrike renouncing his kingdome becom*meth a moonke, bishop Wilfrid twise restored to his see, Westsaxonie diuided in two dioceses, bishop Aldhelme a founder of religious houses; Ethelard succeedeth Inas in regiment, two blasing starres seene at once, and what insued, the king dieth: the successiue reigne of Wichtreds three sonnes ouer Kent, what prouinces were gouerned by bishops; of what puissance Ethelbald king of Mercia was, Egbert archbishop of Yorke aduanceth his see; a notable remembrance of that excellent man Beda, his death.

## *The second Chapter.*

IN this meane time Sighard and Seuered, kings of the Eastsaxons, being departed this life, one Offa that was sonne to Sigerius succéeded in gouernment Kings of the Eastsaxons. Beda lib. 5. cap. 20. Offa king of Eastsaxons.

ment of that kingdome, a man of great towardneſſe, and of right comelie countenance: but after he had ruled a certeine time, being mooued with a religious deuotion, he went to Rome in companie of Kenred king of Mercia, and of one Egwine biſhop of Worceſter, and being there ſhauen into the order of monks, ſo continued till he died. After him one Oſcired the ſonne of Sigbert the good, ruled the Eaſt-
King Oſcired. ſarons the tearme of 38 yéeres. After Aldulfe the king of Eaſtangles departed this fraile life, which
688 chanced about the yéere of our Lord 688, his brother Elewold or Akwold ſucceeded him, and reigned about twelue yéeres. After whoſe deceaſe one Beorne was made king of Eaſtangles, and reigned about 26 yéeres. In this meane while, that is to ſay, in the
705 yéere of our Lord 705, Alfride king of Northumberland being dead, his ſonne Oſred, a child of 8 yéeres
Wil. Malm. Oſred king of Northumberland. of age ſucceeded him in the kingdome, and reigned 11 yéeres, ſpending his time when he came to ripe yéeres in filthie abuſing his bodie with nuns, and other religious women.

Henr. Hunt. About the ſeuenth yéere of his reigne, that is to ſay, in the yéere of our Lord 711, one of his capteins named earle Berthfride fought with the Picts, betwixt two places called Heue and Cere, and obteining the victorie, ſlue an huge number of the enimies. At length king Oſred by the traitorous means of his cooſens that arreared warre againſt him, was
Picts ouerthrowne by the Northumbers. King Oſred ſlaine in batell ſlaine in battell, and ſo ended his reigne, leauing to thoſe that procured his death the like fortune in time to come. For Kenred reigning two yéeres, and Oſricke ten yéeres, were famous onelie in this, that being worthilie puniſhed for ſhedding the blood of their naturall prince and ſouereigne lord, they finiſhed their liues with diſhonourable deaths, as they had well deſerued. Oſricke before his death, which chanced in the yéere of our Lord 729, appointed Ceol-
729 wolfe the brother of his predeceſſor Kenred, to ſucceed him in the kingdome, which he did, reigning as king of the Northumbers by the ſpace of 8 yéeres currant, and then renouncing his kingdom, became a monke in the Ile of Lindeſferne.

Beda. Acca biſhop of Herham. In this meane while, biſhop Wilfride being dead, one Acca that was his chapline was made biſhop of Herham. The ſaid Wilfride had béene biſhop by the ſpace of 45 yéeres: but he liued a long time in exile. For firſt being archbiſhop of Yorke, and exerciſing his iuriſdiction ouer all the north parts, he was after baniſhed by king Egbert, and againe reſtored to the ſée of Herham in the ſecond yéere of king Alfride, and within fiue yéeres after eftſoones baniſhed by the ſame Alfride, and the ſecond time reſtored by his ſucceſſor king Oſred, in the fourth yéere of whoſe reigne being the yéere after the incarnation of our Saui-
710 our 709, he departed this life, and was buried at Ripon. Moreouer, after John the archbiſhop of Yorke had reſigned, one Wilfride ſurnamed the ſecond was made archbiſhop of that ſée: which Wilfride was chapline to the ſaid John, and gouerned that ſée by the ſpace of fiftéene yéeres, and then died. About the yéere of our Lord 710, the abbat Adrian (which came into this land with Theodore the archbiſhop of Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) departed this life, about 39 yéeres after his comming thither.

Two biſhops ſées. March. Weſt. Biſhop Daniell. Biſhop Aldhelme. Alſo Inas the king of Weſtſarons, about the 20 yéere of his reigne, diuided the prouince of the Weſtſarons into two biſhops ſées, whereas before they had but one. Daniell was ordeined to gouerne the one of thoſe ſées, being placed at Wincheſter, hauing vnder him Suſſer, Southerie and Hamſhire. And Aldhelme was appointed to Shireburne, hauing vnder him, Barkeſhire, Wiltſhire, Sommerſetſhire, Dorſetſhire, Deuonſhire, and Cornwall. This Aldhelme was a learned man, and was firſt made abbat of Malmeſburie, in the yéere of our Lord 675, by Eleutherius then biſhop of the Weſtſarons, by whoſe diligence that abbeie was greatlie aduanced, being afore that time founded by one Medulfe a Scottiſh man, but of ſo ſmall reuenues afore Aldhelms time, that the monks were ſcarſe able to liue thereon. Alſo the ſame Aldhelme was a great furtherer vnto king Inas in the building of Glaſtenburie.

The abbeie of Malmeſburie

Ethelard, the cooſen of king Inas, to whome the ſame Inas reſigned his kingdome, began to gouerne the Weſtſarons in the yéere of our Lord 728, or rather 27, which was in the 11 yéere of the emperor Leo Iſaurus, in the ſecond yéere of Theodorus king of France, and about the 8 or 9 yéere of Nordacke king of the Scots. In the firſt yéere of Ethelards reigne, he was diſquieted with ciuill warre, which one Oſwald a noble man, deſcended of the roiall blood of the Weſtſaron kings, procured againſt him: but in the end, when he perceiued that the kings power was too ſtrong for him, he fled out of the countrie, leauing it thereby in reſt. *Ethelard.* 728 Matt. Weſt. ſaith 727.

In the yéere 729, in the moneth of Ianuarie there appeered two comets or blaſing ſtarres, verie terrible to behold, the one riſing in the morning before the riſing of the ſunne, and the other after the ſetting thereof: ſo that the one came before the breake of the day, and the other before the cloſing of the night, ſtretching forth their fierie brands toward the north; and they appeered thus euerie morning and euening for the ſpace of a fortnight togither, menacing as it were ſome great deſtruction or common miſhap to follow. The Saracens ſhortlie after entred France, and were ouerthrowne. Finallie, when king Ethelard had reigned the terme of fourteene yéeres currant, he departed this life. Matth. Weſt. 729 Blaſing ſtars

NOw when Wichtred king of Kent had gouerned the Kentiſhmen by the ſpace of 33 yéeres, with great commendation for the good orders which he cauſed to be obſerued amongſt them, as well concerning matters eccleſiaſticall as temporall, he departed this life, leauing behind him three ſonnes, who ſucceſſiuelie reigned as heires to him one after another (that is to ſay) Edbert 23 yéeres, Ethelbert 11 yéeres currant, and Alrike 34 yéeres, the which three princes following the ſteps of their father in the obſeruance of politike orders & commendable lawes, vſed for the more part their fathers good lucke and fortune, except that in Ethelberts time the citie of Canturburie was burned by caſuall fire; and Alrike loſt a battell againſt them of Mercia, whereby the glorie of their times was ſomewhat blemiſhed: for ſo it came to paſſe, that whatſoeuer chanced euill, was kept ſtill in memorie, and the good haps that came forward, were ſone forgotten and put out of remembrance. Wil. Malm. Beda. lib. 5. cap. 24.

In the yéere of our Lord 731, Bertwald archbiſhop of Canturburie departed this life in the firſt ides of Ianuarie, after he had gouerned that ſée by the ſpace of 27 yéeres, 6 moneths, and 14 daies: in whoſe place the ſame yéere one Tacwine was ordeined archbiſhop, that before was a prieſt in the monaſterie of Bruidon within the prouince of Mercia. He was conſecrated in the citie of Canturburie, by the reuerend fathers Daniell biſhop of Wincheſter, Ingwald biſhop of London, Aldwin biſhop of Lichfield, and Aldwulfe biſhop of Rocheſter, the tenth day of Iune being Sundaie. 731

Biſhops what prouinces they gouerned. ¶ As touching the ſtate of the Engliſh church for eccleſiaſticall gouernours, certeine it is, that the ſame was as hereafter followeth. The prouince of Canturburie was gouerned touching the eccleſiaſticall ſtate by archbiſhop Tacwine, and biſhop Aldwulfe. The prouince of the Weſtſarons by biſhop

Ingwald.

Ingwald, the prouince of Eastangles by bishop Eadbertus and Hadulacus, the one keeping his see at Elsham, and the other at Dunwich. The prouince of the Westsaxons was gouerned by the foresaid Daniell and by Forthere, who succeeded next after Aldhelme in the see of Shereburne. This Forthere in the yeere of our Lord 738, left his bishoprike, and went to Rome in companie of the queene of the Westsaxons. Many as well kings as bishops, noble and vnnoble, priests and laiemen, togither with women, vsed to make such iournies thither in those daies. The prouince of Mercia was ruled by the foresaid Aldwine bishop of Lichfield, and one bishop Walstod holding his see at Herford gouerned those people that inhabited beyond the riuer of Sauerne toward the west. The prouince of Wiccies, that is, Worcester, one Wilfride gouerned. The Southsaxons and the Ile of Wight were vnder the bishop of Winchester. In the prouince of the Northumbers were foure bishops, that is to say, Wilfride archbishop of Yorke, Edilwald bishop of Lindisferne, Acca bishop of Herham, and Pechelmus bishop of Whiterne, otherwise called Candida Casa, he was the first that gouerned that church after the same was made a bishops see. And thus stood the state of the English church for ecclesiasticall gouernors in that season.

Matth. West.

Ethelbald K. of Mercia, of what puisance he was.

And as for temporall gouernement, king Ceolwulfe had the souereigne dominion ouer all the Northumbers: but all the prouinces on the southside of Humber, with their kings and rulers, were subiect vnto Edilbald or Ethelbald king of Mercia. The nation of the Picts were in league with the English men, and gladlie became partakers of the catholike faith and veritie of the vniuersall church. Those Scots which inhabited Britaine, contenting themselues with their owne bounds, went not about to practise anie deceitfull traines nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains otherwise called Welshmen, though for the more part of a peculiar hatred they did impugne the English nation, & the obseruance of the feast of Ester appointed by the whole catholike church, yet (both diuine and humane force vtterlie resisting them) they were not able in neither behalfe to atteine to their wished intentions, as they which though they were partlie free, yet in some point remained still as thrall and mancipate to the subiection of the Englishmen: who (saith Beda) now in the acceptable time of peace and quietnesse, manie amongst them of Northumberland, laieng armour and weapon aside, applied themselues to the reading of holie scriptures, more desirous to be professed in religious houses, than to exercise feates of warre: but what will come therof (saith he) the age that followeth shall see and behold. With these words doth Beda end his historie, continued till the yeere of our Lord 731, which was from the comming of the English men into this land, about 285 yeeres, according to his account.

732

Wil. Malm.

In the yeere following, that is to say 732, in place of Wilfrid the second, Egbert was ordeined bishop of Yorke. This Egbert was brother vnto an other Egbert, who as then was king of Northumberland, by whose helpe he greatlie aduanced the see of Yorke, and recouered the pall: so that where all the other bishops that held the same see before him sith Paulins daies, wanted the pall, and so were counted simplic but particular bishops: now was he intituled by the name of archbishop. He also got togither a great number of good books, which he bestowed in a librarie at Yorke. ¶ In the yeere 733, on the 18 kalends of September, the sunne suffered a great eclipse about three of the clocke in the after noone, in somuch that the earth seemed to be couered with a blacke and horrible pentise.

733

In the yeere 735, that reuerend and profound learned man Beda departed this life, being 82 yeeres of age, vpon Ascension day, which was the 7 kalends of June, and 26 of Maie, as Matt. Westm. hath diligentlie obserued. W. Harison addeth hitherto, that it is to be read in an old epistle of Cutbert monke of the same house vnto Cuthwine, that the said Beda lieng in his death-bed, translated the gospell of saint John into English, and commanded his brethren to be diligent in reading and contemplation of good bookes, and not to exercise themselues with fables and friuolous matters. Finallie he was buried in the abbeie of Gerwie, distant fiue miles from Wiremouth, an abbeie also in the north parts, not far from Newcastell (as is before remembred.) He was brought vp in those two abbeies, and was scholer to John of Beuerley. How throughlie he was seene in all kinds of good literature, the bookes which he wrote do manifestlie beare witnesse. His iudgement also was so much esteemed ouer all, that Sergius the bishop of Rome wrote vnto Celfride the abbat of Wiremouth, requiring him to send Beda vnto the court of Rome for the deciding of certein questions moued there, which without his opinion might seeme to rest doubtfull. But whether he went thither or not we can not affirme: but as it is thought by men worthie of credit, he neuer went out of this land, but continued for the most part of his life in the abbeies of Gerwie and Wiremouth, first vnder Benet the first abbat and founder of the same abbeies, and after vnder the said Celfride, in whose time he receiued orders of priesthood at the hands of bishop John, surnamed of Beuerley: so that it may be maruelled that a man borne in the vttermost corner of the world, should proue so excellent in all knowledge and learning, that his fame should so spread ouer the whole earth, and went neuer out of his native countrie to seeke it. But who that marketh in reading old histories the state of abbeies and monasteries in those daies, shall well perceiue that they were ordered after the maner of our schooles or colleges, hauing in them diuerse learned men, that attended onelie to teach & bring vp youth in knowledge of good learning, or else to go abroad and preach the word of God in townes and villages adioining.

731 Beda departed this life.

Cranzius.

The same yeere died archbishop Tacuine, and in the yeere following, that is to say 735, Nothelmus was ordeined archbishop of Canturburie in his place, and Egbert the archbishop of Yorke the same yeere got his pall from Rome, and so was confirmed archbishop, and ordeined two bishops, Frumberd, and Frumbald. But some refer it to the yeere 744.

735

Cuthred king of the Westsaxons, he is *greatlie troubled by Ethelbald king of* Mercia, they are pacified; Kenric king Cuthreds sonne slaine, *earle Adelme rebelleth against* him whom the king pardoneth; Cuthred fighteth *with Ethelbald at Hereford, he hath the victorie, he falleth* sicke and dieth; Sigebert succedeth him in the kingdome, he is cruell to his people, he is expelled from his roiall estate, murther reuenged with murther, succession in the kingdome of Eastangles, kings change their crownes for moonks cowles; the Britaines subiect to the king of Northumberland and the king of Picts, the moone eclipsed.

## The third Chapter.

Cuthred.

After the decease of Ethelard king of Westsaxons, his cosine Cuthred was made king and gouernour of those people, reigning the tearme of 16 yeeres. He began his reigne in the yeere

740 yere of our Lord 740, in the twentie fourth yere of the emperour Leo Isaurus, in the 14 yere of the reigne of the second Theodorus Cala is of France, and about the 6 yere of Ethfine king of Scots. This Cuthred had much to do against Edilbald king of Mercia, who one while with stirring his owne subiects the Westsaxons to rebellion, an other while with open warre, and sometime by secret craft and subtill practises sought to disquiet him. Howbeit, in the fourth yere of his reigne, a peace was concluded betwixt them, and then ioining their powers togither, they went against the Welshmen, & gaue them a great ouerthrow, as before is partlie touched. In the 9 yere of this Cuthreds reigne, his sonne Kenric was slaine in a seditious tumult amongst his men of warre, a gentleman yong in yeres, but of a stout courage, and verie forward, wherby (as was thought) he came the sooner to his wofull end.

Mart. West. Hen. Hunt.

Kenric the kings sonne slaine.

749 Matth. West.

751 In the 11 yere of his reigne, Cuthred had wars against one of his earls called Adelme, who raising a commotion against him, aduentured to giue battell though he had the smaller number of men; and yet was at point to haue gone away with victorie, if by a wound at that instant receiued, his periurie had not beene punished, and the kings iust cause aduanced to triumph ouer his aduersarie, whom yet by way of reconciliation he pardoned. In the 13 yere of his reigne, king Cuthred being not well able to susteine the proud exactions and hard dooings of Edilbald king of Mercia, raised his power, and encountered with the same Edilbald at Hereford, hauing before him the said earle Adelme, in whose valiant prowesse he put great hope to attcine victorie: neither was he deceiued, for by the stout conduct and noble courage of the said Adelme, the lofty pride of king Edelbald was abated, so that he was there put to flight, and all his armie discomfited, after sore and terrible fight continued and mainteined euen to the vttermost point. In the 24 yere of his reigne, this Cuthred fought eftsones with the Welshmen, and obteined the vpper hand, without anie great losse of his people: for the enimies were easilie put to flight and chased, to their owne destruction. In the yere after, king Cuthred fell sicke, and in the 16 yere of his reigne he departed this life, after so manie great victories got against his enimies.

752 Matt. West.

K. Edilbald put to flight.

*Sigibert.* After him succeeded one Sigibert, a cruell and vnmercifull prince at home, but yet a coward abroad. This Sigbert or Sigibert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 755, verie neere ended. He intreated his subiects verie euill, setting law and reason at naught. He could not abide to heare his faults told him, and therefore he cruellie put to death an earle named Cumbra, which was of his councell, and faithfullie admonished him to reforme his euill doings: whereupon the rest of his nobles assembled themselues togither with a great multitude of people, and expelled him out of his estate in the beginning of the second, or (as some say) the first yeare of his reigne. Then Sigibert, as he was fearefull of nature, fearing to be apprehended, got him into the wood called as then Andredeswald, and there hid himselfe, but by chance a swineheard that belonged to the late earle Cumbra at Priuetsflood found him out, and perceiuing what he was, slue him in reuenge of his maisters death.

755

¶ Lo here you may see how the righteous iustice of God rewardeth wicked dooings in this world with worthie recompense, as well as in the world to come, appointing euill princes sometimes to reigne for the punishment of the people, according as they deserue, permitting some of them to haue gouernment a long time, that both the froward nations may suffer long for their sins, and that such wicked princes may in an other world tast the more bitter torments. Againe, other he taketh out of the waie, that the people may be deliuered from oppression, and also that the naughtie ruler for his mildemeanour may speedilie receiue due punishment.

*Ethelred.* After Beorne king of Eastangles one Ethelred succeeded in gouernment of that kingdome a man noted to be of good and vertuous qualities, in that he brought vp his sonne Ethelred (which succeeded him) so in the feare of the Lord, that he proued a right godlie prince. This Ethelbert reigned (as writers say) the terme of 52 yeares.

738

Egbert king of Northumberland.

After that Ceolwulfe king of Northumberland was become a monke in the abbie of Lindesferne, his vncles sonne Egbert (by order taken by the said Ceolwulfe) succeeded him in the kingdome, and gouerned the same right worthilie for the terme of 24 yeares, and then became a monke, by the example both of his predecessor the forsaid Ceolwulfe, and also of diuers other kings in those daies, so that he was the right king who in this land had changed a kings crowne for a monks cowle (as Simon Dunel. writeth.)

758

Changing of crowns for monkes cowles.

This Egbert (in the 18 yeare of his reigne) and August king of Picts came to the citie of Alcluid with their armies, and there receiued the Britains into their subiection, the first day of August: but the tenth day of the same month, the armie which he led from Duan vnto Newbourgh, was for the more part lost and destroied. ¶ The same yeare on the 8 kalends of December, the mone being as then in hir full, appeared to be of a bloudie colour, but at length she came to hir accustomed shew, after a marueilous meanes, for a starre which followed hir, passed by hir, & went before hir, the like distãce as it kept in following hir before she lost hir vsuall light.

756

Offa king of Mercia, his manhood and victories against the Kentishmen and Westsaxons, he killeth Egilbert king of Eastangles by a policie or subtill deuise of profered curtesie, he inuadeth his kingdome, and possesseth it, the archbishops see of Canturburie remoued to Lichfield; archbishop Lambert laboring to defend his prerogatiue is deprived by king Offa, he seizeth vpon churches and religious houses; mistrusting his estate, he alieth himselfe with other princes; he maketh amends for the wrongs that he had doone to churches and religious houses, he goeth to Rome, maketh his realme tributarie to the said see, Peter pence paid, he falleth sicke and dieth, places to this day bearing his name in memorie of him, the short reigne of his sonne.

## *The fourth Chapter.*

*Offa.* After that Offa had slaine Bernred the vsurper of the kingdome of Mercia (as before is mentioned) the same Offa toke vpon him the gouernment of that kingdome 758, a man of such stoutnesse of stomach, that he thought he should be able to bring to passe all things whatsoeuer he conceiued in his mind. He reigned 39 yeares. His doings were great and marueilous, and such as some times his vertues surpassed his vices, and sometime againe his vices seemed to ouermatch his vertues. He ouercame the Kentishmen in a great battell at Otteford, and the Northumbers also were by him vanquished, and in battell put to flight. With Kenwulfe king of Westsaxons he fought

758 Matth. West.

Wil. Malm.

The victories of king Offa. Matth. West. 779

fought in open battell, and obteined a noble victorie, with small losse of his people; although the same Kenwulfe was a right valiant prince, and a good capteine.

Falsehood in fellowship.

Again, perceiuing that to proceed with craft, should soner aduance his purpose, than to vse open force against Egilbert king of Eastangles, vnder faire promises to giue vnto him his daughter in mariage, he allured him to come into Mercia, and receiuing him into his palace, caused his head to be striken off, and after by wrongfull meanes inuaded his kingdome, and got it into his possession: yet he caused the bones of the first martyr of this land saint Albane (by a miraculous meanes brought to light) to be taken vp, and put in a rich shrine adorned with gold and stone, building a goodlie church of excellent workmanship, and founding a monasterie in that place in honor of the same saint, which he indowed with great possessions. He remoued the archbishops see from Canturburie vnto Lichfield, thereby to aduance his kingdome of Mercia, as well in dignitie & prehemінence of spirituall power as temporall. He made great suit to bring his purpose to passe in the court of Rome, and at length by great gifts and rewards obteined it at the hands of pope Adrian the first, then gouerning the Romane see. And so Eadulfus then bishop of Lichfield was adorned with the pall, and taken for archbishop, hauing all those bishops within the limits of king Offa his dominion suffragans vnto him; namelie, Denebertus bishop of Worcester, Werebertus bishop of Chester, Eadulfus bishop of Dorcester, Wilnardus bishop of Hereford, Halard bishop of Elsham, and Cedferth bishop of Donwich. There remained onelie to the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester, and Shireburne.

The archbishops see remoued from Canturburie to Lichfield.

785
Matt. VVest.

The archbishop Lambert defended his cause.

This separation continued all the life time of the archbishop Lambert, although he trauelled earnestlie to mainteine his prerogatiue. Now, for that he still defended his cause, and would not reuolt from his will, Offa depriued him of all his possessions & reuennes that he held or inioied within anie part of his dominions. Neither was Offa satisfied herewith, but he also tooke into his hands the possessions of manie other churches, and fleeced the house of Malmesburie of a part of hir reuenues. Because of these & other his hard doings, doubting the malice of his enimies, he procured the friendship of forren princes. Unto Brightricke king of the Westsaxons he gaue his daughter Ethelburga in mariage. And sending diuers ambassadours ouer vnto Charles the great, that was both emperor & king of France, he purchased his friendship at length, although before there had depended a peece of displeasure betwixt them, insomuch that the intercourse for trade of merchandize was staied for a time. One of the ambassadours that was sent vnto the said Charles (as is reported) was that famous clearke Albine or Alcwine, by whose persuasion the same Charles erected two vniuersities, as in place due and conuenient may more largelie appeare.

Offa alieth himselfe with other princes.

Matt. Westm.

The intercourse of merchants staied.

Alcwine an Englishman.

Finallie king Offa (as it were for a meane to appease Gods wrath, which he doubted to be iustlie conceiued towards him for his sinnes and wickednesse) granted the tenth part of all his goods vnto churchmen, and to poore people. He also indowed the church of Hereford with great reuenues, and (as some write) he builded the abbeie of Bath, placing monkes in the same, of the order of saint Benet, as before he had done at saint Albons. Moreouer he went vnto Rome, about the yeare of our Lord 775, and there following the example of Inas king of the Westsaxons, made his realme subiect by way of tribute vnto the church of Rome, appointing that euerie house within the limits of his dominions should yearelie pay vnto the apostolike see one pennie, which paiment was after named, Rome Scot, and Peter pence. After his returne from Rome, perceiuing himselfe to draw into yeares, he caused his sonne Egfrid to be ordeined king in his life time: and shortlie after departing out of this world, left the kingdome vnto him, after he had gouerned it by the space of 39 yeares.

Polydor.

775

Peter pence or Rome Scot.

Will. Malm. 797

Offa departeth this life.

Amongst other the doings of this Offa, which surelie were great and maruellous, this may not passe with silence, that he caused a mightie great ditch to be cast betwixt the marshes of his countrie, and the Welsh confines, to diuide thereby the bounds of their dominions. This ditch was called Offaditch euer after, and stretched from the south side by Bristow, vnder the mountaines of Wales, running northward ouer the riuers of Seuerne and Dee, vnto the verie mouth of Dee, where that riuer falleth into the sea. He likewise builded a church in Warwikeshire, whereof the towne there taketh name, and is called Offchurch euen to this day. Egfrid taking vpon him the rule, began to follow the approued good doings of his father, and first restored vnto the churches their ancient priuileges, which his father sometimes had taken from them. Great hope was conceiued of his further good proceeding, but death cut off the same, taking him out of this life, after he had reigned the space of foure moneths, not for his owne offenses (as was thought) but rather for that his father had caused so much bloud to be spilt for the confirming of him in the kingdome, which so small a time he now inioied.

Offaditch

Egfrid king of Mercia.

Osulph king of Northumberland traitorouslie murthered, Edilwald succeedeth him, the reward of rebellion, a great mortalitie of foules fishes and fruits, moonkes licenced to drinke wine, great wast by fire, Edelred king of Northumberland is driuen out of his countrie by two dukes of the same, Ethelbert king of the Eastangles commended for his vertues, Alfred the daughter of king Mercia is affianced to him, tokens of misse haps towards him, his destruction intended by queene Quendred, hir platforme of the practise to kill him, Offa inuadeth Ethelberts kingdome, Alfred his betrothed wife taketh his death greuouslie, and becommeth a nun, the decaie of the kingdome of Eastangles, succession in the regiment of the Westsaxons, the end of the gouernement of the Eastsaxons, prince Algar is smitten blind for seeking to rauish virgine Friswide, and at hir praiers restored to his sight.

## The fift Chapter.

WHen Eadbert or Egbert K. of Northumberland was become a monke, his sonne Osulphus succeeded him: but after he had reigned onelie one yeare, he was traitorouslie murthered by his owne seruants at Wikilwongton, on the 9 kalends of August. Then succeeded one Moll, otherwise called Edilwold or Edilwald, but not immediatlie, for he began not his reigne till the nones of August in the yeare following, which was after the birth of our sauiour 759. This man proued right valiant in gouernement of his subiects. He slue in battell an earle of his countrie named Oswin, who arrearing warre against him, fought with him in a pitcht field at Eadwines Cliue, and receiued the worthie reward of rebellion.

Eadbert king of Northumberland. 758

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Edilwold king of Northumberland. Simon Dun. Henr. Hunt.

This

This chanced in the third yeare of his reigne, and shortlie after, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 764, there fell such a maruellous great snow, and therwith so extreame a frost, as the like had not beene heard of, continuing from the beginning of the winter, almost till the middest of the spring, with the rigour whereof, trees and fruits withered awaie, and lost their liuelie shape and growth: and not onelie feathered foules, but also beasts on the land, & fishes in the sea died in great numbers. The same yeare died Ceolwulf then king of Northumberland, vnto whome Beda did dedicate his booke of histories of the English nation. After that he was become a monke in the monasterie of Lindesferne, the monks of that house had licence to drinke wine, or ale, whereas before they might not drinke anie other thing than milke, or water, by the ancient rule prescribed them of the bishop Aidan first founder of the place. The same yeare sundrie cities, townes, and monasteries were defaced and sore wasted with fier chancing on the sudden, as Stretehu, Giwento Anwicke, London, Yorke, Doncaster, &c.

Simon Dun. 764

Monks licenced to drinke wine.

After that Woll had reigned 6 yeares, he resigned his kingdome. But other write that he reigned 11 yeares, and was in the end slaine by treason of his successor Altred. This Altred reigned ten years ouer the Northumbers, and was then expelled out of his kingdome by his owne subiects. Then was Ethelbert, named also Edelred, the sonne of the foresaid Woll, made king of Northumberland, and in the fift yeare of his reigne, he was driuen out of his kingdome by two dukes of his countrie named Edelbald and Herebert, who mouing warre against him, had slaine first Aldulfe the sonne of Bosa the generall of his armie at Kingescliffe; and after Kinewulfe and Egga, other two of his dukes, at Yelatherne in a sore foughten field: so that Ethelbert despairing of all recouerie, was constrained to get him out of the countrie. And thus was the kingdome of Northumberland brought into a miserable state, by the ambitious working of the princes and nobles of the same.

Wil. Malm. Altred began his reigne in the yeare 765 as Sim. Dun. saith. Henr. Hunt. Matt. West. Ethelbert,

After that Ethelbert king of Eastangles was dead, his sonne Ethelbert succéeded him, a prince of great towardnesse, and so vertuouslie brought vp by his fathers circumspect care and diligence, that he vtterlie abhorred vice, and delighted onelie in vertue and commendable exercises, for the better attelning to knowledge and vnderstanding of good sciences. There remaine manie sundrie saiengs & doings of him, manifestlie bearing witnesse that there could not be a man more honorable, thankefull, courteous or gentle. Amongest other he had this saieng oftentimes in his mouth, that the greater that men were, the more humble they ought to beare themselues: for the Lord putteth proud and mightie men from their seates, and exalteth the humble and meeke.

H. Hunt. John Capgraue. Matth. West. and others. Ethelbert king of Eastangles.

The saieng of king Ethelbert.

Moreouer he did not onelie shew himselfe wise in words, but desired also to excell in stablenesse of manners, and continencie of life. Whereby he wan to him the hearts of his people, who perceiuing that he was nothing delighted in the companie of women, and therefore minded not marriage, they of a singular loue and fauour towards him, required that he should in anie wise yet take a wife, that he might haue issue to succéed him. At length the matter being referred to his councell, he was perswaded to follow their aduises. And so Alfreda the daughter of Offa king of Mercia was affianced to him: so that he himselfe appointed (as meanes to procure more fauour at his father in lawes hands) to go fetch the bride from hir fathers house.

Manie strange things that happened to him in taking vpon him this iournie, put him in great doubt of that which should follow. He was no soner mounted on his horsse, but that (as seemed to him) the earth shooke vnder him: againe, as he was in his iournie, about the mid-time of the day, such a darke mist compassed him on ech side, that he could not see nor discerne for a certeine time anie thing about him at all: lastlie, as he laie one night asléepe, he thought he saw in a dreame the roofe of his owne palace fall downe to the ground. But though with these things he was brought into great feare, yet he kept on his iournie, as he that mistrusted no deceit, measuring other mens maners by his owne. King Offa right honourablie receiued him: but his wife named Quendred, a wise woman, but therewith wicked, conceiued a malicious deuise in hir hart, & streightwaies went about to perswade hir husband to put it in execution, which was to murther king Ethelbert, and after to take into his hands his kingdome.

Tokens of mishap to follow.

The innocent mistrustfull of no euil.

Offa at the first was offended with his wife for this motion, but in the end, through the importunate request of the woman, he consented to hir mind. The order of the murther was committed vnto one Winnebert, that had serued both the said Ethelbert & his father before time, the which feining as though he had beene sent from Offa to will Ethelbert to come vnto him in the night season, slue him that once mistrusted not anie such treason. Offa hauing thus dispatched Ethelbert, inuaded his kingdome, and conquered it.

John Capgr. winnebert.

Sim. Dun. saith 771. Offa conquereth Eastangles.

But when the bride Alfreda vnderstood the death of hir liked make and bridegrome, abhorring the fact, she cursed father and mother, and as it were inspired with the spirit of prophesie, pronounced that worthie punishment would shortlie fall on hir wicked mother for hir heinous crime committed in perswading so detestable a deed: and according to hir words it came to passe, for hir mother died miserablie within three moneths after. The maid Alfreda refusing the world, professed hirselfe a nun at Crowland, the which place began to war famous about the yeere of our Lord 695, by the meanes of one Gutlake, a man esteemed of great vertue and holinesse, which chose to himselfe an habitation there, and departing this life about the yeere of our Lord 714, was buried in that place, where afterwards an abbeie of monks was builded of saint Benets order. The bodie of K. Ethelbert at length was buried at Hereford, though first it was committed to buriall in a vile place, neere to the banke of a riuer called Lug.

Alfreda a nun Beda. Matth. West.

The kingdome of Eastangles from thencefoorth was brought so into decaie, that it remained subiect one while vnto them of Mercia, an other while vnto the Westsaxons, and somewhile vnto them of Kent, till that Edmund surnamed the martyr got the gouernment thereof (as after shall appeare.) After that Selred king of the Eastsaxons had gouerned the tearme of 38 yeeres, he was slaine, but in what maner, writers haue not expressed. After him succéeded one Swithed or Swithred, the 11 and last in number that particularlie gouerned those people. He was finallie expelled by Egbert K. of Westsaxons, the same yeere that the said Egbert ouercame the Kentishmen (as after shall be shewed) and so the kings of that kingdome of the Eastsaxons ceassed and tooke end.

H. Hunt.

¶ About this time, there was a maid in Orford named Frisswide, daughter to a certeine duke or noble man called Didanus, with whome one Algar a prince in those parties fell in loue, and would haue rauished hir, but God the reuenger of sinnes was at hand (as the storie saith.) For when Algar followed the maid that fled before him, she getting into the

Frisswide a virgine.

towne, the gate was shut against him, and his sight also was suddenlie taken from him. But the maid by hir praiers pacified Gods wrath towards him, so that his sight was againe restored to him. But whether this be a fable or a true tale, hereof grew the report, that the kings of this realme long times after were afraid to enter into the citie of Oxford. So easilie is the mind of man turned to superstition (as saith Polydor.)

Kinewulfe king of Westsaxons, his conquest ouer the Britains, his securitie and negligence, he is slaine by conspirators, inquisition for Kineard the principall procurer of that mischiefe, he is slaine in fight; legats from the pope to the kings and archbishops of this land about reformation in the church, a councell holden at Mercia; iudge Bearne burnt to death for cruelties, Alfwold reigneth ouer Northumberland, his owne subiects murther him; a booke of articles sent by Charles king of France into Britaine quite contrarie to the christian faith, Albinus writeth against it; great waste by tempests of wind and rage of fire.

## The sixt Chapter.

*Kinewulf* Hen. Hunt.

After that the Westsaxons had deprived their vnprofitable king Sigibert, they aduanced Kinewulfe or Cinewulfus, the which began his reigne about the yeere of our Lord 756, which was in the 16 yeere of the emperor Constantinus, surnamed Copronimos, in the 6 yeere of the reigne of Pipin king of France, and about the 22 yeere of Ethfine king of Scots. This Kinewulfe proued a right worthie and valiant prince, and was descended of the right line of Cerdicus. He obteined great victories against the Britains or Welshmen, but at Bensington or Benton he lost a battell against Offa king of Mercia, in the 24 yeere of his reigne: and from that time forward tasting manie displeasures, at length through his owne follie came vnto a shamefull end. For whereas he had reigned a long time neither slouthfullie nor presumptuouslie, yet now as it were aduanced with the glorie of things passed, he either thought that nothing could go against him, or else doubted the suertie of their state whom he should leaue behind him, and therefore he confined one Kineard the brother of Sigibert, whose fame he perceiued to increase more than he would haue wished.

756 Simon Dun. saith 755.

The Britains vanquished.

This Kineard dissembling the matter, as he that could giue place to time, got him out of the countrie, and after by a secret conspiracie assembled togither a knot of vngratious companie, and returning priuilie into the countrie againe, watched his time, till he espied that the king with a small number of his seruants was come vnto the house of a noble woman, whome he kept as paramour at Merton, whereupon the said Kineard vpon the sudden beset the house round about. The king perceiuing himselfe thus besieged of his enimies, at the first caused the doores to be shut, supposing either by curteous words to appease his enimies, or with his princelie authoritie to put them in feare.

But when he saw that by neither meane he could doo good, in a great chafe he brake forth of the house vpon Kineard, and went verie neere to haue killed him: but being compassed about with multitude of enimies, whilest he stood at defense, thinking it a dishonour for him to flee, he was beaten downe and slaine, togither with those few of his seruants which he had there with him, who chose rather to die in seeking reuenge of their maisters death, than by cowardise to yeeld themselues into the murtherers hands. There escaped none except one Welshman or Britaine, an hostage, who was neuertheless sore wounded and hurt.

Kinewulfe slaine by conspirators.

The brute of such an heinous act was streightwaies blowne ouer all, and brought with speed to the eares of the noble men and peeres of the realme, which were not farre off the place where this slaughter had beene committed. Amongst other, one Derike, for his age and wisedome accounted of most authoritie, exhorted the residue that in no wise they should suffer the death of their souereigne lord to passe vnpunished vnto their perpetuall shame and reproofe. Whereupon in all hast they ran to the place where they knew to find Kineard, who at the first began to plead his cause, to make large promises, to pretend coosenage, and so forth: but when he perceiued all that he could say or doo might not preuaile, he incouraged his companie to shew themselues valiant, and to resist their enimies to the vttermost of their powers. Hereupon followed a doubtfull fight, the one part striuing to saue their liues, and the other to atteine honour, and punish the slaughter of their soueraigne lord. At length the victorie rested on the side where the right was, so that the wicked murtherer after he had fought a while, at length was slaine, togither with fourescore and eight of his mates. The kings bodie was buried at Winchester, & the murtherers at Reping don. Such was the end of king Kinewulfe, after he had reigned the tearme of 31 yeeres.

Simon Dun. H. Hunt.

In the yeere of our Lord 786, pope Adrian sent two legats into England, Gregorie, or (as some copies haue) George bishop of Ostia, and Theophylactus bishop of Tuderto, with letters commendatorie vnto Offa king of Mercia, Alfwold king of Northumberland, Ieanbright or Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, and Eaubald archbishop of Yorke. These legats were gladlie receiued, not onlie by the forsaid kings and archbishops, but also of all other the high estates, aswell spirituall as temporall of the land, namelie of Kinewulfe king of the Westsaxons, which repaired vnto king Offa to take counsell with him for reformation of such articles as were conteined in the popes letters.

Eccle. hist. Magd. 786 H. Hunt. Legats from the pope.

There were twentie seuerall articles which they had to propone on the popes behalfe, as touching the receiuing of the faith or articles established by the Nicene councell, and obeieng of the other generall councels, with instructions concerning baptisme and keeping of synods yeerelie, for the examination of priests and ministers, and reforming of naughtie liuers. Moreouer touching discretion to be vsed in admitting of gouernors in monasteries, and curats or priests to the ministerie in churches: and further for the behauior of priests in wearing their apparell, namelie that they should not presume to come to the altar bare legged, lest their dishonestie might be discouered. And that in no wise the chalice or paten were made of the horne of an ore, bicause the same is bloudie of nature: nor the host of a crust, but of pure bread. Also whereas bishops vsed to sit in councels to iudge in secular causes, they were now forbidden so to doo.

Twentie articles which the legats had to propone.

Manie other things were as meanes of reformation articled, both for spirituall causes, and also concerning ciuill ordinances, as disabling children to be heirs to the parents, which by them were not begot in lawfull matrimonie but on concubines, whether they were nunnes or secular women. Also of paiment of tithes, performing of vowes, auoiding of vndecent apparell, and abolishing of all maner of heathenish vsages and customes that should contrarie

Nuns concubines.

Curtailing of horſes.

trarie to the order of chriſtianitie, as curtailing of horſes, and eating of horſes fleſh. Theſe things with manie other expreſſed in 20 principall articles (as we haue ſaid) were firſt concluded to be receiued by the church of the Northumbers in a councell holden there, and ſubſcribed by Alfwold king of the Northumbers, by Delberike biſhop of Yerham, by Eubald archbiſhop of Yorke, Wigwald biſhop of Lindiſſerne, Edelbert biſhop of Whiterne, Aldulfe biſhop of Mieth, Ethelwine alſo another biſhop by his deputies, with a number of other of the clergie; and lords alſo of the temporaltie, as duke Alrike, duke Segwulfe, abbat Alebericke, and abbat Erhard. After this confirmation had of the Northumbers, there was alſo a councell holden in Mercia at Tealtide; in the which theſe perſons ſubſcribed, Jambert or Lambert archbiſhop of Canturburie, Offa king of Mercia, Hughbright biſhop of Lichfield, Edenulfe biſhop of Faron, with Unwone biſhop of Ligor, and nine other biſhops, beſides abbats; and three dukes, as Worde, Farwald, and Wercoald, with earle Othbald.

But now to returne backe to ſpeake of other doings, as in other parts of this land they fell out. About the yeere of our Lord 764, the ſee of Canturburie being void, one Jambert or Lambert was elected archbiſhop there, and in the yeere 766, the archbiſhop of Yorke Egbert departed this life, in whoſe place one Adelbert ſucceeded. About the 25 yeere of Kenwulf king of Weſtſaxons, the Northumbers hauing to their capteine two noble men, Oſbald and Ethelherard, burned one of their iudges named Wearne, becauſe he was more cruell in iudgement (as they tooke the matter) than reaſon required. In which vengeance executed vpon the cruell iudge (if he were ſo ſeuere as this attempt of the two noble men doth offer the readers to ſuſpect) all ſuch of his liuerie & calling are taught lenitie & mildnes, wherwith they ſhould leuen the rigor of the lawe. For

764

Sim. Dun. ſaith 780.

Simon Dun.

Ouid. lib. 2. de art. am.

——— *capit indulgentia mentes,*
*Aſperitas odium ſæuáque bella mouet.*
*Odimus accipitrem, quia viuit ſemper in armis,*
*Et pauidum ſolitos in pecus ire lupos.*
*At caret inſidys hominum, quia mitis hirundo eſt,*
*Quáſque colat turres Chaonis ales habet.*

At the ſame time, one Aſwald or Alfewald reigned ouer the Northumbers, being admitted K. after that Ethelbert was expelled, and when the ſame Alfwald had reigned 10, or (as ſome ſay) 11 yeeres, he was traitorouſlie and without all guilt made away; the chefe conſpirator was named Siga. The ſame Alfwald was a iuſt prince, and worthilie gouerned the Northumbers to his high praiſe and commendation. He was murthered by his owne people (as before ye haue heard) the 23 of September, in the yeere of our Lord 788, and was buried at Yerham.

He began his reigne Anno. 779, as ſaith Simon Dun. and reigned but ten yeeres.

788

Matth. Weſt. Simon Dun.

In the yeere 792, Charles king of France ſent a booke into Britaine, which was ſent vnto him from Conſtantinople, conteining certeine articles agreed vpon in a ſynod (wherein were preſent aboue the number of three hundred biſhops) quite contrarie and diſagreeing from the true faith, namelie in this, that images ought to be worſhipped, which the church of God vtterlie abhorreth. Against this booke Albinus that famous clearke wrote a treatiſe confirmed with places taken out of holie ſcripture, which treatiſe, with the booke in name of all the biſhops and princes of Britaine, he preſented vnto the king of France. ¶ In the yeere 800, on Chriſtmaſſe eeuen chanced a maruellous tempeſt of wind, which ouerthrew whole cities and townes in diuerſe places, and trees in great number, beſide other harmes which it did, as by death of cattell, &c. In the yeere following a great part of London was conſumed by fire.

792

Sim. Dunel. 800

Britricus K. of the Weſtſaxons, his inclination, *Egbert being of the bloud roiall* is baniſhed the land, & why; croſſes of bloudie *colour and drops of bloud fell from heauen, what* they did prognoſticate; the firſt Danes that arriued *on the Engliſh coaſts, and the cauſe of their comming; firie dragons* flieng in the aire foretokens of famine and warre; Britricus is poiſoned of his wife Ethelburga, hir ill qualities; why the kings of the Weſtſaxons decreed that their wiues ſhould not be called queenes, the miſerable end of Ethelburga; Kenulfe king of Mercia, his vertues, he reſtoreth the archbiſhops ſee to Canturburie which was tranſlated to Lichfield, he inuadeth Kent, taketh the king priſoner in the field, and bountifullie ſetteth him at libertie, the great ioy of the people therevpon; his rare liberalitie to churchmen, his death and buriall.

## *The ſeuenth Chapter.*

*Britricus.*

Hen. Hunt. Matt. VVeſt. ſaith 787. Simon Dun. ſaith 786.

After Kenwulfe, one Britricus or Brightrike was ordeined king of Weſtſaxons, and began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 787, which was about the 8 yeere of the gouernment of the empreſſe Eirene with hir ſon Conſtantinus, and about the ſecond yeere of the reigne of Achaius K. of Scots. This Brightrike was deſcended of the line of Cerdicus the firſt king of Weſtſaxons, the 16 in number from him. He was a man of nature quiet & temperate, more deſirous of peace than of warre, and therefore he ſtood in doubt of the noble valiancie of one Egbert, which after ſucceeded him in the kingdome. The linage of Cerdicus was in that ſeaſon ſo confounded and mingled, that euerie one as he grew in greateſt power, ſtroue to be king and ſupreame gouernour. But ſpeciallie Egbertus was knowne to be one that couted that place, as he that was of the bloud roiall, and a man of great power and luſtie courage. King Brightrike therefore to liue in more ſafetie, baniſhed him the land, and appointed him to go into France. Egbert vnderſtanding certeinlie that this his departure into a forreine countrie ſhould aduance him in time, obeied the kings pleaſure.

Egbert baniſhed.

About the third yeere of Brightrikes reigne, there fell vpon mens garments, as they walked abroad, croſſes of bloudie colour, and bloud fell from heauen as drops of raine. Some tooke this wonder for a ſignification of the perſecution that followed by the Danes: for ſhortlie after, in the yeere inſuing, there arriued three Daniſh ſhips vpon the Engliſh coaſts, againſt whome the lieutenant of the parties adioining made forth, to apprehend thoſe that were come on land, howbeit aduenturing himſelfe ouer raſhlie amongſt them, he was ſlaine: but afterwards when the Danes perceiued that the people of the countries about began to aſſemble, and were comming againſt them, they fled to their ſhips, and left their prey and ſpoile behind them for that time. Theſe were the firſt Danes that arriued here in this land, being onelie ſent (as was perceiued after) to view the countrie and coaſts of the ſame, to vnderſtand how with a greater power they might be able to inuade it, as ſhortlie after they did, and warred ſo with the Engliſhmen, that they got a great part of the land, and held it in their owne poſſeſſion. In the tenth yeere of king Brightrikes reigne, there were ſeene in the aire firie dragons flieng, which betokened (as was thought) two grieuous plagues that followed. Firſt a great dearth and famine: and ſecondlie a cruell war of the Danes, which ſhortlie followed, as ye ſhall heare.

A ſtrange wonder.

Matt. Weſt. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Danes.

Famine ſignified.

Finallie, after that Brightrike had reigned the space of 16 yéeres, he departed this life, and was buried at Warham. Some write that he was poisoned by his wife Ethelburga daughter vnto Offa king of Mercia (as before ye haue heard) and he maried hir in the fourth yere of his reigne. She is noted by writers to haue bin a verie euill woman, proud, and high-minded as Lucifer, and therewith disdainfull. She bare hir the more statelie, by reason of hir fathers great fame and magnificence: whome she hated she would accuse to hir husband, and so put them in danger of their liues. And if she might not so wreake hir rancour, she would not sticke to poison them.

Ran. Cest. lib. 5. cap 25. Brightrike departed this life.

Ethelburga hir conditions and wicked nature.

It happened one day, as she meant to haue poisoned a yong gentleman, against whome she had a quarell, the king chanced to tast of that cup, and died thereof (as before ye haue heard.) Hir purpose indeed was not to haue poisoned the king, but onelie the yong gentleman, the which drinking after the king, died also, the poison was so strong and vehement. For hir heinous crime it is said that the kings of the West saxons would not suffer their wiues to be called queenes, nor permit them to sit with them in open places (where their maiesties should bee shewed) manie yéeres after. Ethelburga fearing punishment, fled into France with great riches and treasure, & was well cherished in the court of king Charles at the first, but after she was thrust into an abbeie, and demeaned hirselfe so lewdlie there, in keeping companie with one of hir owne countriemen, that she was banished the house, and after died in great miserie.

A decrée of the kings of the west saxons against their wiues.

The end of Ethelburga. Simon Dun.

Egbert king of Mercia departing this life, after he had reigned foure moneths, ordeined his cosine Kenulfe to succeed in his place, which Kenulfe was come of the line of Penda king of Mercia, as rightlie descended from his brother Kenwalke. This Kenulfe for his noble courage, wisedome, and vpright dealing, was worthie to be compared with the best princes that haue reigned. His vertues passed his fame: nothing he did that enuie could with iust cause reproue. At home he shewed himselfe godlie and religious, in warre he became victorious, he restored the archbishops sée againe to Canturburie, wherein his humblenes was to be praised, that made no account of worldlie honour in his prouince, so that the order of the ancient canons might be obserued. He had wars left him as it were by succession from his predecessour Offa against them of Kent, and therupon entring that countrie with a mightie armie, wasted and spoiled the same, and encountering in battell with king Edbert or Ethelbert, otherwise called Prenne, ouerthrew his armie, and tooke him prisoner in the field, but afterwards he released him to his great praise and commendation. For whereas he builded a church at Winchcombe, vpon the day of the dedication thereof, he led the Kentish king as then his prisoner, vp to the high altar, and there set him at libertie, declaring thereby a great proofe of of his good nature.

Wil. Malm. Kenulfe.

The archbishops sée restored to Canturburie.

The king of Kent taken prisoner.

There were present at that sight, Cuthred whom he had made king of Kent in place of Ethelbert, or Edbert, with 13 bishops, and 10 dukes. The noise that was made of the people in reioising at the kings bountious liberalitie was maruellous. For not onelie he thus restored the Kentish king to libertie, but also bestowed great rewards vpon all the prelates and noble men that were come to the feast, euerie priest had a peece of gold, and euerie monke a shilling. Also he dealt and gaue away great gifts amongst the people, and founded in that place an abbeie, indowing the same with great possessions. Finallie, after he had reigned 24 yéeres, he departed this life, and appointed his buriall to be in the same abbeie of Winchcombe, leauing behind him a sonne named Kenelme, who succeeded his father in the kingdome, but was sone murthered by his vnnaturall sister Quendred, the 17 of Julie, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Kenulfs liberalitie towards church men which was not forgotten by them in their histories.

Ofrike king of Northumberland leaueth the kingdome to Edelbert reuoked out of exile, king Alfwalds sons miserablie slaine, *Ofred is put to death, Ethelbert putteth away his* wife and marieth another, his people rise against *him therefore and kill him, Oswald succeeding him is driuen* out of the land; Ardulfe king of Northumberland, duke Wade raiseth warre against him and is discomfited; duke Aldred is slaine; a sore battell fought in Northumberland, the English men afflict one another with ciuill warres; king Ardulfe deposed from his estate; the regiment of the Northumbers refused as dangerous and deadlie by destinie, what befell them in lieu of their disloialtie; the Danes inuade their land and are vanquished; the roiall race of the Kentish kings decaieth, the state of that kingdome; the primasie restored to the see of Canturburie, Egbert (after the death of Britricus) is sent for to vndertake the gouernement of the Westsaxons, his linage.

The English men afflicted each other with ciuill warre.

## The eight Chapter.

WHen Aswald king of Northumberland was made away, his brother Osred the sonne of Alred toke vpon him the rule of that kingdom anno 788, and within one yeere was expelled, and left the kingdome to Ethelbert or Edelred as then reuoked out of exile, in which he had remained for the space of 12 yéeres, and now being restored, he continued in gouernement of the Northumbers 4 yéeres, or (as some say) 7 yéeres; in the second yéere whereof duke Eardulfe was taken and led to Ripon, and there without the gate of the monasterie wounded (as was thought) to death by the said king, but the monks taking his bodie, and laieng it in a tent without the church, after midnight he was found aliue in the church.

*Osred.* 788. Wil. Malm. Matth. Wel. Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun.

Duke Ard taken and wounded.

Moreouer, about the same time the sonnes of king Alfwald were by force drawne out of the citie of Yorke, but first by a wile they were trained out of the head church where they had taken sanctuarie, and so at length miserablie slaine by king Ethelbert in Wonwaldremere, one of them was named Alfus, & the other Alfwin. In the yéere of our Lord 792, Osred vpon trust of the othes and promises of diuerse noble men, secretlie returned into Northumberland, but his owne souldiers forsoke him, and so was he taken, and by king Ethelberts commandement put to death at Cunburge on the 14 day of September. 791

This chanced in the yeere of our Lord 790, as Simon Dun. saith.

The same yéere king Ethelbert maried the ladie Alfled the daughter of Offa king of Mercia, forsaking his former wife which he had, & hauing no iust cause of diuorce giuen on hir part, wherby his people toke such displeasure against him, that finallie after he had reigned now this second time 4 yéeres, or (as other say) seuen yéeres, he could not auoid the destinie of his predecessors, but was miserablie killed by his owne subiects at Cobre, the 18 day of Aprill. After whome, one Oswald a noble man was ordeined king, and within 27 or 28 daies after was expelled, and constreined to flie first into the Ile of Lindisferne, and from thence vnto the king of Picts.

The Danes inuade Northumberland.

Then Ardulfe that was a duke and sonne to one Arnulfe was reuoked out of exile, made king, & consecrated also at Yorke by the archbishop Cumbald, and

The Danes banquished. This was in anno 794. as Simon Dun. saith.

Ardulfe K.

and three other biſhops, the 25 of June, in the yeere
796 396. About two yeeres after, to wit, in the yeere 798, one duke Wade, and other conſpirators which had beene alſo partakers in the murthering of king Ethelbert, raiſed warre againſt king Ardulfe, and fought a battell with him at Walleg, but king Ardulfe got the vpper hand, and chaſed Wade and other his enimies out of the field. In the yeere 799, duke Aldred that had murthered Ethelbert or Athelred king of Northumberland, was ſlaine by another duke called Thorthmond, in reuenge of the death of his maiſter the ſaid Ethelbert. Shortlie after, about the ſame time that Brightrike king of Weſtſarons departed this life, there was a ſore battell fought-ten in Northumberland at Wellehare, in the which Alricke the ſonne of Herbert, and manie other with him were ſlaine: but to rehearſe all the battels with their ſucceſſes and iſſues, it ſhould be to tedious and irkeſome to the readers, for the Engliſh people being naturallie hard and high-minded, continuallie ſcourged each other with inteſtine warres. About ſix or ſeuen yeeres after this battell, king Ardulfe was expelled out of the ſtate.

walleg. 799

The Engliſh men afflicted each other with ciuill warre.

¶ Thus ye may conſider in what plight things ſtood in Northumberland, by the often ſeditions, tumults and changings of gouernors, ſo that there be which haue written, how after the death of king Ethelbert, otherwiſe called Edelred, diuers biſhops and other of the chiefeſt nobles of the countrie diſdaining ſuch traitorous prince-killings, ciuill ſeditions, and iniurious dealings, as it were put in dailie practiſe amongſt the Northumbers, departed out of their natiue borders into voluntarie exile, and that from thenceforth there was not anie of the nobilitie that durſt take vpon him the kinglie gouernement amongſt them, fearing the fatall prerogatiue thereof, as if it had beene Seians horſſe, whoſe rider came euer to ſome euill end. But yet by that which is heeretofore ſhewed out of Simon Dunelm. it is euident, that there reigned kings ouer the Northumbers, but in what authoritie and power to command, it may be doubted.

Howbeit this is certeine, that the ſundrie murtherings and baniſhments of their kings and dukes giue vs greatlie to geſſe, that there was but ſorie obedience vſed in the countrie, whereby for no ſmall ſpace of time that kingdome remained without an head gouernor, being ſet open to the prey and iniurie of them that were borderers vnto it, and likewiſe vnto ſtrangers. For the Danes, which in thoſe dates were great rouers, had landed before in the north parts, & ſpoiled the abbeie of Lindiſſerne otherwiſe called holie Iland, and perceiuing the fruitfulneſſe of the countrie, and eaſineſſe for their people to inuade it (becauſe that through their priuate quarelling there was little publike reſiſtance to be looked for) at their comming home, entiſed their countriemen to make voiages into England, and ſo landing in Northumberland, did much hurt, and obteined a great part of the countrie in manner without reſiſtance, becauſe there was no ruler there able to raiſe anie power of men by publike authoritie to incounter with the common enimies, whereby the countrie was brought into great miſerie, partlie with war of the Danes, and ciuill diſſention amongeſt the nobles and people themſelues, no man being of authoritie (I ſay) able to reforme ſuch miſorders. Yet we find that the nobles and capteines of the countrie aſſembling togither at one time againſt the Danes that were landed about Tinmouth, conſtreined them by ſharpe fight to flee backe to their ſhips, and toke certeine of them in the field, whoſe heads they ſtroke off there vpon the ſhore. The other that got to their ſhips, ſuffered great loſſe of men, and likewiſe of their veſſels by tempeſt.

This chanced in the yere of our Lord 790, as Simon Dun. ſaith.

The Danes inuade Northumberland.

The Danes banquiſhed. This was in anno 794. as Simon Dun. ſaith.

¶ Here then we are taught that the ſafeſt way to mainteine a monarchie, is when all degrees liue in loialtie. And that it is neceſſarie there ſhould be one ſupereminent, vnto whome all the reſidue ſhould ſtoope: this fraile bodie of ours may giue vs ſufficient inſtruction. For reaſon ruleth in the mind as ſouereigne, and hath ſubiect vnto it all the affections and inward motions, yea the naturall actions are directed by hir gouernement: whereto if the will be obedient there cannot creepe in anie outrage or diſorder. Such ſhould be the ſole regiment of a king in his kingdome; otherwiſe he may be called *Rex à regendo*, as *Mons à mouendo*. For there is not a greater enimie to that eſtate, than to admit participants in roialtie, which as it is a readie way to cauſe a ſubuerſion of a monarchie; ſo it is the ſhorteſt cut ouer to a diſordered anarchie. But to proceed in the hiſtorie.

After that Alrike (the laſt of king Witchtreds ſonnes, which reigned in Kent ſucceſſiuelie after their father) was dead, the noble offſpring of the kings there ſo decaied, and began to vade awaie, that euerie one which either by flattering had got riches togither, or by ſeditious partaking was had in eſtimation, ſought to haue the gouernement, and to vſurp the title of king, abuſing by vnworthie means the honor and dignitie of ſo high an office. Amongeſt others, one Edbert or Edelbert, ſurnamed alſo Prenne, gouerned the Kentiſhmen for the ſpace of two yeares, and was in the end vanquiſhed by them of Mercia, and taken priſoner, as before is ſaid: ſo that for a time he liued in captiuitie, and although afterwards he was ſet at libertie, yet was he not receiued againe to the kingdome, ſo that it is vncerteine what end he made. Cuthred that was appointed by Kinebulfe the king of Mercia, to reigne in place of the ſame Edbert or Edelbert, continued in the gouernement eight yeeres as king, rather by name than by act, inheriting his predeceſſors euill hap and calamitie, through factions and ciuill diſcord.

Edelbert.

After that Jambrith or Lambert the archbiſhop of Canturburie was departed this life, one Edelred was ordeined in his place, vnto whome the primaſie was reſtored, which in his predeceſſors time was taken awaie by Offa king of Mercia, as before is recited. Alſo after the death of Eubald archbiſhop of Yorke, another of the ſame name called Eubald the ſecond was admitted to ſucceed in that ſee. After that Brightrike the king of Weſtſarons was departed this life, meſſengers were ſent with all ſpeed into France, to giue knowledge thereof vnto Egbert, which as before is ſhewed, was conſtreined by the ſaid Brightrike to depart the countrie. At the firſt, he withdrew vnto Offa king of Mercia, with whome he remained for a time, till at length (through ſuit made by Brightrike) he perceiued he might not longer continue there without danger to be deliuered into his enimies hands; and ſo Offa winking at the matter, he departed out of his countrie, and got him ouer into France. But being now aduertiſed of Brightriks death, and required by earneſt letters ſent from his friends to come and receiue the gouernement of the kingdome, he returned with all conuenient ſpeed into his countrie, and was receiued immediatlie for king, by the generall conſent of the Weſtſarons, as well in reſpect of the good hope which they had conceiued of his worthie qualities and aptneſſe to haue gouernement, as of his roiall linage, being lineallie deſcended from Inigils the brother of king Inas, as ſonne to Alkemound, that was the ſonne of one Caffa, which Caffa was ſonne to Ope the ſonne of the foreſaid Inigils.

Lambert.

Egbert receiued a king of Weſtſaxons his linage.

Egbert reigneth ouer the Westsaxons, *his practise or exercise in the time of his* exile, his martiall exploits against the Cornish-*men and Welshmen, Bernulfe king of Mercia* taketh indignation at Egbert for the inlarging of his *roiall authoritie, they fight a sore battell, Egbert ouercom-* meth, great ods betweene their souldiers, bishop Alstan a warriour; Kent, Essex, Southerie, Sussex, and Eastangles subiect to Egbert; he killeth Bernulfe K. of Mercia, and conquereth the whole kingdome, Whitlafe the king thereof becommeth his tributarie, the Northumbers submit themselues to Egbert, he conquereth Northwales and the citie of Chester, he is crowned supreme gouernour of the whole land, when this Ile was called England, the Danes inuade the land, they discomfit Egberts host, the Welshmen ioine with the Danes against Egbert, they are both vanquished, Egbert dieth.

## *The ninth Chapter.*

*Egbert.*
802 as Simon Dunel. and M. W. hath noted but 801.

THis Egbert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 800, which was the 4 yeare almost ended, after that the emperour Eirine began the second time to rule the empire, and in the 24 yeare of the reigne of Charles the great king of France, which also was in the same yeare after he was made emperour of the west, and about the second yeare of Conwall king of Scots. Whilest this Egbert remained in exile, he turned his aduersaries into an occasion of his valiancie, as it had beene a grindstone to grind awaie and remoue the rust of sluggish slouthfulnes, in so much that hawnting the wars in France, in seruice of Charles the great, he atteined to great knowledge and experience, both in matters apperteining to the wars, and likewise to the well ordering of the common wealth in time of peace. The first wars that he toke in hand, after he had atteined to the kingdome, was against the Cornishmen, a remnant of the old Britains, whome he shortlie ouercame and subdued. Then he thought good to tame the vnquiet Welshmen, the which still were readie to moue rebellion against the Englishmen, as they that being vanquished, would not yet seeme to be subdued, wherefore about the 14 yeare of his reigne, he inuaded the countrie of Wales, and went through the same from east to west, not finding anie person that durst resist him.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

King Egbert hauing ouercome his enimies of Wales and Cornewall, began to grow in authoritie aboue all the other rulers within this land, in so much that euerie of them began to feare their owne estate, but namelie Bernulfe king of Mercia sore stomached the matter, as he that was wise, and of a lofttie courage, and yet doubted to haue to do with Egbert, who was knowen also to be a man both skilfull and valiant. At length yet considering with himselfe, that if his chance should be to speed well, so much the more should his praise be increased, he determined to attempt the fortune of warre, and therevpon intimated the same vnto Egbert; who supposing it should be a dishonor vnto him to giue place, boldlie prepared to meete Bernulfe in the field. Herevpon they incountred togither at Ellendon, & fought a sore battell, in the which a huge number of men were slaine, what on the one part, and on the other, but in the end the victorie remained with Egbert, although he had not the like host for number vnto Bernulfe, but he was a politike prince, and of great experience, hauing chosen his souldiers of nimble, leane, and hartie men; where Bernulfs souldiers (through long ease) were cowardlie persons, and ouercharged with flesh. The battell was fought in the yeare of our Lord 826.

Bernulf king of Mercia.

A battell fought at Ellendon.

Egbert wan the victorie.

Wil. Malm. 826

King Egbert hauing got this victorie, was aduanced into such hope, that he persuaded himselfe to be able without great adoo to ouercome the residue of his neighbours, whose estates he saw plainelie sore weakened and fallen into great decaie. Herevpon before all other, he determined to assaile Edelwulfe king of Kent, whome he knew to be a man in no estimation amongest his subiects. A competent armie therefore being leuied, he appointed his sonne Ethelwulfe & Alstan bishop of Shireborne, with earle Walhard to haue the conduct thereof, and sent them with the same into Kent, where they wrought such maisteries, that they chased both the king and all other that would not submit themselues, out of the countrie, constreining them to passe ouer the Thames. And herewith the Westsaxons following the victorie, brought vnder subiection of king Egbert the countries of Kent, Esser, Southerie, and Susser. The Eastangles also about the same time receiued king Egbert for their souereigne Lord, and comforted by his setting on against Bernulfe king of Mercia, inuaded the confines of his kingdome, in reuenge of displeasures which he had done to them latelie before, by inuading their countrie, and as it came to passe, incountring with the said Bernulfe which came against them to defend his countrie, they slue him in the field.

Alstan bishop of Shireborne a warrior.

The conquest of the westsaxons.

Henr. Hunt.

Bernulf king of Mercia slaine.

Thus their minds on both parts being kindled into further wrath, the Eastangles eftsoones in the yeare following fought with them of Mercia, and ouercame them againe, and slue their king Ludicenus, who succeeded Bernulfe in that kingdome, with 5 of his earles. The state of the kingdome of Mercia being weakened, Egbert conceiued an assured hope of good successe, & in the 27 yeare of his reigne, made an open inuasion into the countrie, and chasing Whitlafe king of Mercia (that succeeded Ludicenus) out of his estate, conquered the whole kingdome of the Mercies. But yet in the yeare next following, or in the third yeare after, he restored it againe to Whitlafe, with condition, that he should inioy the same as tributarie to him, and acknowledge him for his supreme gouernour. The same yeare that Bernulfe king of Mercia was slaine by the Eastangles, there was a sore battell foughten at Gauelford, betwixt them of Deuonshire, and the Britains, in the which manie thousands died on both parts.

Simon Dun.

There were the Cornishmen as is to be supposed.

King Egbert hauing conquered all the English people inhabiting on the south side of Humber, led forth his armie against them of Northumberland: but the Northumbers being not onelie vexed with ciuill sedition, but also with the often inuasion of Danes, perceiued not how they should be able to resist the power of king Egbert: and therefore vpon good aduisement taken in the matter, they resolued to submit themselues, and therevpon sent ambassadors to him to offer their submission, committing themselues wholie vnto his protection. King Egbert gladlie receiued them, and promised to defend them from all forren enimies. Thus the kingdome of Northumberland was brought vnder subiection to the kings of the Westsaxons, after the state had been sore weakened with contention and ciuill discord that had continued amongst the nobles of the countrie, for the space of manie yeeres, beside the inuasion made by outward enimies, to the greeuous damage of the people.

King Egbert inuadeth Northumberland.

The Northumbers submit themselues to king Egbert.

After that king Egbert had finished his businesse in Northumberland, he turned his power towards the countrie of Northwales, and subdued the same, with



Ran. Higd. Northwales and the citie of Chester conquered by Egbert.

The name of this Ile when it was changed.

The Danes.

The Englishmen discomfited by Danes. Simon Dun. H. Hunt. Matth. West. 834

Danes and Welshmen vanquished. 836 Matth. West.

Egbert departeth this life. 837 Matth. West.

Ran. Higd. Northwales and the citie of Chester conquered by Egbert.

with the citie of Chester, which till those daies, the Britains or Welshmen had kept in their possession. When king Egbert had obteined these victories, and made such conquests as before is mentioned, of the people here in this land, he caused a councell to be assembled at Winchester, and there by aduise of the high estates, he was crowned king, as souereigne gouernour and supreame lord of the whole land. It is also recorded, that he caused a commission to be directed forth into all parts of the realme, to giue commandement, that from thence forward all the people inhabiting within this land, should be called English men, and not Saxons, and likewise the land should be called England by one generall name, though it should appere (as before is mentioned) that it was so called shortlie after the first time that the Angles and Saxons got possession thereof.

The name of this Ile when it was changed.

Now was king Egbert setled in good quiet, and his dominions reduced out of the troubles of warre, when suddenlie newes came, that the Danes with a nauie of 35 ships, were arriued on the English coasts, and began to make sore warre in the land. K. Egbert being thereof aduertised, with all conuenient spéd got togither an armie, and went forth to giue battell to the enimies. Herevpon incountring with them, there was a sore foughten field betwixt them, which continued with great slaughter on both sides, till the night came on, and then by chance of warre the Englishmen, which before were at point to haue gone awaie with victorie, were vanquished and put to flight, yet king Egbert by couert of the night escaped his enimies hands: but two of his chiefe capteins Dudda and Osmond, with two bishops, to wit, Herferd of Winchester, and Higferd of Shireborne, were slaine in that battell, which was foughten at Carrum, about the 834 of Christ, and 34 yere of king Egberts reigne.

The Danes.

The Englishmen discomfited by Danes.

Simon Dun. H. Hunt. Matth. West.

834

In the yere following, the Danes with their nauie came into Westwales, and there the Welshmen ioining with them, rose against king Egbert, but he with prosperous fortune vanquished and slue both the Danes and Welshmen, and that in great number, at a place called Hengistenton. The nert yere after also, which was 836, he ouerthrew another armie of Danes which came against him, as one author writeth. Finallie, when king Egbert had reigned the tearme of 36 yeres and seuen moneths with great glorie for the inlarging of his kingdome with wide bounds, which when he receiued was but of small compasse, he departed this life, leauing to his issue matter of worthie praise to mainteine that with order which he with painefull diligence had ioined togither. His bodie was buried at Winchester, and he left behind him two sonnes Ethelwulfe, otherwise named Athaulfe and Adelstan. The first he appointed to succeed him in the kingdome of Westsaxons, and Adelstan he ordeined to haue the gouernment of Kent, Suller, and Esser.

Danes and welshmen vanquished.

836

Matth. West.

Egbert departeth this life.

837

Matth. West.

¶ Here we see the paterne of a fortunate prince in all his affaires, as well forren as domesticall, wherein is first to be obserued the order of his education in his tender yeres, which agreeing well with a princes nature, could not but in the progresse of his age bring great matters to passe, his manifold victories are an argument that as he lacked no policie, so he had prowesse inough to incounter with his enimies, to whome he gaue manie a foule discomfiture. But among all other notes of his skill and hope of happie successe in his martiall affaires, was the good choise that he made of seruiceable souldiers, being such as knew how to get the victorie, and hauing gotten it, were not vntaught to vse it to their benefit, by their warinesse and heedtaking; for

*Sæpius incautæ nocuit victoria turbæ.*

## The kingdome of Kent annexed to the *kingdome of the Westsaxons, the end of the* kingdome of Kent and Essex; Kenelme king of *Mercia murthered by the meanes of his owne sis-* ter Quendred, the order of hir wicked practise; his *death prophesied or foreshewed by a signe, the kings of Mercia* put by their roialtie one after another, the kingdome of Britaine beginneth to be a monarchie; Ethelwulfe king of the Westsaxons, he marrieth his butlers daughter, his disposition; the fourth destruction of this land by forren enimies, the Danes sought the ruine of this Ile, how long they afflicted and troubled the same; two notable bishops and verie seruiceable to king Ethelwulfe in warre, the Danes discomfited, the Englishmen chased, Ethelwulfs great victorie ouer the Danes, a great slaughter of them at Tenet, king Ethelwulfs deuotion and liberalitie to churches, Peter pence paid to Rome, he marieth the ladie Iudith, his two sonnes conspire (vpon occasion of breaking a law) to depose him, king Ethelwulfe dieth, his foure sonnes by his first wife Osburga, how he bequeathed his kingdoms.

## *The tenth Chapter.*

Wil. Malm.

When Cuthred K. of Kent had reigned 8 yeres, as before is mentioned, he was constreined to giue place vnto one Baldred, that toke vpon him the gouernment, & reigned the space of 18 yeres, without anie great authoritie, for his subiects regarded him but soorlie, so that in the end, when his countrie was inuaded by the Westsaxons, he was easilie constreined to depart into exile. And thus was the kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Westsaxons, after the same kingdome had continued in gouernment of kings created of the same nation for the space of 382 yeers, that is to say, from the yere of our Lord 464, vnto the yere 827. Suithred or Suthred king of Esser was vanquished and expelled out of his kingdome by Egbert king of Westsaxons (as before ye maie read) in the same yere that the Kentishmen were subdued by the said Egbert, or else verie shortlie after. This kingdome continued 281 yeres, from the yere 614, vnto the yeere 795, as by the table of the Heptarchie set forth by Alexander Neuill appereth. After the decease of Kenwulfe king of Mercia, his sonne Kenelme a child of the age of seuen yeres was admitted king, about the yere of our Lord 821. He had two sisters, Quendred and Burgenild, of the which the one (that is to say) Quendred, of a malicious mind, moued through ambition, enuied hir brothers aduancement, and sought to make him awaie, so that in the end she corrupted the gouernour of his person one Alhbert, with great rewards and high promises persuading him to dispatch hir innocent brother out of life, that she might reigne in his place. Alhbert one day vnder a colour to haue the yong king forth on hunting, led him into a thicke wood, and there cut off the head from his bodie, an impe by reason of his tender yeeres and innocent age, vnto the world void of gilt, and yet thus traitorouslie murthered without cause or crime: he was afterward reputed for a maryr.

The end of the kingdome of Kent.

827

The end of the kingdome of Esser.

The wickednes of Quendred.

Matt. Westm.

821

King Kenelm murthered.

There hath gone a tale that his death should be signified at Rome, and the place where the murther was committed, by a strange manner: for (as they say) a white doue came and lighted vpon the altar of saint Peter, bearing a scroll in hir bill, which she let fall on the same altar, in which scroll among other things this was conteined, In clenc kou bath, Kenelme kinbarne lieth vnder thorne, heaued bereaued: that is, at Clenc in a cow pasture, Kenelme the kings child lieth beheaded vnder a thorne. This tale

*See legenda aurea. fol. 165. in the life of S. Kenelme.*

I rehearse, not for anie credit I thinke it worthie of, but onelie for that it séemeth to note the place where the yong prince innocentlie lost his life.

Ceolwulfe K. of Mercia. 823

After that Kenelme was thus made awaie, his vncle Ceolwulfe the brother of king Kenulfe was created king of Mercia, and in the second yéere of his reigne was expelled by Bernwulfe. Bernwulfe in the third yéere of his reigne, was vanquished and put to flight in battell by Egbert king of Westsarons, and shortlie after slaine of the Eastangles, as before ye haue heard. Then one Ludicenus or Ludicanus was created king of Mercia, and within two yéeres after came to the like end that happened to his predecessor before him, as he went about to reuenge his death, so that the kingdome of Britaine began now to réele from their owne estate, and leane to an alteration, which grew in the end to the erection of a perfect monarchie, and finall subuersion of their particular estates and regiments. After Ludicenus, succéeded Wightlafe, who first being vanquisht by Egbert king of Westsarons, was afterwards restored to the kingdome by the same Egbert, and reigned 13 yéeres, whereof twelue at the least were vnder tribute which he paied to the said Egbert and to his sonne, as to his souereignes and supreame gouernours. The kingdome of Northumberland was brought in subiection to the kings of Westsarons, as before is mentioned, in the yéere of our Lord 828, and in the yéere of the reigne of king Egbert 28, but yet héere it toke not end, as after shall appéere.

Matt. Westm. 728

828

*Ethelwulfus.*

Ethelwulfus, otherwise called by some writers Athaulfus, began his reigne ouer the Westsarons in the yéere 837, which was in the 24 yéere of the emperor Ludouicus Pius that was also K. of France, in the tenth yéere of Theophilus the emperor of the East, & about the third yéere of Kenneth, the second of that name king of Scots. This Ethelwulfe minding in his youth to haue béene a priest, entered into the orders of subdeacon, and as some write, he was bishop of Winchester: but howsoeuer the matter stood, or whether he was or not, sure it is, that shortlie after he was absolued of his vowes by authoritie of pope Leo, and then maried a proper gentlewoman named Osburga, which was his butlers daughter. He was of nature courteous, and rather desirous to liue in quiet rest, than to be troubled with the gouernment of manie countries, so that contenting himselfe with the kingdome of Westsarons, he permitted his brother Adelstan to inioy the residue of the countries which his father had subdued, as Kent and Esser, with other. He aided Burthred the king of Mercia against the Welshmen, and greatlie aduanced his estimation, by giuing vnto him his daughter in mariage.

Henrie Hunt. Matth. West.

Wil. Malm.

*Foure especiall destructions of this land.*

But now the fourth destruction which chanced to this land by forren enimies, was at hand: for the people of Denmarke, Norway, and other of those northeast regions, which in that season were great rouers by sea, had tasted the wealth of this land by such spoiles and preies as they had taken in the same, so that perceiuing they could not purchase more profit anie where else, they set their minds to inuade the same on ech side, as they had partlie begun in the daies of the late kings Brightrike and Egbert. The persecution vsed by these Danes séemed more gréeuous, than anie of the other persecutions, either before or sithens that time: for the Romans hauing quicklie subdued the land, gouerned it noblie without séeking the subuersion thereof. The Scots and Picts onelie inuaded the north parts. And the Saxons séeking the conquest of the land, when they had once got it, they kept it, and did what they could, to better and aduance it to a flourishing estate.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

The Normans likewise hauing made a conquest, granted both life, libertie, and ancient lawes to the former inhabitants: but the Danes long time and often assailing the land on euerie side, now inuading it in this place, and now in that, did not at the first so much couet to conquer it, as to spoile it, nor to beare rule in it, as to waste and destroie it: who if they were at anie time ouercome, the victors were nothing the more in quiet: for a new navie, and a greater armie was readie to make some new invasion, neither did they enter all at one place, nor at once, but one companie on the east side, and an other in the west, or in the north and south coasts, in such sort, that the Englishmen knew not whether they should first go to make resistance against them.

The Danes fought the destruction of this land.

This mischiefe began chiefflie in the daies of this king Ethelwulfe, but it continued about the space of two hundred yéeres, as by the sequele of this booke it shall appéere. King Ethelwulfe was not so much giuen to ease, but that vpon occasion for defense of his countrie and subiects, he was readie to take order for the beating backe of the enimies, as occasion serued, and specially chose such to be of his counsell, as were men of great experience and wisedome. Amongst other, there were two notable prelats, Swithune bishop of Winchester, and Adelstan bishop of Shireborne, who were readie euer to giue him good aduise. Swithune was not so much expert in worldlie matters as Adelstan was, & therefore chiefflie counselled the king in things apperteining to his soules health: but Adelstan toke in hand to order matters apperteining to the state of the commonwealth, as prouiding of monie, and furnishing forth of men to withstand the Danes, so that by him manie things were both boldlie begun, and happilie atchiued, as by writers hath béene recorded. He gouerned the sée of Shireborne the space of 50 yéeres, by the good counsell and faithfull aduise of those two prelats.

How long the persecution of the Danes lasted.

Will. Malm.

Two notable bishops in Ethelwulfs daies.

King Ethelwulfe gouerned his subiects verie politikelie, and by himselfe and his capteins oftentimes put the Danes to flight, though as chance of warre falleth out, he also receiued at their hands great losses, and sundrie sore detriments. In the first yéere of his reigne, the Danes arriued at Hampton, with 33 ships, against whome he sent earle Wulhard with part of his armie, the which giuing battell to the enimies, made great slaughter of them, and obteined a noble victorie. He sent also earle Adelhelme with the Dorsetshire men against an other number of the Danes, which were landed at Portesmouth, but after long fight, the said Adelhelme was slaine, and the Danes obteined the victorie. In the yéere following, earle Herbert fought against the Danes at Persewar, and was there slaine, and his men chased. The same yéere, a great armie of Danes passing by the east parts of the land, as through Lindsey, Eastangle, and Kent, slue and murthered an huge number of people. The next yéere after this, they entered further into the land, and about Canturburie, Rochester, and London, did much mischiefe.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Danes discomfited. Matth. West.

Englishmen put to flight.

They ouercame diuerse battels.

King Ethelwulfe in the fift yéere of his reigne, with a part of his armie incountred with the Danes at Carrum, the which were arriued in those parties with 30 ships, hauing their full fraught of men, so that for so small a number of vessels, there was a great power of men of warre, in so much that they obteined the victorie at that time, and put the king to the worse. About the tenth yéere of king Ethelwulfs reigne, one of his capteins called Ernwulfe, and bishop Adelstan, with the Summersetshire men, and an other capteine called Osred, with the Dorsetshire men, fought against the Danes, at a place called Pedredesmuth, and vanquished them with great triumph. In the sirtenth yéere of his reigne, king Ethelwulfe and his sonne Edelbald hauing assembled all

Carrum.

The Danes swam the riuer in battell. Danes ouercome. Simon Dun. 851

all their powers togither, gaue battell at Ockley, to an huge host of Danes, the which with foure hundred and fiftie ships had arriued at Thames mouth, and destroied the famous cities of London and Canturburie, and also had chased Brightwulfe king of Mercia in battell, and being now entered into Southerie, were incountered by king Ethelwulfe at Ockley aforesaid, & after long fight and incredible slaughter made on both sides, in the end, the victorie by the power of God was giuen to those that beléeued on him, and the losse rested with great confusion to the miscreants.

Ockley.

Two hundred and fiftie ships saith H. Hunt.

Thus king Ethelwulfe obteined a glorious victorie in so mightie a battell, as a greater had not béene lightlie heard of to chance within the English dominions. The same yéere also Athelstan king of Kent and duke Ealhere fought by sea with the Danes, and tooke 9 of their ships, and chased the residue. Moreouer, one earle Ceorle hauing with him the power of Deuonshire, fought with the Danes at Winlesbore, and got the victorie. This yéere was verie luckie to the English nation, but yet the armie of the Danes lodged all the winter season in the Ile of Tenet. And this was the first time that they remained héere all the winter, vsing afore time but to come and make an inuasion in one place or other, and immediatlie to returne home with the prey.

The Danes ekthones banquished.

Danes ouercome by sea.

The Deuonshire men banquish the Danes.

In the 18 yéere of king Ethelwulfes reigne, he aided Burthred king of Mercia against the Welshmen (as before is mentioned) and gaue to him his daughter in marriage, the solemnization whereof was kept at Chipnham. The same yéere king Ethelwulfe sent his sonne Alured as then but fiue yéeres of age to Rome, where he was consecrated k. by pope Leo the fourth, and was receiued of him as if he had béene his owne sonne. Duke Ealhere or Eachere with the Kentishmen, and one Huda or rather Wada, with the men of Southerie, fought against the armie of Danes at Tenet, where great slaughter was made on both sides, the Englishmen preuailing in the beginning, but in the end, both their foresaid dukes or leaders died in that battell, beside manie other that were slaine and drowned.

Simon Dun. 852

Great slaughter of Danes at Tenet.

In the 19 yéere of his reigne, king Ethelwulfe ordeined that the tenths or tithes of all lands due to be paid to the church, should be free from all tribute, duties, or seruices regall. And afterwards, with great deuotion he went to Rome, where he was receiued with great honour, and taried there one whole yéere: he tooke with him his sonne Alured, who had béene there before as ye haue heard. He repaired the Saxons schole, which Offa king of Mercia had sometime founded in that citie, and latelie had béene sore decaied by fire. He confirmed the grant of Peter pence, to the intent that no Englishmen from thence-forth should do penance in bounds as he saw some there to do before his face. It is also written, that he should acquit all the churches of his realme of paieng tribute to his coffers (as before ye haue heard) & moreouer couenanted to send vnto Rome euerie yéere three hundred marks, that is to say, one hundred marks to saint Peters church, an other hundred marks to saint Paules light, and the third hundred marks to the Pope.

The Saxons schole.

King Ethelwulfs liberalitie to churches. Will. Malmes. Simon Dun. Marianus.

In his returne thorough France, he married the ladie Judith, daughter to Charles the bald, then k. of France, and bringing hir with him into his countrie, placed hir by him in a chaire of estate, with which déed he offended so the minds of his subiects, because it was against the order taken before him, for the offense of Ethelburga, that his sonne Ethelbald and Adelstan bishop of Shireborne, with Enwulfe earle of Summerset, conspired to depose him from his kinglie authoritie; but by mediation of friends, the matter was taken vp, and so ordered, that the kingdome was diuided betwixt the father and the sonne, with such partialitie, that the sonne had the better part lieng westward, and the father was constreined to content himselfe with the east part being the worst.

The ladie Judith.

Wil. Malm.

Of this trouble of Ethelwulfe some write otherwise, after this manner word for word. ¶ Ethelwulfe king of the West Saxons being returned from Rome & the parties beyond the seas, was prohibited the entrance into his realme by Adelstane bishop of Shireborne, and Ethelbald his eldest sonne; pretending outwardlie the coronation of Alstride, the marriage of Judith the French kings daughter, and open eating with hir at the table, to be the onelie cause of this their manifest rebellion. Whereby he séemeth to inferre, that this reuolting of Adelstane and his son, should proceed of the ambitious desire of Ethelbald to reigne, and likelie inough, or else this vnequall partition should neuer haue béene made.

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But howsoeuer the matter stood, king Ethelwulfe liued not long after his returne from Rome, but departed this life, after he had ruled the kingdome of the West Saxons the space of 20 yéeres and od moneths. His bodie was buried at Winchester. He left behind him foure sonnes, Ethelbald, Ethelbert or Ethelbright, Ethelred, and Alfred or Alured, which was begotten of his first wife Osburga. A little before his death he made his testament and last will, appointing his sonne Ethelbald to succéed him in the whole regiment of his kingdoms of Westsex and Sussex, which he held by inheritance: but the kingdoms of Kent and Essex he assigned to his son Ethelbright. About the same time also the Danes soiourned all the winter season in the Ile of Sheppie.

Onelie westsex saith Mat. Westm. and Sim. Dunel. saith that Ethelbright had Sussex also, and so doth H. Hunt.

¶ The old Saxons doo bring the genealogie of this Ethelwulfe to Adam, after this maner following. Matth. Paris.

Ethelwulfe the sonne of Egbert,

| | |
|---|---|
| the son of Alemund, | the son of Frethelwold, |
| the son of Eafta, | the son of Freolaffe, |
| the son of Eopa, | the son of Frethelwolfe, |
| the son of Ingils, | the son of Finnie, |
| the son of Benred, | the son of Godulfe, |
| the son of Coelwald, | the son of *Geta, |
| the son of Cudwine, | the son of Teathwie, |
| the son of Ceawlin, | the son of Beame, |
| the son of Kenric, | the son of Sceldie, |
| the son of Cerdic, | the son of Seafe, |
| the son of Elfie, | the son of Heremod, |
| the son of Gewise, | the son of Itermod, |
| the son of Wingie, | the son of Hordie, |
| the son of Freawin, | the son of Wale, |
| the son of Fridagare, | the son of Bedwie, |
| the son of Brendie, | the son of Sem, |
| the son of Beldegie, | the son of Noah, |
| the son of Woden, | and so forth to Adam, as |

*De quo Sedulius in car. paſch.

you shall find it by retrogradation from the 32 verse vnto the first of the fift chapter of Genesis. Which genealogicall recapitulation in their nationall families and tribes, other people also haue obserued; as the Spaniards, who reckon their descent from Hesperus, before the Gothes and Moors ouerran their land; the Italians from Aeneas, before they were mingled with the Vandals and Lumbards; the Saxons from Woden, before they were mixed with the Danes and Normans; the Frenchmen at this day from the Thracians; the Germans from the children of Gwiston; and other people from their farre fetcht ancestrie. To conclude, of this Ethelwulfe it is written, that he was so well learned & deuout, that the clerks of the church of Winchester did chuse him in his youth to be bishop, which function he vndertooke, and was bishop of the said see by the space of seuen yéeres before he was king.

John Castor. Simon Dun Matt. Parker. A kings son and heire a bishop.

Bertwolfe

Bertwolfe king of Mercia tributarie to *the Westsaxons, the fame of Modwen an* Irish virgine, she was a great builder of monasteries, *she had the gift of healing diseases, Ethel*bald and Ethelbright diuide their fathers kingdome *betwixt them, Ethelbald marieth his mother, he dieth, Win*chester destroied by the Danes, they plaied the trucebreakers and did much mischiefe in Kent, Ethelbright dieth; Ethelred king of the Westsaxons, his commendable qualities, his regiment was full of trouble, he fought against the Danes nine times in one yere with happie successe, the kings of Mercia fall from their fealtie and allegiance to Ethelred, Hungar & Ybba two Danish capteines with their power lie in Eastangle, Osbright and Ella kings of Northumberland slaine of the Danes in battell, they set Yorke on fire, a commendation of bishop Adelstan, his departure out of this life.

## *The eleuenth Chapter.*

Bertwolfe. of Mercia.

After Wightlafe king of Mercia, one Bertwolfe reigned as tributarie vnto the Westsaxons, the space of 13 yæres, about the end of which tearme he was chased out of his countrie by the Danes, and then one Burthred was made king of that kingdome, which maried Ethelswida the sister of Ethelwolfe king of Westsaxons. In this season, one Modwen a virgine in Ireland was greatlie renowmed in the world, vnto whome the forenamed king Ethelwolfe sent his sonne Alfred to be cured of a disease, that was thought incurable: but by hir meanes he recouered health, and therefore when hir monasterie was destroied in Ireland, Modwen came ouer into England, vnto whom king Ethelwolfe gaue land to build two abbeies, and also deliuered vnto hir his sister Edith to be professed a nun. Modwen herevpon built two monasteries, one at Pouleswoorth, ioining to the bounds of Arderne, wherein she placed the foresaid Edith, with Osith and Athea: the other, whether it was a monasterie or cell, she founded in Strenshall or Trentsall, where she hir selfe remained solitarie a certeine time in praier, and other vertuous exercises. And (as it is reported) she went thrice to Rome, and finallie died, being 130 yæres of age. Hir bodie was first buried in an Iland compassed about with the riuer of Trent called Andresey, taking that name of a church or chappell of saint Andrew, which she had built in the same Iland, and dwelled therein for the space of seuen yæres. Manie monasteries she builded, both in England (as partlie aboue is mentioned) and also in Scotland, as at Striueling, Edenbrough; and in Ireland, at Telesseline, and elsewhere.

Matth. West. saith the daughter. Ranulf. Cest. Iohn Capgraue.

*Ethelbald and Ethelbright.* 857

Ethelbald and Ethelbright diuiding their fathers kingdom betwixt them, began to reigne, Ethelbald ouer the Westsaxons and the Southsaxons, and Ethelbright ouer them of Kent and Esser, in the yeere of our Lord 857, which was in the second yeere of the emperor Lewes the second, & the 17 of Charles surnamed Caluus or the bald king of France, and about the first yeere of Donald the fift of that name king of Scots. The said Ethelbald greatlie to his reproch toke to wife his mother in law queene Iudith, or rather (as some write) his owne mother, whom his father had kept as concubine. He liued not past fiue yæres in gouernement of the kingdome, but was taken out of this life to the great sorrow of his subiects whome he ruled right worthilie, and so as they had him in great loue and estimation. Then his brother Ethelbright toke on him the rule of the whole gouernment, as well ouer the Westsaxons & them of Sussex, as ouer the Kentishmen and them of Esser.

The vnlawful mariage of Ethelbald. Wil. Malm.

In his daies the Danes came on land, and destroied the citie of Winchester: but duke Osrike with them of Hamshire, and duke Adelwolfe with the Barkeshire men gaue the enimies battell, & vanquishing them, slue of them a great number. In the fift yeere of Ethelbrights reigne, a navie of Danes arriued in the Ile of Tenet, vnto whome when the Kentishmen had promised a summe of monie to haue a truce granted for a time, the Danes one night, before the tearme of that truce was expired, brake forth and wasted all the east part of Kent: whereupon the Kentishmen assembled togither, made towardes those trucebreakers, and caused them to depart out of the countrie. The same yeere, after that Ethelbright had ruled well and peaceably the Westsaxons fiue yæres, and the Kentishmen ten yeeres, he ended his life, and was buried at Shireborne, as his brother Ethelbald was before him.

Hen. Hunt. Winchestr destroied by Danes.

Danes vanquished.

*Ethelred.* 867

After Ethelbright succeeded his brother Ethelred, and began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons and the more part of the English people, in the yeere of our Lord 867, and in the 12 yeere of the emperour Lewes, in the 27 yeere of the reigne of Charles Caluus king of France, and about the 6 yeere of Constantine the second king of Scots. Touching this Ethelred, he was in time of peace a most courteous prince, and one that by all kind of meanes sought to win the hearts of the people: but abroad in the warres he was sharpe and sterne, as he that vnderstood what apperteined to good order, so that he would suffer no offense to escape vnpunished. By which meanes he was famous both in peace and warres: but he neither liued any long time in the gouernement, nor yet was suffered to passe the short space that he reigned in rest and quietnesse.

Hen. Hunt. King Osbright deposed and Ella placed.

Osbright and Ella kings of Northumberland slaine.

It must be vpon the 10 kalends of April, or else it will not concurre with Palmsunday. See Mat. West.

Yorke burnt by Danes.

Foure yæres six moneths saith Harison. Wil. Malm. Ethelred fought with the Danes nine times in one yeere.

For whereas he reigned not past six yeeres, he was continuallie during that tearme vexed with the inuasion of the Danes, and speciallie towards the latter end, insomuch that (as hath béene reported of writers) he fought with them nine times in one yeere: and although with diuers and variable fortune, yet for the more part he went away with the victorie. Beside that, he oftentimes lay in wait for their forragers, and such as straied abroad to rob and spoile the countrie, whom he met withall and ouerthrew. There were slaine in his time nine earles of those Danes, and one king, beside other of the meaner sort without number.

The commendation of Adelstan bishop of Shirborne.

But here is to be vnderstood, that in this meane time, whilest Ethelred was busied in warre to resist the inuasions of the Danes in the south and west parts of this land, the kings and rulers of Mercia and Northumberland taking occasion therof, began to withdraw their couenanted subiection from the Westsaxons, and toke vpon them as it were the absolute gouernment and rule of their countries, without respect to aid one another, but rather were contented to sustaine the enimies within their dominions, than to preuent the iniurie with dutifull assistance to those, whom by allegiance they were bound to serue and obeie.

The kings of Mercia and Northumberland neglect their duties.

Bishop Adelstan couetous. Hen. Hunt.

By reason hereof, the Danes without resistance grew into greater power amongst them, whilest the inhabitants were still put in feare each day more than other, and euerie late gotten victorie by the enimies by the increase of prisoners, ministred occasion of some other conquest to follow. Euen about the beginning of Ethelreds reigne, there arriued vpon the English coasts an huge armie of the Danes, vnder the conduct of two renowmed capteins Hungar and Ubba, men of maruellous strength and valiancie, but both of them passing cruell of nature. They lay

The Danes grow in puissance.

Hungar and Ubba.

lay all the winter ſeaſon in Eſtangle, compounding with them of the countrie for truce vpon certeine conditions, ſparing for a time to ſhew their force for quietneſſe ſake.

In the ſecond yeere of king Ethelred, the ſaid capteins came with their armies into Yorkſhire, finding the countrey vnprouided of neceſſarie defenſe bicauſe of the ciuill diſcord that reigned among the Northumbers, the which had lateſie expelled king Oſbright, that had the gouernement of thoſe parts, and placed one Ella in his rome: howbeit now they were conſtreined to reuoke him home againe, and ſought to accord him and Ella. But it was long yer that might be brought to paſſe, notwithſtanding yet at length they were made friends, by reaſon of this inuaſion attempted by forren enimies, and then raiſing their powers they came to Yorke, where the Danes, hauing waſted the countrie euen to the riuer of Tine, were lodged.

Hen. Hunt. King Oſbright depoſed and Ella placed.

The Engliſh hoſt entring the citie, began to fight with the Danes, by reaſon whereof a ſore battell inſued betwixt them: but in the end the two kings Oſbright and Ella were ſlaine, and a great number of the Northumbers, what within the citie, and what without loſt their liues at that time, the reſidue were conſtreined to take truce with the Danes. This battell was fought the 21 day of March being in Lent, on the Friday before Palmſunday, in the yere 657.

Oſbright and Ella kings of Northumberland ſlaine.

It muſt be vpon the 10 kalends of Aprill, or elſe it will not concurre with Palmſunday. Sir Mat. Weſt.

¶ Some haue written otherwiſe of this battell, reporting that the Northumbers calling home king Oſbright (whome before they had baniſhed) incountred with the Danes in the field, without the walles of Yorke, but they were eaſilie beaten backe, and chaſed into the citie, the which by the Danes purſuing the victorie, was ſet on fire and burnt, togither with the king and people that were fled into it for ſuccour. How ſoeuer it came about, certeine it is, that the Danes got the victorie, and now hauing ſubdued the Northumbers, appointed one Egbert to reigne ouer them as king, vnder their protection, which Egbert reigned in that ſort ſix yeares ouer thoſe which inhabited beyond the riuer of Tine. In the ſame yeare, Adelſtane biſhop of Shireborne departed this life, hauing gouerned that ſee the terme of 50 yeares. This Adelſtane was a man of high wiſedome, and one that had borne no ſmall rule in the kingdome of the Weſtſaxons, as hereby it may be coniectured, that when king Ethelwulfe returned from Rome, he would not ſuffer him to be admitted king, becauſe he had done in certeine points contrarie to the ordinances and lawes of the ſame kingdome, whereupon by this biſhops means Ethelbald the ſonne of the ſame king Ethelwulfe was eſtabliſhed king, and ſo continued till by agreement the kingdome was diuided betwixt them, as before is mentioned. Finallie, he greatlie inriched the ſee of Shireborne, and yet though he was feruentlie ſet on couetouſneſſe, he was neuertheleſſe verie free and liberall in gifts; which contrarie extremities ſo ill matched, though in him (the time wherein he liued being conſidered) they might ſeeme ſomewhat tollerable; yet ſimplie & in truth they were vtterlie repugnant to the law of the ſpirit, which biddeth that none ſhould do euill that good may come thereof. Againſt which precept becauſe Adelſtane could not but offend in the heat of his couetouſnes, which is termed the root of all miſchiefe, though he was exceeding bountifull and large in diſtributing the wealth he had greedilie gotten togither, he muſt needs incur reprehenſion. But this is ſo much the leſſe to be imputed vnto him as a fault, by how much he was ignorant what (by the rule of equitie and conſcience) was requirable in a chriſtian man, or one of his vocation,

The commendation of Adelſtan biſhop of Shirborne.

Biſhop Adelſtan couetous. Hen. Hunt.

Burthred king of Mercia with aid beſeegeth the Danes in Notingham, Baſreeg and Halden two Daniſh kings with their powers inuade the Weſtſaxons, they are incountred by Ethelwulfe earle of Barkeſhire; King Ethelred giueth them and their cheefe guides a ſore diſcomfiture; what Polydor Virgil recordeth touching one Iuarus king of the Danes, and the warres that Ethelred had with them, his death; Edmund king of Eaſtangles giueth battell to the Danes, he yeeldeth himſelfe, and for chriſtian religion ſake is by them moſt cruellie murthered, the kingdome of the Eaſtangles endeth, Guthrun a Dane gouerneth the whole countrie, K. Oſbright rauiſheth the wife of one Bearne a noble man, a bloodie battell inſueth thereupon, wherein Oſbright and Ella are ſlaine.

## The twelft Chapter.

IN the yeare following, that is to ſay, in the third yeere of Ethelreds reigne, he with his brother Alured went to aid Burthred king of Mercia, againſt the two foreſaid Daniſh capteines Hungar and Hbba, the which were entred into Mercia, and had won the towne for the winter ſeaſon. Whereupon the foreſaid Ethelred and Burthred with their powers came to Notingham, and beſieged the Danes within it. The Danes perceiuing themſelues in danger, made ſuite for a truce & abſtinence from war, which they obteined, and then departed backe to Yorke, where they ſoiourned the moſt part of all that yeare.

Burthred king of Mercia.

Danes beſieged in Notingham.

In the firſt yeare of king Ethelreds reigne, a new armie of great force and power came into the coſtries of the Weſtſaxons vnder two leaders or kings of the Danes, Baſreeg and Halden. They lodged at Reding with their maine armie, and within three daies after the earle of Berrockſhire Edelwulfe fought at Engleſield with two earles of thoſe Danes, vanquiſhed them, and ſlue the one of thoſe earles, whoſe name was Sidroc. After this king Ethelred and his brother Alured came with a great hoſt vnto Reding, and there gaue battell vnto the armie of Danes, ſo that an huge number of people died on both parts, but the Danes had the victorie.

Baſreeg and Halden.

Edelwulfe. erle of Barkſhire fought at Engleſield with the Danes.

After this alſo king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought againe with thoſe Danes at Aſchdon, where the armies on both ſides were diuided into two parts, ſo that the two Daniſh kings lead the one part of their armie, & certeine of their earles lead the other part. Likewiſe on the Engliſh ſide king Ethelred was placed with one part of the hoſt againſt the Daniſh kings, and Alured with the other part was appointed to incounter with the earles. Whereupon they being on both parts readie to giue battell, the euening comming on cauſed them to deferre it till the morow. And ſo earlie in the morning when the armies ſhould ioine, king Ethelred ſtaied in his tent the heare diuine ſeruice, whileſt his brother vpon a forward courage haſted to incounter his enimies, the which receiued him ſo ſharplie, and with ſo cruell fight, that at length, the Engliſhmen were at point to haue turned their backs. But herewith came king Ethelred and manfullie ended the battell, ſtaied his people from running away, and ſo encouraged them, and diſcouraged the enimies, that by the power of God (whom as was thought in the morning he had ſerued) the Danes finallie were chaſed and put to flight, loſing one of their kings (that is to ſay) Baſreeg or Dreeg, and 5 earles, Sidroc the elder, and Sidroc the yonger, Oſberne, Freine,

The Danes won the victorie at Reading.

The Danes diſcomfited.

Freine, and Harold. This battell was fore fought-ten, and continued till night, with the slaughter of manie thousands of Danes. About 14 daies after, king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought eftsones with the Danish armie at Basing, where the Danes had the victorie. Also two moneths after this they likewise fought with the Danes at Merton. And there the Danes, after they had béene put to the worse, & pursued in chase a long time, yet at length they also got the victorie, in which battell Edmund bishop of Shireborne was slaine, and manie other that were men of worthie fame and good account.

A battell at Merton.

He was bishop of Shireborne as Matt. West. saith.

In the summer following, a mightie host of the Danes came to Reading, and there soiourned for a time. ¶ These things agrée not with that which Polydor Virgil hath written of these warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes: for he maketh mention of one Iuarus a king of the Danes, who landed (as he writeth) at the mouth of Humber, and like a stout enimie inuaded the countrie adioining. Against whome Ethelred with his brother Alured came with an armie, and incountring the Danes, fought with them by the space of a whole day togither, and was in danger to haue béene put to the worse, but that the night seuered them asunder. In the morning they ioined againe: but the death of Iuarus, who chanced to be slaine in the beginning of the battell, discouraged the Danes, so that they were easilie put to flight, of whome (before they could get out of danger) a great number were slaine. But after that they had recouered themselues togither, and found out a conuenient place where to pitch their campe, they chose to their capteines Aguerus, and Hubba, two brethren, which indeuored themselues by all meanes possible to repaire their armie: so that within 15 daies after, the Danes eftsones fought with the Englishmen, and gaue them such an ouerthrow, that little wanted of making an end of all incounters to be attempted after by the Englishmen.

Polyd. Virg.

Iuarus.

Danes put to flight.

Aguerus and Hubba.

But yet within a few daies after this, as the Danes attended their market to spoile the countrie and range somewhat licentiouslie abroad, they fell within the danger of such ambushes as were laid for them by king Ethelred, that no small slaughter was made of them, but yet not without some losse of the Englishmen. Amongest others, Ethelred himselfe receiued a wound, whereof he shortlie after died. Thus saith Polydor touching the warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes, who yet confesseth (as the trueth is) that such authors as he herein followed, varie much from that which the Danish writers do record of these matters, and namelie touching the doings of Iuarus, as in the Danish historie you may sée more at large.

But now to our purpose touching the death of king Ethelred, whether by reason of hurt receiued in fight against the Danes (as Polydor saith) or otherwise, certeine it is, that Ethelred anon after Easter departed this life, in the first yeare of his reigne, and was buried at Winborne abbey. In the daies of this Ethelred, the foresaid Danish capteins, Hungar, otherwise called Agnerus, and Hubba returning from the north parts into the countrie of the Eastangles, came vnto Thetford, whereof Edmund, who reigned as king in that season ouer the Eastangles, being aduertised, raised an armie of men, and went forth to giue battell vnto this armie of the Danes. But he with his people was chased out of the field, and fled to the castell of Framingham, where being enuironed with a siege by his enimies, he yéelded himselfe vnto them. And because he would not renounce the christian faith, they bound him to a trée, and shot arrowes at him till he died: and afterwards cut off his head from his bodie, and threw the same into a thicke groue of bushes. But afterwards his friends toke the bodie with the head, and buried the same at Egleston: where afterward also a faire monasterie was builded by one bishop Aswin, and changing the name of the place, it was after called saint Edmundsburie. Thus was king Edmund put to death by the cruell Danes for his constant confessing the name of Christ, in the 16 yeare of his reigne, and so ceased the kingdome of Eastangles. For after that the Danes had thus slaine that blessed man, they conquered all the countrie, & wasted it, so that through their tyrannie it remained without anie gouernor by the space of nine yeares, and then they appointed a king to rule ouer it, whose name was Guthrum, one of their owne nation, who gouerned both the Eastangles and the Eastsaxons.

winborne abbeie.

Agnerus. Fabian.

870

Edmund K. of the Eastangles.

Framingham castell.

King Edward shot to death.

Egleston.

Wil. Malm.

Eastangles without a gouernour.

Guthrum Dane king of Eastangles.

Ye haue heard how the Danes slue Osrike and Ella kings of Northumberland. After which victorie by them obteined, they did much hurt in the north parts of this land, and amongest other cruell déeds, they destroied the citie of Aelnid, which was a famous citie in the time of the old Saxons, as by Beda and other writers doth manifestlie appeare. Here is to be remembred, that some writers rehearse the cause to be this. Osbright or Osrike king of Northumberland rauished the wife of one Berne that was a noble man of the countrie about Yorke, who toke such great despight thereat, that he fled out of the land, and went into Denmarke, and there complained vnto the king of Denmarke his cosin of the iniurie done to him by king Osbright. Whereupon the king of Denmarke, glad to haue so iust a quarell against them of Northumberland, furnished forth an armie, and sent the same by sea (vnder the leading of his two brethren Hungar and Hubba) into Northumberland, where they slue first the said king Osbright, and after king Ella, at a place besides Yorke, which vnto this day is called Ellas croft, taking that name of the said Ella, being there slaine in defense of his countrie against the Danes. Which Ella (as we find registred by writers) was elected king by such of the Northumbers, as in fauour of Berne had refused to be subiect vnto Osbright.

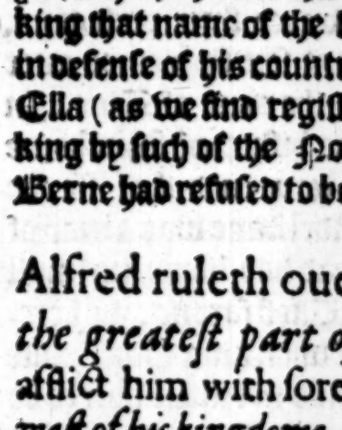
Polychron.

Caxton.

Alfred ruleth ouer the Westsaxons and *the greatest part of England, the Danes* afflict him with sore warre, and cruellie make *wast of his kingdome, they lie at London a whole* winter, they inuade Mercia, the king whereof (Burthred *by name*) *forsaketh his countrie and goeth to Rome,* his death and buriall; Halden king of the Danes diuideth Northumberland among his people; Alfred incountreth with the Danes vpon the sea, they sweare to him that they will depart out of his kingdome, they breake the truce which was made betwixt him and them, he giueth them battell, and (besides a great discomfiture) killeth manie of their capteines, the Danes and English fight neere Abingron, the victorie vncerteine, seuen foughten fields betwixt them in one yeare, the Danes soiourne at London.

870

## *The xiij. Chapter.*



After the decease of king Ethelred, his brother Alured or Alfred succéeded him, and began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons, and other the more part of the people of England, in the yeare of our Lord 872, which was in the 19 yeare of the emperour Lewes the second, and 32 yeare of the reigne of Charles the bald, king of France, and about the eleuenth yeare of Constantine

*Alured or Alfred.*

871. as Mat. West. & Sa. Dunelmen. doo note it. Henr. Hunt.

tine the second king of Scotland. Although this Alured was consecrated king in his fathers life time by pope Leo (as before ye haue heard) yet was he not admitted king at home, till after the decease of his three elder brethren: for he being the youngest, was kept backe from the gouernement, though he were for his wisdome and policie most highlie esteemed and had in all honour.

Alured persecuted by Danes.

In the beginning of his reigne he was wrapped in manie great troubles and miseries, speciallie by the persecution of the Danes, which made sore and grieuous wars in sundrie parts of this land, destroieng the same in most cruell wise. About a moneth after he was made king, he gaue battell to the Danes of Wilton, hauing with him no great number of people, so that although in the beginning the Danes that day were put to the worse, yet in the end they obteined the victorie. Shortlie after, a truce was taken betwixt the Danes and the Westsaxons. And the Danes that had lien at Reading, remoued from thence vnto London, where they lay all the winter season. In the second yeare of Alured his reigne, the Danish king Halden led the same armie from London into Lindseie, and there lodged all that winter at Torksey. In the yeare following, the same Halden inuaded Mercia, and wintered at Kipindon. There were come to him three other leaders of Danes which our writers name to be kings, Godrun, Esketell, & Ammond, so that their power was greatlie increased. Burthred king of Mercia which had gouerned that countrie by the space of 22 yeares, was not able to withstand the puissance of those enimies: wherevpon he was constreined to auoid the countrie, and went to Rome, where he departed this life, and was buried in the church of our ladie, neere to the English schole.

Mart. Westm.

The Danes obteine the victorie.

The Danes wintered at London.

874 Repton.

Burthred king of Mercia.

In the fourth yeare of king Alured the armie of the Danes diuided it selfe into two parts, so that king Halden with one part thereof went into Northumberland, and lay in the winter season neere to the riuer of Tine, where hee diuided the countrie amongest his men, and remained there for the space of two yeares, and oftentimes fetched thither booties and preies out of the countrie of the Picts. The other part of the Danish armie with the three foresaid kings or leaders came vnto Cambridge, and remained there a whole yeare. In the same yeare king Alured fought by sea with 7 ships of Danes, tooke one of them, & chased the residue. In the yeare next insuing, the Danes came into the countrie of the Westsaxons, and king Alured tooke truce with them againe, and they sware to him (which they had not vsed to do to anie afore that time) that they would depart the countrie. Their armie by sea sailing from Warham toward Excester, sustained great losse by tempest, for there perished 120 ships at Swanewicke.

875 The Danes went into Northumberland.

The Danes at Cambridge

876

The Danes take an oth. Hen. Hunt.

Moreouer the armie of the Danes by land went to Excester in breach of the truce, and king Alured followed them, but could not ouertake them till they came to Excester, and there he approched them in such wise, that they were glad to deliuer pledges for performance of such couenants as were accorded betwixt him and them. And so then they departed out of the countrie, and drew into Mercia. But shortlie after, when they had the whole gouernment of the land, from Thames northward, they thought it not good to suffer king Alured to continue in rest with the residue of the countries beyond Thames. And therefore the three foresaid rulers of Danes, Godrun, Esketell, and Ammond, inuading the countrie of Westsaxons came to Chipnam, distant 17 miles from Bristow, & there pitched their tents.

The Danes went to Excester.

Henr. Hunt.

877 Polydor.

King Alured aduertised hereof, hasted thither, and lodging with his armie neere to the enimies, prouoked them to battell. The Danes perceiuing that either they must fight for their liues, or die with shame, boldlie came forth, and gaue battell. The Englishmen rashlie incountered with them, and though they were ouermatched in number, yet with such violence they gaue the onset, that the enimies at the first were abashed at their hardie assaults. But when as it was perceiued that their slender ranks were not able to resist the thicke leghers of the enimies, they began to shrinke & looke backe one vpon an other; and so of force were constreined to retire: and therewithall did cast themselues into a ring, which though it seemed to be the best way that could be deuised for their safetie, yet by the great force and number of their enimies on each side assailing them, they were so thronged togither on heaps, that they had no rome to stir their weapons. Which disaduantage notwithstanding, they slue a great number of the Danes, and amongest other, Hubba the brother of Agner, with manie other of the Danish capteins. At length the Englishmen hauing valiantlie foughten a long time with the enimies, which had compassed them about, at last brake out and got them to their campe. To be briefe, this battell was foughten with so equall fortune, that no man knew to whether part the victorie ought to be ascribed. But after they were once seuered, they tooke care to cure their hurt men, and to burie the dead bodies, namelie the Danes interred the bodie of their capteine Hubba with great funerall pompe and solemnitie: which done, they held out their iournie till they came to Abington, whither the English armie shortlie after came also, and incamped fast by the enimies.

Hubba slaine.

The victorie doubtfull.

Abington.

In this meane while, the rumor was spread abroad that king Alured had beene discomfited by the Danes, because that in the last battell he withdrew to his campe. This turned greatlie to his aduantage: for thereby a great number of Englishmen hasted to come to his succour. On the morrow after his comming to Abington, he brought his armie readie to fight into the field: neither were the enimies slacke on their parts to receiue the battell, and so the two armies ioined and fought verie sore on both sides: so that it seemed the Englishmen had not to do with those Danes, which had beene diuerse times before discomfited and put to flight, but rather with some new people fresh and lustie. But neither the one part nor the other was minded to giue ouer: in so much that the horsemen alighting on foot, and putting their horses from them, entered the battell amongst the footmen, and thus they continued with equall aduantage till night came on, which parted the affraie, being one of the sorest foughten fields that had beene heard of in those daies. To whether partie a man might iustlie attribute the victorie, it was vtterlie vncerteine, with so like losse & gaine the matter was tried & ended betwixt them. With the semblable chance of danger and glorie seuen times that yeare did the English and Danes incounter in battell, as writers haue recorded. At length, when their powers on both parts were sore diminished, they agreed vpon a peace, with these conditions, that the Danes should not attempt anie further warre against the Englishmen, nor bring into this land anie new supplie of souldiers out of Denmarke. But this peace by those peacemakers was violated and broken, in so much as they ment nothing lesse than to fall from the conceiued hope which they had of bearing rule in this land, and of inriching themselues with the goods, possessions, rents and reuenues of the inhabitants. The same yeare the Danes soiorned in the winter season at London, according as they had done often times before.

The Danes and Englishmen fight neer to Abington.

Vncerteine victorie. Thus farre Polydor.

Ran. Higd.

A peace agreed vpon.

The Danes soiourned at London.

N.j. Rollo

Rollo a noble man of Denmarke with *a fresh power entreth England, and beginneth* to waste it, king Alured giueth him batell, *Rollo saileth ouer into France; who first inhabited* Normandie, and whereof it tooke that name; the *Danes breake the peace which was made betwixt them and* Alured, he is driuen to his shifts by their inuasions into his kingdome, a vision appeereth to him and his mother; king Alured disguising himselfe like a minstrell entereth the Danish campe, marketh their behauiour vnsuspected, assaileth them on the sudden with a fresh power, and killeth manie of them at aduantage; the Deuonshire men giue the Danes battell vnder the conduct of Haldens brother, and are discomfited; Alured fighteth with them at Edanton, they giue him hostages, Gurthrun their king is baptised and named Adelstan, a league concluded betwixt both the kings, the bounds of Alureds kingdome.

## *The xiiij Chapter.*

Ann. 876 saith Simon Dun.

ABout the same time, or shortlie after, there came into England one Rollo, a noble man of Denmarke or Norway, with a great armie, and (notwithstanding the peace concluded betweene the Englishmen and the Danes) began to waste and destroy the countrie. King Alured hearing these newes, with all spéed thought best in the beginning to stop such a common mischiefe, and immediatlie assembling his people, went against the enimies, and gaue them battell, in the which there died a great number of men on both sides, but the greater losse fell to Rollo his armie. Yet Matthew Westmin. saith, that the Englishmen were put to flight. After this, it chanced that Rollo being warned in a dreame, left England, & sailed ouer into France, where he found fortune so fauourable to him, that he obteined in that region for him and his people a countrie, the which was afterwards named Normandie, of those northerne people which then began to inhabit the same, as in the histories of France you maie sée more at large.

30 yéeres after this he was baptised.

The Danes which had concluded peace with king Alured (as before you haue heard) shortlie after, vpon the first occasion, brake the same, and by often inuasions which they made into the countrie of Westsaxons, brought the matter to that passe, that there remained to king Alured but onelie the three countries of Hamshire, Wiltshire, & Summersetshire, in so much that he was constreined for a time to kéepe himselfe close within the fennes and maresh grounds of Summersetshire, with such small companies as he had about him, constreined to get their liuing with fishing, hunting, and other such shifts. He remained for the most part within an Ile called Edlingsey, that is to say, the Iland of noble men, enuironed about with fennes and mareshes.

King Alured driuen to his shifts.

Edlingsey.

Whiles he was thus shut vp within this Iland, he was by dreame aduertised of better hap shortlie to follow: for as it hath béene said, saint Cuthbert appéered to him as he laie in sléepe, and comforted him, declaring to him, that within a while fortune should so turne, that he should recouer againe his kingdome to the confusion of his enimies. And to assure him that this should prooue true, he told him that his men which were gone abroad to catch fish, should bring home great plentie, although the season was against them, by reason that the waters were frosen, and that a cold rime fell that morning, to the hinderance of their purpose. His mother also at that time being in sléepe, saw the like vision. And as they had dreamed, so it came to passe: for being awakened out of their sléepe, in came his men with so great foison of fish, that the same might haue sufficed a great armie of men, for the victelling of them at that season.

A vision if it be true.

Shortlie after, king Alured tooke vpon him the habit of a minstrell, and going forth of his closure, repaired to the campe of the Danish king, onelie accompanied with one trustie seruant, and tarrieng there certeine daies togither, was suffered to go into euerie part, and plaie on his instrument, as well afore the king as others, so that there was no secret, but that he vnderstood it. Now when he had séene and learned the demeanour of his enimies, he returned againe to his people at Edlingsey, and there declared to his nobles what he had séene and heard, what negligence was amongst the enimies, and how easie a matter it should be for him to indamage them. Wherevpon they conceiuing a maruellous good hope, and imboldened with his words, a power was assembled togither, and spies sent forth to learne and bring word where the Danes lodged: which being done, and certificat made accordinglie, king Alured comming vpon them on the sudden, slue of them a great number, hauing them at great aduantage.

King Alured disguiseth himselfe. Polydor. Fabian.

Henr. Hunt. 877

About the same time the brother of king Halden came with thirtie and three ships out of Wales into the countrie of Westsaxons, on the coast of Deuonshire, where the Deuonshire men gaue him battell, and slue him with 840 persons of his retinue. Other write, that Halden himselfe was present at this conflict, with Inguare, otherwise called Hungar, and that they were both slaine there, with twelue hundred of their companie (before a certeine castell called Kinwith) receiuing as they had deserued for their cruell dealing latelie by them practised in the parties of Southwales, where they had wasted all afore them with fire and sword, not sparing abbeies more than other common buildings.

878 March. West.

Simon Dun.

King Alured being with that good lucke the more comforted, builded a fortresse in the Ile of Edlingsey, afterwards called Athelney, and breaking out oftentimes vpon the enimies, distressed them at sundrie times with the aid of the Summersetshire men, which were at hand. About the seuenth weeke after Easter, in the seuenth yéere of his reigne, king Alured went to Egleringhston, on the east part of Selwood, where there came to him the people of Summersetshire, Wiltshire, & Hamshire, reioising greatlie to sée him abroad. From thence he went to Edanton, & there fought against the armie of the Danes, and chased them vnto their strength, where he remained afore them the space of foure téene daies. Then the armie of the Danes deliuered him hostages and couenants to depart out of his dominions, and that their king should be baptised, which was accomplished: for Gurthrun, whome some name Gurmond, a prince or king amongst these Danes, came to Alured and was baptised, king Alured receiuing him at the fontstone, named him Adelstan, and gaue to him the countrie of Eastangle, which he gouerned (or rather spoiled) by the space of twelue yéeres.

Athelney.

Edanesdun.

This battell should seme the same that Polydor speaketh of fought at Abingdon. Polychron. Iohn Pike.

Gurthrun or Gurmond baptised, and named Adelstan, is made king of Eastangle.

Diuerse other of the Danish nobilitie to the number of thirtie (as Simon Dunelmensis saith) came at the same time in companie of their king Gurthrun, and were likewise baptised, on whome king Alured bestowed manie rich gifts. At the same time (as is to be thought) was the league concluded betwixt king Alured and the said Gurthrun or Gurmond, in which the bounds of king Alureds kingdome are set forth thus: First therefore let the bounds or marshes of our dominion stretch vnto the riuer of Thames, and from thence to the water of Lée, euen vnto the head of the same water, and so forth streight vnto Bedford: and finallie going alongst by the riuer of Ouse, let them end at Watlingstréet.

Eurus.

Hen. Hunt. 878

879 Simon Dun. Matth. West.

Rochester besieged. 885

889 London recouered out of the hands of the Danes.

This league being made with the aduise of the same

sage personages as well English as those that inhabited within east England, is set forth in maister Lamberts booke of the old English lawes, in the end of those lawes or ordinances which were established by the same king Alured, as in the same booke ye may see more at large.

## Th'English called diuers people Danes *whom the French named Normans, wherevpon* that generall name was giuen them; *Gurmo Anglicus K. of Denmark, whose father Frotto* was baptised in England; the Danes besiege Rochester, *Alfred putteth them to flight, recouereth London out* of their hands, and committeth it to the custodie of duke Eldred his sonne in law; he assaulteth Hasting a capteine of the Danes, causeth him to take an oth, his two sonnes are baptised; he goeth forth to spoile Alfreds countrie, his wife, children, and goods, &c: are taken, and fauourablie giuen him againe; the Danes besiege Excester, they flie to their ships, gaine with great losse, they are vanquished by the Londoners, the death of Alfred, his issue male and female.

## *The xv. Chapter.*

HEre is to be noted, that writers name diuerse of the Danish capteins, kings (of which no mention is made in the Danish chronicles) to reigne in those parties. But true it is, that in those daies, not onelie the Danish people, but also other of those northeast countries or regions, as Swedeners, Norwegians, the Wondens, and such other (which the English people called by one generall name Danes, and the Frenchmen Normans) vsed to roaue on the seas, and to inuade forren regions, as England, France, Flanders, and others, as in conuenient places ye may find, as well in our histories, as also in the writers of the French histories, and likewise in the chronicles of those north regions. The writers verelie of the Danish chronicles make mention of one Gurmo, whome they name Anglicus, bicause he was borne here in England, which succeeded his father Frotto in gouernement of the kingdome of Denmarke, which Frotto receiued baptisme in England, as their stories tell.

Gurmo.

Hen. Hunt. 878

In the eight yeere of king Alfred his reigne, the armie of the Danes wintered at Cirencester, and the same yeere an other armie of strangers called Wincigi laie at Fulham, and in the yeere following departed forth of England, and went into France, and the armie of king Godrun or Gurmo departed from Cirencester, and came into Eastangle, and there diuiding the countrie amongst them, began to inhabit the same. In the 14 yeere of king Alfred his reigne, part of the Danish armie which was gone ouer into France, returned into England and besieged Rochester. But when Alfred approched to the reskue, the enimies fled to their ships, and passed ouer the sea againe. King Alfred sent a naule of his ships well furnished with men of warre into Eastangle. the which at the mouth of the riuer called Sture, incountering with 16 ships of the Danes, set vpon them, and ouercame them in fight: but as they returned with their prises, they incountered with another mightie armie of the enimies, and fighting with them were ouercome and vanquished.

879 Simon Dun. Matth. West.

Rochester besieged. 885

889 London recouered out of the hands of the Danes.

In the yeere following, king Alfred besieged the citie of London, the Danes that were within it fled from thence, and the Englishmen that were inhabitants thereof gladlie receiued him, reioising that there was such a prince bred of their nation, that was of power able to reduce them into libertie. This citie being at that season the chiefe of all Mercia, he deliuered into the keeping of duke Eldred, which had maried his daughter Ethelfleda, & held a great portion of Mercia, which Colwolphus before time possessed by the grant of the Danes, after they had subdued K. Burthred (as before is said.) About the 21 yere of K. Alfred, an armie of those Danes & Normans, which had beene in France, returned into England, and arriued in the hauen or riuer of Limene in the east part of Kent, neere to the great wood called Andredesley, which did conteine in times past 120 miles in length, and thirtie in breadth. These Danes landing with their people builded a castle at Appledore.

Wil. Malm. Ethelfleda. Colwolphus. Limer, now Rother. Andredesleg. A castell built at Appledore.

893 Simon Dun. At Milton.

In the meane time came Hasting with 80 ships into the Thames, and builded a castle at Middleton, but he was constreined by siege which king Alfred planted about him, to receiue an oth that he should not in any wise annoie the dominion of king Alfred, who vpon his promise to depart, gaue great gifts as well to him as to his wife and children. One of his sonnes also king Alfred held at the fontstone, and to the other duke Aldred was god father. For (as it were to win credit, and to auoid present danger) Hasting sent vnto Alfred these his two sonnes, signifieng that if it stood with his pleasure, he could be content that they should be baptised. But neuertheless this Hasting was euer most vntrue of word and deed, he builded a castle at Beamfield. And as he was going forth to spoile and waste the kings countries, Alfred tooke that castle, with his wife, children, ships and goods, which he got togither of such spoiles as he had abroad: but he restored vnto Hasting his wife and children, bicause he was their godfather.

Hasting the capteine of the Danes besieged. He receiueth an oth. Beamfield saith M. West.

Shortlie after, newes came that a great number of other ships of Danes were come out of Northumberland, and had besieged Excester. Whilest king Alfred went then against them, the other armie which lay at Appledore inuaded Esser, and built a castell in that countrie, and after went into the borders of Wales, and builded another castell neere vnto the riuer of Seuerne: but being driuen out of that countrie, they returned againe into Esser. Those that had besieged Excester, vpon knowledge had of king Alfreds comming, fled to their ships, and so remaining on the sea, roaued abroad, seeking preies. Besides this, other armies there were sent forth, which comming out of Northumberland tooke the citie of Chester, but there they were so beset about with their enimies, that they were constreined to eate their horses. At length, in the 24 yeere of king Alfred, they left that citie, and fetcht a compas about North-wales, and so meaning to saile round about the coast to come into Northumberland, they arriued in Esser, and in the winter following drew their ships by the Thames into the water of Lute. That armie of Danes which had besieged Excester, tooke preies about Chichester, and was met with, so that they lost manie of their men, and also diuerse of their ships.

This enterprise was atchiued by Ethelred duke of Mercia in the absence of the king, as Matth. West. hath noted. Excester besieged. Seuerne. Chester taken by Danes. Great famine Hen. Hunt. The water of Lute, now Lee.

In the yeere following, the other armie which had brought the ships into the riuer Lute, began to build a castell neere to the same riuer, twentie miles distant from London: but the Londoners came thither, and giuing battell to the Danes, slue foure of the chiefe capteins. But by Simon Dunel. and Matt. Westm. it should seeme, that the Londoners were at this time put to flight, and that foure of the kings barons were slaine in fight. Howbeit Henrie Hunt. hath written as before I haue recited; and further saith, that when the Danes fled for their refuge to the castell, king Alfred caused the water of Lute to be diuided into three chanels, so that the Danes should not bring backe their ships out of the place where they laie at anchor. When the Danes

Hen. Hunt. The Londoners victors against the Danes.

Quathbridge or Wakebridge.

perceiued this, they left their ships behind them, and went into the borders of Wales, where at Cartbridge vpon Seuerne they built another castell, and lay there all the winter following, hauing left their wiues and children in the countrie of Eastangles. King Alfred pursued them, but the Londoners toke the enimies ships, and brought some of them to the citie, and the rest they burnt.

The Danish armie diuided into parts.

Thus for the space of three yéeres after the arriuing of the maine armie of the Danes in the hauen of Lute, they sore indamaged the English people, although the Danes themselues sustained more losse at the Englishmens hands than they did to them with all pilfering and spoiling. In the fourth yéere after their comming, the armie was diuided, so that one part of them went into Northumberland, part of them remained in the countrie of Eastangles, & another part went into France. Also certeine of their ships came vpon the coast of the Westsarons, oftentimes setting their men on land to rob and spoile the countrie. But king Alfred toke order in the best wise he might for defense of his countrie and people, and caused certeine mightie vessels to be builded, which he appointed forth to incounter with the enimies ships.

The death of king Alfred.

His issue.

Elfleda.

Thus like a worthie prince and politike gouernor, he preuented each way to resist the force of his enimies, and to safegard his subiects. Finallie after he had reigned 29 yéeres and an halfe, he departed this life the 28 day of October. His bodie was buried at Winchester: he left behind him issue by his wife Ethelwitha the daughter vnto earle Ethelred of Mercia, two sonnes, Edward surnamed the elder, which succéeded him, and Adelwold: also three daughters, Elfleda or Ethelfleda, Ethelgeda or Edgiua, and Ethelwitha.

## How Elfleda king Alfreds daughter *(being maried) contemned fleshlie pleasure*; the praise of Alfred for his good qualities, *his lawes for the redresse of theeues, his diuiding of* countries into hundreds and tithings, of what monasteries *he was founder, he began the foundation of the vniuersitie* of Oxford, which is not so ancient as Cambridge by 265 yeeres; king Alfred was learned, his zeale to traine his people to lead an honest life, what learned men were about him, the pitifull murthering of Iohn Scot by his owne scholers, how Alfred diuided the 24 houres of the day and the night for his necessarie purposes, his last will and bequests; the end of the kingdome of Mercia, the Danes haue it in their hands, and dispose it as they list, Eastangle and Northumberland are subiect vnto them, the Northumbers expell Egbert their king, his death; the Danes make Guthred king of Northumberland, priuileges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine; the death of Guthred, and who succeeded him in the seat roiall.

## *The xvj. Chapter.*

The notable saieng of Elfleda.

IN the end of the former chapter we shewed what children Alfred had, their number 5 names, among whome we made report of Elfleda, who (as you haue heard) was maried vnto duke Edelred. This gentlewoman left a notable example behind hir of despising fleshlie pleasure, for bearing hir husband one child, and sore handled before she could be deliuered, she euer after forbare to companie with hir husband, saieng that it was great folishnesse to vse such pleasure which therwith should bring so great griefe.

To speake sufficientlie of the worthie praise due to so noble a prince as Alfred was, might require eloquence, learning, and a large volume. He was of person comelie and beautifull, and better beloued of his father and mother than his other brethren. And although he was (as before is touched) greatly disquieted with the inuasion of forren enimies, yet did he both manfullie from time to time indeuour himselfe to repell them, and also attempted to see his subiects gouerned in good and vpright iustice. And albeit that good lawes amongst the clinking noise of armor are oftentimes put to silence, yet he perceiuing how his people were greeued with theeues and robbers, which in time of warre grew and increased, deuised good statutes and wholsome ordinances for punishing of such offendors.

Will. Malm.

King Alfred his lawes.

Amongst other things he ordeined that the countries should be diuided into hundreds and tithings, that is to say, quarters conteining a certeine number of townships adioining togither, so that euerie Englishman liuing vnder prescript of lawes, should haue both his hundred and tithing; that if anie man were accused of anie offense, he should find suertie for his good demeanor: and if he could not find such as would answer for him, then should he tast extremitie of the lawes. And if anie man that was giltie fled before he found suertie, or after: all the inhabitants of the hundred or tithing where he dwelt, shuld be put to their fine. By this deuise he brought his countrie into good tranquillitie, so that he caused bracelets of gold to be hanged vp aloft on hils where anie common waies lay, to see if anie durst be so hardie to take them away by stealth. He was a liberall prince namely in relieuing of the poore. To churches he confirmed such priuileges as his father had granted before him, and he also sent rewards by way of deuotion vnto Rome, and to the bodie of saint Thomas in India. Sighelmus the bishop of Shireborne bare the same, and brought from thence rich stones, and swéet oiles of inestimable valure. From Rome also he brought a péece of the holy crosse which pope Martinus did send for a present vnto king Alfred.

His last will and testament

Moreouer king Alfred founded three goodlie monasteries, one at Edlingsey, where he liued sometime when the Danes had bereaued him almost of all his kingdome, which was after called Athelney, distant from Taunton in Sumersetshire about fiue miles: the second he builded at Winchester, called the new minster: and the third at Shaftesburie, which was an house of nuns, where he made his daughter Ethelgeda or Edgina abbesse. But the foundation of the vniuersitie of Oxford passed all the residue of his buildings, which he began by the good exhortation and aduise of Neotus an abbat, in those daies highlie estéemed for his vertue and lerning with Alfred. This worke he toke in hand about the 23 yéere of his reigne, which was in the yéere of our Lord 895. So that the vniuersitie of Cambridge was founded before this other of Oxford about 265 yeeres, as Polydor gathereth. For Sigebert king of the Eastangles began to erect that vniuersitie at Cambridge about the yéere of our Lord 630.

Foundation of monasteries

895. Polydor. The vniuersitie of Oxford erected

King Alfred was learned himselfe, and giuen much to studie, insomuch that beside diuerse good lawes which he translated into the English tong, gathered togither and published, he also translated diuerse other bookes out of Latine into English, as *Orosius, Pastorale Gregorij, Beda de gestis Anglorum, Boetius de consolatione philosophiæ*, and the booke of Psalmes; but this he finished not, being preuented by death. So this worthie prince minded well toward the common wealth of his people, in that season when learning was little estéemed amongst the west nations, did studie by all meanes possible to instruct his subiects

The vertuous zeale of Alured to bring his people to an honest trade of life.

iects in the trade of leading an honest life, and to incourage them generallie to imbrace learning. He would not suffer anie to beare office in the court, except he were lerned: and yet he himselfe was twelue yeeres of age before he could read a word on the booke, and was then trained by his mothers persuasion to studie, promising him a goodlie booke which she had in hir hands, if he would learne to read it.

He is persuaded by his mother, to applie himselfe to learning.

Herevpon going to his booke in sport, he so earnestlie set his mind thereto, that within a small time he profited marueilouslie, and became such a fauorer of learned men, that he delighted most in their companie, to haue conference with them, and allured diuerse to come vnto him out of other countries, as Asserius Meneuensis bishop of Shirborne, & Werefridus the bishop of Worcester, who by his commandement translated the bookes of Gregories dialogs into English. Also I. Scot, who whiles he was in France translated the book of Dionysius Ariopagita, intituled *Hierarchia*, out of Greeke into Latine, and after was scholemaister in the abbeie of Malmesburie, and there murthered by his scholers with penknifes. He had diuerse other about him, both Englishmen & strangers, as Pleimond afterward archbishop of Canturburie, Grimbald gouernor of the new monasterie at Winchester, with others.

Asserius Meneuensis. Werefridus. John Scot. Grimbald.

But to conclude with this noble prince king Alured, he was so carefull in his office, that he diuided the 24 houres which conteine the day and night, in three parts, so that eight houres he spent in writing, reading, and making his praiers, other eight he employed in relieuing his bodie with meat, drinke and sleepe, and the other eight he bestowed in dispatching of businesse concerning the gouernement of the realme. He had in his chapell a candle of 24 parts, whereof euerie one lasted an houre: so that the sexton, to whome that charge was committed, by burning of this candle, warned the king euer how the time passed away. A little before his death, he ordeined his last will and testament, bequeathing halfe the portion of all his goods iustlie gotten, vnto such monasteries as he had founded. All his rents and reuenues he diuided into two equall parts, and the first part he diuided into three, bestowing the first vpon his seruants in household, the second to such labourers and workemen as he kept in his works of sundrie new buildings, the third part he gaue to strangers. The second whole part of his reuenues was so diuided, that the first portion thereof was dispersed amongst the poore people of his countrie, the second to monasteries, the third to the finding of poore scholers, and the fourth part to churches beyond the sea. He was diligent in inquirie how the iudges of his land behaued themselues in their iudgements, and was a sharpe corrector of them which transgressed in that behalfe. To be briefe, he liued so as he was had in great fauour of his neighbours, & highlie honored among strangers. He maried his daughter Ethelswida or rather Elstride vnto Baldwine earle of Flanders, of whome he had two sonnes Arnulfe and Adulfe, the first succeeding in the erledome of Flanders, and the yonger was made earle of Bullogne.

Alured diuided the time for his necessarie vses.

His last will and testament

The bodie of king Alured was first buried in the bishops church: but afterwards, because the Canons raised a fond tale that the same should walke at nights, his sonne king Edward remoued it into the new monasterie which he in his life time had founded. Finallie, in memorie of him a certeine learned clarke made an epitath in Latine, which for the worthinesse thereof is likewise (verse for verse, and in a maner word for word) translated by Abraham Fleming into English, whose no little labor hath beene diligentlie imploied in supplieng sundrie insufficiences found in this huge volume.

NObilitas inhiare tibi probitatis honorem
*Nobilitie hy hirsh to thee (ô Alfred strong in armes)*
(Armipotens Alfrede) dedit, probitasque laborem,
*Of goodnes hath the honor giuen, and honor toilsome harmes.*
Perpetuúmque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori!
*And toilesome happes an endlesse name, whose ioies with sorowe alwaies mixe*
Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.
*With sorow, and whose hope with feare was euermore perplexe.*
Si modò victor eras, ad crastina bella parebas,
*If this day thou were conqueror, the next daies warre thou dredst,*
Si modò victus eras, in crastina bella parabas,
*If this day thou were conquered, to next daies war thou spedst.*
Cui vestes sudore iugi, cui sica cruore
*Whose clothing wet with dailie swet, whose blade with bloudie staine,*
Tincta iugi, quàntum sit onus regnare probárunt.
*Do proue how great a burthen tis in roialtie to reine.*
Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,
*There hath not beene in anie part of all the world so wide,*
Cui tot in aduersis vel respirare liceret,
*That was able breath to take, and troubles such abide,*
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
*And yet with weapons wearie would not weapons lay aside,*
Aut gladio potuit vitæ finisse labores:
*Or with the sword the toilesomnesse of life by death diuide.*
Iam post transactos regni vitæque labores,
*Now after labours past of realme and life (which he did spend)*
Christus ei fit vera quies sceptrumque perenne.
*Christ is to him true quietnesse and scepter void of end.*

In the dates of the foresaid king Alured, the kingdome of Mercia take end. For after that the Danes had expelled king Burthred, when he had reigned 22 yeares, he went to Rome, and there died, his wife also Ethelswida, the daughter of king Athulfe that was sonne to king Egbert followed him, and died in Paula in Lumbardie. The Danes hauing got the countrie into their possession, made one Cewulfe k. thereof, whome they bound with an oth and deliuerie of pledges, that he should not longer keepe the state with their pleasure, and further should be readie at all times to aid them with such power as he should be able to make. This Cewulfe was the seruant of king Burthred. Within foure yeares after the Danes returned, and tooke one part of that kingdome into their owne hands, and left the residue vnto Cewulfe. But within a few yeares after, king Alured obteined that part of Mercia which Cewulfe ruled, as he did all the rest of this land, except those parcels which the Danes held, as Northumberland, the countries of the Eastangles, some part of Mercia, and other.

Cewulfe.

The yeare, in the which king Alured thus obteined all the dominion of that part of Mercia, which Cewulfe had in gouernance, was after the birth of our Sauiour 886, so that the foresaid kingdome continued the space of 302 yeares vnder 22 kings, from Crida to this last Cewulfe. But there be that account the continuance of this kingdome, onelie from the beginning of Penda, vnto the last yeare of Burthred, by which reckoning it stood not past 270 yeares vnder 18, or rather 17 kings, counting the last Cewulfe for none, who began his reigne vnder the subiection of the Danes, about the yeare of our Lord 874, where Penda began his reigne 604.

886
Matth. West.

The Eastangles and the Northumbers in these daies were vnder subiection of the Danes, as partlie may be perceiued by that which before is rehearsed. After Guthrun that gouerned the Eastangles by the terme of 12 yeares, one Edbrike or Edrike had the rule in those parts, a Dane also, and reigned 14 yeares, and was at length bereued of his gouernement by king Edward the sonne of king Alured, as after shall appeare. But now, although that the Northumbers were brought greatlie vnder foot by the Danes, yet could they not forget their old accustomed maner to stirre tumults and rebellion against their gouernours, insomuch that in the yeare 872, they expelled not onelie Egbert, whome the Danes had appointed king ouer one part of the countrie (as before you haue heard) but also their

Guthrun k. of the eastangles died 890. Simon. Dun.

Simon Dun.

872
Egbert king of Northumberland expelled from his kingdome.

archbishop Wilfehere. In the yeare following, the same Egbert departed this life, after whome one Rigsig or Ricsige succéded as king, and the archbishop Wolfehere was restored home.

Egbert departed this life. Riclig.

In the same yeare the armie of Danes which had wintered at London, came from thence into Northumberland, and wintered in Lindsele, at a place called Torksele, and went the next yeare into Mercia. And in the yeare 975, a part of them returned into Northumberland, as before ye haue heard. In the yeare following, Ricsig the king of Northumberland departed this life: after whome an other Egbert succéded. And in the yeare 983, the armie of the Danes meaning to inhabit in Northumberland, and to settle themselues there, chose Guthred the sonne of one Hardicnute to their king, whome they had sometime sold to a certeine widow at Weltingham: But now by the aduise of an abbat called Aldred, they redéemed his libertie, and ordeined him king to rule both Danes and Englishmen in that countrie. It was said, that the same Aldred being abbat of holie Iland, was warned in a vision by S. Cuthberd, to giue counsell both to the Danes and Englishmen, to make the same Guthred king. This chanced about the 13 yeare of the reigne of Alured king of Westsarons.

The Danes winter in Lindsele.

975

Ricsig departed this life.

983

Guthred ordeined king of Northumberland.

When Guthred was established king, he caused the bishops sée to be remoued from holie Iland vnto Chester in the strét, and for an augmentation of the reuenues and iurisdiction belonging thereto, he assigned and gaue vnto saint Cuthbert all that countrie which lieth betwixt the riuers of Teise and Tine. ¶ Which christian act of the king, liuing in a time of palpable blindnesse and misbie superstition, may notwithstanding be a light to the great men and péeres of this age (who pretend religion with zeale, and profesle (in shew) the truth with feruencie) not to impouerish the patrimonie of the church to inrich themselues and their posteritie, not to pull from bishoprikes their ancient reuenues to make their owne greater, not to alienate ecclesiasticall liuings into temporall commodities, not to seeke the conuersion of college lands into their priuat possessions; not to intend the subuersion of cathedrall churches to fill their owne cofers, not to ferret out concealed lands for the supposte of their owne priuat lordlines; not to destroy whole townelhips for the erection of one statelie manour; not to take and pale in the commons to inlarge their seueralles; but like good and gratious common-wealth-men, in all things to preferre the peoples publike profit before their owne gaine and glorie, before their owne pompe and pleasure, before the satisfieng of their owne inordinate desires.

The bishops sée remoued from holie Iland to Chester in the strét.

Moreouer, this priuiledge was granted vnto saint Cuthberts shrine: that whosoeuer fled vnto the same for succour and safegard, should not be touched or troubled in anie wise for the space of thirtie & seuen daies. And this frédome was confirmed not onelie by king Guthred, but also by king Alured. Finallie king Guthred departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 894, after he had ruled the Northumbers with much crueltie (as some say) by the terme of a 11 yeares, or somewhat more. He is named by some writers Gurmond, and also Gurmo, & thought to be the same whome king Alured caused to be baptised. Whereas other affirme, that Guthred, who ruled the Eastangles, was he that Alured receiued at the fontstone: William Malmesburie taketh them to be but one man, which is not like to be true. After this Guthred or Gurmo his sonne Sithrike succeeded, and after him other of that line, till king Adelstane depriued them of the dominion, and toke it into his owne hands.

Priuiledges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine.

894

Polydor. Will. Malmes.

Wil. Malm. Sithrike.

Edward succeedeth his father Alured *in regiment, he is disquieted by his brother* Adelwold a man of a defiled life, he flieth to *the Danes and is of them receiued, king Edwards* prouision against the irruptions and forraies of the *Danes, Adelwold with a nauie of Danes entreth Eastangles*, the Essex men submit themselues, he inuadeth Mercia, and maketh great wast, the Kentishmens disobedience preiudiciall to themselues, they and the Danes haue a great conflict, king Edward concludeth a truce with them, he maketh a great slaughter of them by his Westsaxons and Mercians, what lands came to king Edward by the death of Edred duke of Mercia, he recouereth diuers places out of the Danes hands, and giueth them manie a foile, what castels he builded, he inuadeth Eastangles, putteth Ericke a Danish king therof to flight, his owne subiects murther him for his cruelnie, his kingdome returneth to the right of king Edward with other lands by him thereto annexed, his sister Elfleda gouerned the countrie of Mercia during hir life.

## *The xvij. Chapter.*

*Edward the elder.*

AFter the decease of Alured, his sonne Edward surnamed the elder began his reigne ouer the more part of England, in the yeare of our Lord 901, which was in the second yeare of the emperor Lewes, in the eight yeare of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simpler king of France, and about the eight yeare of Donald king of Scotland. He was consecrated after the maner of other kings his ancestors by Athelred the archbishop of Canturburie. This Edward was not so learned as his father, but in princelie power more high and honorable, for he ioined the kingdome of Eastangles and Mercia with other vnto his dominion, as after shall be shewed, and vanquished the Danes, Scots, and Welshmen, to his great glorie and high commendation.

901

In the beginning of his reigne he was disquieted by his brother Adelwold, which toke the towne of Winborne besides Bath, and maried a nun there, whome he had defloured, & attempted manie things against his brother. Wherevpon the king came to Bath, and though Adelwold shewed a countenance as if he would haue abidden the chance of warre within Winborne, yet he stole awaie in the night, and fled into Northumberland, where he was ioifullie receiued of the Danes. The king toke his wife being left behind, and restored hir to the house from whence she was taken. ¶ Some haue written, that this Adelwold or Ethelwold was not brother vnto king Edward, but his vncles sonne.

Winborne.

Hen. Hunt. Adelwold fleeth to the Danes.

Wil. Malm.

After this, king Edward prouiding for the suertie of his subiects against the forraies, which the Danes vsed to make, fortified diuers cities and townes, and stuffed them with great garrisons of souldiers, to defend the inhabitants, and to expell the enimies. And suerlie the Englishmen were so inured with warres in those daies, that the people being aduertised of the inuasion of the enimies in anie part of their countrie, would assemble oftentimes without knowledge of king or capteine, and setting vpon the enimies, went commonlie awaie with victorie, by reason that they ouermatched them both in number and practise. So were the enimies despised of the English souldiers, and laughed to scorne of the king for their foolish attempts. Yet in the third yeare of king Edwards reigne, Adelwold his brother came with a nauie of Danes into the parties of the Eastangles, and euen at the first the Esser men yeelded themselues vnto him. In the yeare

The English nation practised in wars, go commonlie awaie with the victorie.

Hen. Hunt.

Esser yeeldeth to Adelwold.

yeere following he inuaded the countrie of Mercia with a great armie, wasting and spoiling the same vnto Crikelade, and there passing ouer the Thames, rode forth till he came to Basingstoke, or (as some bookes haue) Brittenden, harieng the countrie on each side, and so returned backe vnto Eastangles with great ioy and triumph.

Ran. Higd.

Brittenden.

Hen. Hunt.

King Edward awakened herewith, assembled his people, and followed the enimies, wasting all the countries betwixt the riuer of Duse and saint Edmunds ditch. And when he should returne, he gaue commandement that no man should staie behind him, but come backe together for doubt to be forelaid by the enimies. The Kentishmen notwithstanding this ordinance and commandement, remained behind, although the king sent seuen messengers for them. The Danes awaiting their aduantage, came together, and fiercelie fought with the Kentishmen, which a long time valiantlie defended themselues. But in the end the Danes obteined the victorie, although they lost more people there than the Kentishmen did: and amongst other, there were slaine the foresaid Adelwold, and diuerse of the chiefe capteins amongst the Danes. Likewise of the English side, there died two dukes, Siwolfe & Singlom or Sigbelme, with sundrie other men of name, both temporall and also spirituall lords and abbats. In the fift yeere of his reigne, king Edward concluded a truce with the Danes of Eastangle and Northumberland at Itingford. But in the yeere following, he sent an armie against them of Northumberland, which slue manie of the Danes, and tooke great booties both of people and cattell, remaining in the countrie the space of fiue weekes.

The Kentishmen disobeieng the kings commandement, are surprised by the enimies.

Adelwold king Edwards brother.

Fortie daies saith Simon Dun.

The yeere next insuing, the Danes with a great armie entered into Mercia, to rob & spoile the countrie, against whome king Edward sent a mightie host, assembled togither of the Westsaxons & them of Mercia, which set vpon the Danes, as they were returning homeward, and slue of them an huge multitude, togither with their chiefe capteins and leaders, as king Halden, and king Eolwils; earle Ater, earle Scurfa, and diuerse other. In the yeere 912, or (as Simon Dunel. saith) 908, the duke of Mercia Edred or Etheldred departed this life, and then king Edward seized into his hands the cities of London and Oxford, and all that part of Mercia which he held. But afterwards he suffered his sister Elfleda to inioy the most part thereof, except the said cities of London and Oxford, which he still reteined in his owne hand. This Elfleda was wife to the said duke Edred or Etheldred, as before you haue heard: of whose worthie acts more shall be said hereafter.

Hen. Hunt.

In the ninth yeere of his reigne, king Edward built a castell at Hertford, and likewise he builded a towne in Eſſex at Wightham, and lay himselfe in the meane time at Maldon, otherwise Mealdun, bringing a great part of the countrie vnder his subiection, which before was subiect to the Danes. In the yeere following, the armie of the Danes departed from Northampton and Chester in breach of the former truce, and slue a great number of men at Hochnerton in Oxfordshire. And shortlie after their returne home, an other companie of them went forth, and came to Leighton, where the people of the countrie being assembled togither, fought with them & put them to flight, taking from them all the spoile which they had got, and also their horsses.

Wightham.

Chester, or rather Leicester, as I thinke.

Digetune.

In the 11 yeere of king Edward, a fleet of Danes compassed about the west parts, & came to the mouth of Seuerne, and so tooke preies in Wales: they also tooke prisoner a Welsh bishop named Camelgaret, at Irchenfield, whome they led to their ships: but king Edward redéemed him out of their hands, paieng them fortie pounds for his ransome. After that the armie of Danes went forth to spoile the countrie about Irchenfield, but the people of Chester, Hereford, and other townes and countries thereabout assembled togither, and giuing battell to the enimies, put them to flight, and slue one of their noble men called earle Rehald, and Geoteil the brother of earle Ater, with a great part of their armie, & draue the residue into a castell, which they besieged till the Danes within it gaue hostages, and couenanted to depart out of the kings land. The king caused the coasts about Seuerne to be watched, that they should not breake into his countrie: but yet they stale twise into the borders: neuertheless they were chased and slaine as manie as could not swim, and so get to their ships. Then they remained in the Ile of Stepen, in great miserie for lacke of vittels, bicause they could not go abroad to get anie. At length they departed into Northwales, and from thence sailed into Ireland.

Irchenfield.

Danes discomfited.

The Ile of Stepen.

Deomedun.

Danes saile into Ireland.

The same yeere king Edward came to Buckingham with an armie, and there taried a whole moneth, building two castels, the one vpon the one side of the water of Duse, and the other vpon the other side of the same riuer. He also subdued Turketillus an earle of the Danes that dwelt in that countrie, with all the residue of the noble men and barons of the shires of Bedford and Northampton. In the 12 yeere of king Edwards reigne, the Kentishmen and Danes fought togither at Holme: but whether partie had the victorie, writers haue not declared. Simon Dunelm. speaketh of a battell which the citizens of Canturburie fought against a number of Danish roners at Holme, where the Danes were put to flight, but that should be (as he noteth) 8 yeeres before this supposed time, as in the yeere 904, which was about the third yeere of king Edwards reigne.

Turketillus an earle.

Simon Dun.

After this, other of the Danes assembled themselues togither, and in Staffordshire at a place called Tottenhall fought with the Englishmen, and after great slaughter made on both parties, the Danes were ouercome: and so likewise were they shortlie after at Woodfield or Wodenfield. And thus king Edward put the Danes to the worse in each place commonlie where he came, and hearing that those in Northumberland ment to breake the peace: he inuaded the countrie, and so afflicted the same, that the Danes which were inhabitants there, gladlie continued in rest and peace. But in this meane time, Ericke the king of those Danes which held the countrie of Eastangle, was about to procure new warre, and to allure other of the Danes to ioine with him against the Englishmen, that with common agréement they might set vpon the English nation, and vtterlie subdue them.

Anno, 911.

Simon Dun.

Polydor.

Ericke king of Eastangles

King Edward having intelligence hereof, purposed to preuent him, and thereupon entering with an armie into his countrie, cruellie wasted and spoiled the same. King Ericke hauing alreadie his people in armor through displeasure conceiued hereof, and desire to be reuenged, hasted forth to incounter his enimies: and so they met in the field, and fiercelie assailed ech other. But as the battell was rashlie begun on king Ericks side, so was the end verie harmefull to him: for with small a dow, after great losse on both sides, he was vanquished and put to flight.

King Edward inuadeth the countrie of the Eastangles.

Ericke put to flight.

After his comming home, bicause of his great ouerthrow and fowle discomfiture, he began to gouerne his people with more rigor & sharper dealing than before time he had vsed. Whereby he prouoked the malice of the Eastangles so highlie against him, that they fell vpon him and murthered him: yet did they not gaine so much hereby as they looked to haue done:

done: for shortlie after, they being brought low, and not able to defend their countrie, were compelled to submit themselues vnto king Edward. And so was that kingdome ioined vnto the other dominions of the same king Edward, who shortlie after annexed the kingdome of Mercia vnto other of his dominions, immediatlie vpon the death of his sister Elfleda, whom he permitted to rule that land all hir life.

The kingdom of the Eastangles subdued by K. Edward

Elfleda the sister of king Edward highlie commended for gouernment, what ane-cessarie staie she was vnto him in hir life time, what townes she builded and repared, hir warlike exploits against the Danes, hir death and buriall; the greatest part of Britaine in K. Edwards dominion, he is a great builder and reparer of townes, his death, the dreame of his wife Egina, and the issue of the same, what children king Edward had by his wiues, and how they were employed, the decay of the church by the meanes of troubles procured by the Danes, England first cursed and why; a prouinciall councell summoned for the releise of the churches ruine, Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie sent to Rome, bishops ordeined in sundrie prouinces; dissention among writers what pope should denounce the foresaid curse; a succession of archbishops in the see of Canturburie, one brother killeth another.

## The xviij. Chapter.

NOt without good reason did king Edward permit vnto his sister Elfleda the gouernment of Mercia, during hir life time: for by hir wise and politike order vsed in all hir doings, he was greatlie furthered & assisted; but specialllie in reparing and building of townes & castels, wherein she shewed hir noble magnificence, in so much that during hir gouernment, which continued about eight yeares, it is recorded by writers, that she did build and repare these towns, whose names here insue: Tamworth beside Lichfield, Stafford, Warwike, Shrewsburie, Watersburie or Weddesburie, Elilsburie or rather Cadsburie, in the forrest of De la mere besides Chester, Brimsburie bridge vpon Seuerne, Rouncorne at the mouth of the riuer of Mercia with other. Moreouer, by hir helpe the citie of Chester, which by Danes had bene greatlie defaced, was newlie repared, fortified with walls and turrets, and greatlie inlarged. So that the castell which stood without the walls before that time, was now brought within compasse of the new wall.

Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Simon Dun.

Tamworth was by hir repared, anno 914.

Cadsburie and warwike. 915

Chester repared, 905. Sim. Dun.

Moreouer she boldlie assalted hir enimies which went about to trouble the state of the countrie, as the Welshmen and Danes. She sent an armie into Wales, and tooke the towne of Brecknocke with the queene of the Welshmen at Bricenamere. Also she wan from the Danes the towne of Darbie, and the countrie adioining. In this enterprise she put hir owne person in great aduenture: for a great multitude of Danes that were withdrawen into Darbie, valiantlie defended the gates and entries, in so much that they slue foure of hir chiefe men of warre, which were named wardens of hir person, euen fast by hir at the verie entrie of the gates. But this notwithstanding, with valiant fight hir people entered, and so the towne was won: she got diuerse other places out of their hands, & constreined them of Yorkeshire to agree with hir, so that some of them promised to become hir subiects: some vowed to aid hir, and some sware to be at hir commandement.

Queene of the welshmen taken.

Brecanamere Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt. 918

Darbie won from the Danes.

Finallie, this martiall ladie and manlie Elfleda, the supporter of hir countriemen, and terrour of the enimies, departed this life at Tamworth about the 12 of June, in the 18 or rather 19 yeare of hir brother king Edwards reigne; as by Matth. West. it should appeare. But Simon Dunelm. writeth, that she deceased in the yeare of Christ 915, which should be about the 14 yeare of king Edwards reigne. Hir bodie was conueied to Gloucester, and there buried within the monasterie of S. Peter, which hir husband and she in their life time had builded, and translated thither the bones of saint Oswith from Bardona. The same monasterie was after destroied by Danes. But Aldredus the archbishop of Yorke, who was also bishop of Worcester, repared an other in the same citie, that was after the chiefe abbeie there. Finallie, in memorie of the said Elfleds magnanimitie and valorous mind, this epitaph was fixed on hir tome.

Anno Christi 919. Matt. West. Simon Dun.

Ranul.

*O Elfleda potens, ô terror virgo virorum,*
*O Elfleda potens, nomine digna viri.*
*Te quoque splendidior fecit natura puellam,*
*Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.*
*Femutare decet sed solum nomina sexus,*
*Tu regina potens, rexque trophea pares.*
*Iam nec Cæsareos tantum mirere triumphos,*
*Cæsare splendidior virgo virago, vale.*

O puissant Elfled, ô thou maid
of men the dread and feare,
O puissant Elfled worthie maid
the name of man to beare.
A noble nature hath thee made
a maiden mild to bee,
Thy vertue also hath procurde
a manlie name to thee.
It dooth but onelie thee become,
of sex to change the name,
A puissant queene, a king art thou
preparing trophes of fame.
Now maruell not so much at Cæsars triumphs [trim to vieu;]
O manlike maiden more renowmd
than Cæsar was, adieu.

Translated by Abraham Fleming.

After the decease of Elfleda, king Edward tooke the dominion of Mercia (as before we haue said) into his owne hands, and so disherited his neece Alfwen or Elfwen, the daughter of Elfleda, taking hir awaie with him into the countrie of Westsaxons. By this meanes he so amplified the bounds of his kingdome, that he had the most part of all this Iland of Britaine at his commandement: for the kings of the Welshmen; namelie the king of Stretcled, and of the Scots, acknowleging him to be their chiefe souereigne lord, and the Danes in Northumberland were kept so short, that they durst attempt nothing against him in his latter daies: so that he had time to applie the building and reparing of cities, townes, and castels, wherein he so much delighted. He builded a new towne at Notingham on the southside of Trent, and made a bridge ouer that riuer betwixt the old towne and the new. He also repared Manchester beyond the riuer of Mercia in Lancashire, accounted as then in the south end of Northumberland, and he built a towne of ancient writers called Thilwall, nere to the same riuer of Mercia, and placed therein a garrison of souldiers: diuerse other townes and castels he built, as two at Buckingham on either side the water of Ouse (as before is shewed) and also one at the mouth of the riuer of Anon. He likewise built or new repared the townes of Toceter and Wigmore, with diuerse other, as one at Glademuth, about the last yeare of his reigne. Some also he destroied which seemed to serue the enimies turne for harborough, as a castell at Temnesford, which the Danes builded and fortified.

This Ifleu was sister to Edelfled, as H. Hunt. saith.

Stratcluid or Stretcled, a kingdome in wales.

K. Edward great builder and reparer of townes.

Notingham bridge built.

Matt. West. Manchester repared. Anno 816. Simon Dun.

Henr. Hunt.

At length, after that this noble prince king Edward had reigned somewhat aboue the tearme of 23 yeares, he was taken out of this life at Faringdon: his

Anno 903.

his bodie was conueied from thence vnto Winchester, and there buried in the new abbeie. He had three wiues, or (as some haue written) but two, affirming that Edgiua was not his wife, but his concubine, of whome he begat his eldest sonne Adelstan, who succéeded him in the kingdome. This Edgiua (as hath Polydor. beene reported) dreamed on a time that there rose a mone out of hir bellie, which with the bright shine Dreame. thereof gaue light ouer all England: and telling hir dreame to an ancient gentlewoman, who coniecturing by the dreame that which followed, toke care of hir, and caused hir to be brought vp in good manners and like a gentlewoman, though she were borne but of base parentage.

Heere vpon when she came to ripe yéeres, king Edward by chance comming to the place where she was remaining, vpon the first sight was straight rauished with hir beautie (which in deed excelled) that she could not rest till he had his pleasure of hir, and so begot of hir the foresaid Adelstan: by hir he had also a daughter that was maried vnto Sithrike a Dane and K. Matt. West. of Northumberland. The Scotish writers name hir Polydor. Beatrice, but our writers name hir Editha. His second or rather his first wife (if he were not maried to Eguina mother to Adelstan) was called Elfleda or Elfrida, daughter to one earle Ethelme, by whom he had issue; to wit, two sonnes Ethelward and Edwin, which immediatlie departed this life after their The issue of K. Edward. father; and sir daughters, Elfleda, Edgiua, Ethelhilda, Ethilda, Edgitha, and Elfgiua. Elfleda became a nun, and Ethelhilda also liued in perpetuall virginitie, but yet in a laie habit.

Alias Edgiua. Edgitha was maried to Charles king of France, surnamed Simpler. And Ethilda by helpe of hir brother Adelstan was bestowed vpon Hugh sonne to Wil. Malm. Robert earle of Paris, for hir singular beautie most highlie estéemed: sith nature in hir had shewed as it were hir whole cunning, in perfecting hir with all gifts and properties of a comelie personage. Edgiua and Elgiua were sent by their brother Adelstan into Germanie, vnto the emperor Henrie, who bestowed one of them vpon his sonne Otho, that was after emperor, the first of that name; and the other vpon a duke inhabiting about the Alpes: by his last wife named Edgiua, he had also two sonnes, Edmund & Eldred, the which both reigned after their brother Adelstan successiuelie. Also he had by hir two daughters, Edburge that was made a nun, and Edgiue a ladie of excellent beautie, whom hir brother Adelstan gaue in mariage vnto Lewes king of Aquitaine.

Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Whilest this land was in continuall trouble of warres against the Danes, as before is touched, small regard was had to the state of the church, in so much that the whole countrie of the Westsaxons by the space of seuen yéeres togither (in the daies of this king Edward) remained without anie bishop, to take order in matters apperteining to the church. England first accursed. Wherevpon the pope had accursed the English people, bicause they suffred the bishops sées to be vacant so long a time. King Edward to auoid the cursse, assembled a prouinciall councell, 905, in the which the Anno 903. archbishop of Canturburie Pleimond was president. Wherein it was ordeined, that whereas the prouince of Westsaxons in times past had but two bishops, now it should be diuided into fiue dioceses, euerie of them to haue a peculiar bishop.

When all things were ordered and concluded in this synod (as was thought requisite) the archbishop was sent to Rome with rich presents, to appease the popes displeasure. When the pope had heard what order the king had taken, he was contented therewith. And so the archbishop returned into his countrie, and in one day at Canturburie ordeined seuen bishops, as fiue to the prouince of Westsaxons, that is to say, Fridestane to the see of Winchester, Adelstan to S. German in Cornwall, Werstan to Shireborne, Adelme to Welles, and Edulfe to Kirton. Also to the prouince of Suffer he ordeined one Wernegus, and to Dorchester for the prouince of Mercia one Cenulfus. Winchester. Cornwall. Shireborne. Welles. Kirton. Mercie.

¶ Heere ye must note, that where William Malme. Polychro. and other do affirme, that pope Formosus did accursse king Edward and the English nation, for suffering the bishops sées to be vacant, it can not stand with the agréement of the time, vnlesse that the curse pronounced by Formosus for this matter long afore was not regarded, vntill Edward had respect thereto. For the same Formosus began to gouerne the Romane see about the yeere of our Lord 892, and liued in the papasie not past fiue yeeres, so that he was dead before king Edward came to the Polydor. crowne. But how so euer this matter maie fall out, this ye haue to consider: although that Pleimond was sent vnto Rome to aduertise the pope what the king had decréed & done, in the ordeining of bishops to their seuerall sées, as before ye haue heard, yet (as maister Fox hath noted) the gouernance and direction of the church depended chiefle vpon the kings of this land in those daies, as it manifestlie appeareth, as well by the decrees of king Alfred, as of this king Edward, whose authoritie in the election of bishops (as before ye haue heard) seemed then alone to be sufficient.

Wil. Malm. saith that pope Formosus pronounced this curse. 904

Moreouer, I thinke it good to aduertise you in this place, that this Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie (of whome ye haue heard before) was the 19 in number from Augustine the first archbishop there: for after Brightwold that was the 8 in number, and first of the English nation that gouerned the see, succéeded Tadwin, that sat three yéeres, Notelm fiue yéeres, Cuthbert 18 yeeres, Brethwin three yeeres, Lambert 27 yéeres, Adelard 13 yéeres, Wilfred 28 yéeres, Theologildus or Pleogildus 3 yéeres, Celnotus or Chelutus 10 yéeres. Then succéeded Aldred, of whome king Edward receiued the crowne, and he was predecessor to Pleimond. A litle before the death Hen. Hunt. of king Edward, Sithrike the king of Northumberland killed his brother Sigellus, and then king Reinold conquered the citie of Yorke.

## Adelstane succeedeth his father Edward *in the kingdome, Alfred practising* by treason to keepe him from the gouernement, *sanke downe suddenlie as he was taking his* oth for his purgation; the cause why Alfred opposed *himselfe against Adelstane, whose praise is notable, what he* did to satisfie the expectation of his people, ladie Beatrice king Edwards daughter maried to Sithrike a Danish gouernor of the Northumbers, by whose meanes Edwin king Edwards brother was drowned, practises of treason, the ladie Beatrice strangelie put to death by hir stepsons for being of counsell to poison hir husband Sithrike, hir death reuenged vpon the tormentors by hir father king Edward, and how chronographers varie in the report of this historie.

## *The xix. Chapter.*

*Adelstan.* Matt. West. Will. Malmes. 924

ADelstane the eldest sonne of king Edward began his reigne ouer the more part of all England, the yéere of our Lord 924, which was in the 6 yere of the emperour Henrie the first, in the 31 yéere of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simpler king of France, three moneths after the burning of Pauie, & about the 22 or 23 yéere of Constantine the third, king of Scotland. This Adelstane

delstane was crowned and consecrated king at Kingstone vpon Thames, of Aldelme the archbishop of Canturburie, who succeeded Pleimond. He was the 24 king in number from Cerdicus or Cerdike the first king of the Westsarons. There were in the beginning some that set themselues against him, as one Alfred a noble man, which practised by treason to haue kept him from the gouernement: but he was apprehended yer he could bring his purpose to passe, and sent to Rome there to trie himselfe giltie or not giltie. And as he tooke his oth for his purgation before the altar of saint Peter, he suddenlie fell downe to the earth, so that his seruants tooke him vp, and bare him into the English schole or hospitall, where the third night after he died.

Alfred striueth in vaine to keepe Adelstane from the gouernment. Wil. Malm. See more hereof in the acts and monuments set forth by M. Fox, vol. 1. leafe 195.

Pope Iohn the tenth sent vnto king Adelstane, to know if he would that his bodie should be laid in christian buriall or not. The king at the contemplation of Alfreds friends and kinsfolks, signified to the pope that he was contented that his bodie should be interred amongst other christians. His lands being forfeited were giuen by the king vnto God and saint Peter. The cause that moued Alfred and other his complices against the king, was (as some haue alledged) his bastardie. But whether that allegation were true or but a slander, this is certeine, that except that steine of his honor, there was nothing in this Adelstane worthie of blame: so that he darkened all the glorious fame of his predecessors, both in vertuous conditions and victorious triumphs. Such difference is there to haue that in thy selfe wherein to excell, rather than to stand vpon the worthinesse of thine ancestors, sith that can not rightlie be called a mans owne.

After that king Adelstane was established in the estate, he indeuored himselfe to answer the expectation of his people, which hoped for great wealth to insue by his noble and prudent gouernance. First therfore meaning to prouide for the suertie of his countrie, he concluded a peace with Sithrike king of the Northumbers, vnto whome (as ye haue heard) he gaue one of his sisters named Editha in mariage. Sithrike liued not past one yeere after he had so maried hir. And then Adelstane brought the prouince of the Northumbers vnto his subiection, expelling one Aldulph out of the same that rebelled against him. There be that write, that Godfrie and Aulafe the sonnes of Sithrike succeeding their father in the gouernement of Northumberland, by practising to moue warre against king Adelstane, occasioned him to inuade their countrie, and to chase them out of the same, so that Aulafe fled into Ireland, & Godfrie into Scotland: but other write, that Godfrie was the father of Reignold which wan Yorke, after that Sithrike had slaine his brother Nigellus, as before is mentioned.

Anno 925. Simon Dun. Polydor.

Wil. Malm.

H. Hunt.

¶ The Scotish chronicles varie in report of these matters from the English writers: whose chronicles affirme, that in the life time of king Edward, his daughter Beatrice was giuen in mariage to Sithrike, the gouernor of the Danes in Northumberland, with condition that if anie male were procreated in that mariage, the same should inherit the dominions of king Edward after his decease. King Edward had a brother (as they say) named Edwin, a iolie gentleman, and of great estimation amongst the Englishmen. He by Sithrikes procurement was sent into Flanders in a ship that leaked, and so was drowned, to the great reioising of all the Danes, least if he had suruiued his brother, he would haue made some businesse for the crowne.

Hect. Boetius. The Scotish writers varie from our English authors. Beatrice daughter to K. Edward as the Scotish writers say. Edwin was not brother to K. Edward but son to him.

About the same time Adelstane a base sonne of K. Edward fled the realme, for doubt to be made away by some like traitorous practise of the Danes. Shortlie after, king Edward vnderstanding that Sithrike went about some mischiefe toward him, persuaded his daughter to poison hir husband the said Sithrike. Then Aulafe or Aualassus, and Godfrie the sonnes of Sithrike, finding out by diligent examination, that Beatrice was of counsell in poisoning hir husband, they caused hir to be apprehended and put to death on this wise. She was set naked vpon a smithes cold anuill or stithie, and therewith hard rosted egs being taken out of the hot imbers were put vnder hir armepits, and hir armes fast bound to hir bodie with a cord, and so in that state she remained till hir life passed from hir. King Edward in reuenge of his daughters death moued warre against the two brethren, Aulafe and Godfrie, and in battell finallie vanquished them, but was slaine in the same battell himselfe.

Beatrice put to death by hir stepsons.

Thus haue the Scotish chronicles recorded of these matters, as an induction to the warres which followed betwixt the Scots and Danes as confederates against king Adelstane: but the truth thereof we leaue to the readers owne iudgement. For in our English writers we find no such matter, but that a daughter of king Edward named Edgitha or Editha, after hir fathers decease was by hir brother king Adelstane, about the first yeere of his reigne, giuen in mariage (as before ye haue heard) vnto the foresaid Sithrike king of Northumberland, that was descended of the Danish bloud, who for the loue of the yong ladie, renounced his heathenish religion and became a christian; but shortlie after, forsaking both his wife and the christian faith, he set vp againe the worshipping of idols, and within a while after, as an apostata miserablie ended his life. Whervpon the yong ladie, hir virginitie being preserued, and hir bodie vndefiled (as they write) passed the residue of hir daies at Polleswoorth in Warwikeshire, spending hir time (as the same writers affirme) in fasting, watching, praieng, and doing of almesdeedes, and so at length departed out of this world. Thus our writers differ from the Scotish historie, both in name and maner of end as concerning the daughter of king Edward that was coupled in mariage with Sithrike.

Polydor.

Editha virgins.

## Adelstane subdueth Constantine king of Scots, Howell king of Wales, and Wulferth king of Northwales, the Scots possesse a great part of the north countries, Adelstane conquereth the Scots for aiding Godfrie his enimie; a miracle declaring that the Scots ought to obey the king of England; king Adelstane banisheth his brother Edwin, he is for a conspiracie drowned in the sea, Adelstane repenteth him of his rigour (in respect of that misfortune) against his brother; Aulafe sometimes king of Northumberland inuadeth England, he disguiseth himselfe like a minstrell and surueieth the English campe vnsuspected, he is discouered after his departure, he assaileth the English campe, Adelstane being comforted with a miracle discomfiteth his enimies, he maketh them of Northwales his tributaries, he subdueth the Cornishmen, his death; the description of his person, his vertues, of what abbeis & monasteries he was founder, his estimation in forren realmes, what pretious presents were sent him from other princes, and how he bestowed them; a remembrance of Guy the erle of Warwike.

## The xx. Chapter.

After that king Adelstane had subdued them of Northumberland, he was aduertised, that not onelie Constantine king of Scots, but also Yuduale or Howell K. of Wales went about a priuie conspiracie against him. Here-

The Scots subdued.

A token shewed miraculouslie that the Scots ought to be subiect to the kings of England.



Wil. Malm. March. West. The noble reigne of king Adelstane. 926

Here ye power, tune sul ferth K ned to ter mo restore as they vnder eng, than to Ye Scotish that th of Cum their po ning v chance in the his son part of conque vnto of the Da tants t bey him is said there b that he same i resine they w ceiued puissan ting to ted, th being s thus ai northwa At his the wat uerlie missing dæme ded and Scotlan der and the coal so he b mies to same K It is towne instan him t thereof and sho to be su the king standing stroke, length a witne commin with a Aft of son where in an o onelie a lanched twin lea the esqu and bro

934

Ran. Higd.

Sim. Dun.

Wil. Malm. Matt. West. 934

Wil. Malm. Herevpon with all conuenient spéed assembling his power, he went against them, and with like good fortune subdued them both, and also Vimer or Wulferth K. of Northwales, so that they were constreined to submit themselues vnto him, who shortlie after moued with pitie in considering their sudden fall, restored them all three to their former estates, but so as they should acknowledge themselues to gouerne vnder him, pronouncing withall this notable saieng, that More honorable it was to make a king, than to be a king.

March. West. The noble saieng of king Adelstane. 926

We must vnderstand, that (as it appeareth in the Scotish chronicles) the Scotishmen in time of warrs that the Danes gaue the English nation, got a part of Cumberland and other the north countries into their possession, and so by reason of their neere adioining vnto the confines of the English kings, there chanced occasions of warre betwixt them, as well in the daies of king Edward, as of this Adelstane his sonne, although in déed the Danes held the more part of the north countries, till that this Adelstane conquered the same out of their hands, and ioined it vnto other of his dominions, constreining as well the Danes (of whome the more part of the inhabitants then consisted) as also the Englishmen, to obey him: as their king and gouernour. Godfrie (as is said) being fled to the Scots, did so much preuaile there by earnest sute made to king Constantine, that he got a power of men, and entring with the same into Northumberland, besieged the citie of Duresme, soliciting the citizens to receiue him, which they would gladlie haue done, if they had not perceiued how he was not of power able to resist the puissance of king Adelstane: and therefore doubting to be punished for their offenses if they revolted, they kept the enimies out. King Adelstane being sore moued against the king of Scots, that thus aided his enimies, raised an armie, and went northward, purposing to reuenge that iniurie.

Polydor.

934

Ran. Higd. At his comming into Yorkshire, he turned out of the way, to visit the place where saint John of Beuerlie was buried, and there offered his knife, promising that if he returned with victorie, he would redéeme the same with a worthie price: and so proceeded and went forwards on his iournie, and entring Scotland, wasted the countrie by land vnto Dunfoader and Wertermore, and his nauie by sea destroied the coasts alongst the shore, euen to Catnesse, and so he brought the king of Scots and other his enimies to subiection at his pleasure, constreining the same K. of Scots to deliuer him his son in hostage.

Sim. Dun.

The Scots subdued.

It is said, that being in his iournie néere vnto the towne of Dunbar, he praied vnto God, that at the instance of saint John of Beuerlie, it would please him to grant, that he might shew some open token, whereby it should appeare to all them that then liued, and should hereafter succéed, that the Scots ought to be subiect vnto the kings of England. Herewith, the king with his sword smote vpon a great stone standing néere to the castle of Dunbar, and with the stroke, there appeared a clift in the same stone to the length of an elne, which remained to be shewed as a witnesse of that thing manie yeares after. At his comming backe to Beuerlie, he redéemed his knife with a large price, as before he had promised.

A token shewed miraculouslie that the Scots ought to be subiect to the kings of England.

Wil. Malm. Matt. West. 934

After this was Edwin the kings brother accused of some conspiracie by him begun against the king, whereupon he was banished the land, and sent out in an old rotten vessell without rower or mariner, onelie accompanied with one esquier, so that being lanched forth from the shore, through despaire Edwin leapt into the sea, and drowned himselfe, but the esquier that was with him recouered his bodie, and brought it to land at Withsand besides Cantur-

burie. But Iames Maier in the annales of Flanders saieth, that he was drowned by fortune of the seas in a small vessell, and being cast vp into a créeke on the coast of Picardie, was found by Adolfe earle of Bullongne that was his cosin germane, and honorablie buried by the same Adolfe in the church of Bertine. In consideration of which déed of pietie and dutie of mindfull consanguinitie, the king of England both hartilie thanked earle Adolfe, and bestowed great gifts vpon the church where his brother was thus buried. For verelie king Adelstane after his displeasure was asswaged, and hearing of this miserable end of his brother, sore repented himselfe of his rigour so extended towards him, in so much that he could neuer abide the man that had giuen the information against him, which was his cupbearer, so that on a time as the said cupbearer serued him at the table, and came towards him with a cup of wine, one of his fet chanced to slide, but he recouered himselfe with the helpe of the other fot, saieng, One brother yet hath holpen & succored the other: which words cost him his life. For the king remembring that by his accusation he had lost his brother that might haue béene an aid to him, caused this said cupbearer to be straight put to death.

Repentance too late.

Wil. Malm. In this meane while, Aulafe the sonne of Sithericke, late king of Northumberland (who is also named by writers to be king of the Irishmen, and of manie Ilands) assembled a great power of Danes, Irishmen, Scots, and other people of the out Iles, and imbarked them in 615 ships and craiers, with the which he arriued in the mouth of Humber, and there comming on land, began to inuade the countrie. This Aulafe had maried the daughter of Constantine king of Scots, by whose procurement, notwithstanding his late submission, Aulafe toke in hand this iournie. King Adelstane aduertised of his enimies arriuall, gathered his people, and with all conuenient spéed hasted towards them, and approching nérer vnto them, pitcht downe his field at a place called by some Brimesburie, by others Brimesford, and also Brunanburght, and by the Scotish writers Browningfield.

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Simon Dun.

Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Hector Boet. Ran. Higd.

When knowledge hereof was had in the enimies campe, Aulafe enterprised a maruelous exploit, for taking with him an harpe, he came into the English campe, offring himselfe disguised as a minstrell, to shew some part of his cunning in musicke vpon his instrument: and so being suffered to passe from tent to tent, and admitted also to plaie afore the king, surueied the whole state and order of the armie. This done, he returned, meaning by a cammisado to set vpon the kings tent. But one that had serued as a souldier sometime vnder Aulafe, chanced by marking his demeanour to know him, and after he was gone, vttered to the king what he knew. The king séemed to be displeased, in that he had not told him so much before Aulafs departure: but in excusing himselfe, the souldier said: We must remember (if it like your grace) that the same faith which I haue giuen vnto you, I sometime owght vnto Aulafe, therfore if I should haue betraied him now, you might well stand in doubt least I should hereafter do the like to you: but if you will follow mine aduise, remoue your tent, least happilie he assaile you vnwares. The king did so, and as it chanced in the night following, Aulafe came to assaile the English campe, and by fortune comming to the place where the kings tent stood before, he found a bishop lodged, which with his companie was come the same day to the armie, and had pitcht vp his tent in that place from whence the king was remoued: and so was the same bishop, and most part of his men there slaine. which slaughter executed, Aulafe passed forward,

Aulafe disguised, commeth to view the English campe.

Aulafe assaileth the English campe.

ward, and came to the kings tent, who in this meane time, by reason of the alarum raised, was got vp, and taking to him his sword in that sudden fright, by chance it fell out of the scabbard, so that he could not find it, but calling to God and S. Aldelme (as Ran. Higd. saith Polychron.) his sword was restored to the scabbard againe. The king comforted with that miracle, boldlie prealed forth vpon his enimies, and so valiantlie resisted them, that in the end he put them to flight, and chased them all that morning and day following, so that he slue of them an huge number. Wil. Malm. The enimies discomfited. Some haue written, that Constantine king of Scots was slaine at this ouerthrow, and fiue other small kings or rulers, with 12 dukes, and welnére all the armie of those strange nations which Aulafe had gathered togither. But the Scotish chronicles affirme, that Constantine was not there himselfe, but sent his sonne Malcolme, which yet escaped sore hurt and wounded from the battell, as in the same chronicles ye may see more at large.

Ran. Higd. When K. Adelstane had thus vanquished his enimies in the north parties of England, he went against them of Northwales, whose rulers and princes he caused to come before him at Hereford, and there handled them in such sort, that they couenanted to pay him yearlie in lieu of a tribute 20 pounds of gold, 300 pounds of siluer, and 25 head of neate, with hawks and hounds a certeine number. Tribute. After this, he subdued the Cornishmen: and whereas till those daies they inhabited the citie of Excester, mingled amongest the Englishmen, so that the one nation was as strong within that citie as the other, he rid them quite out of the same, and repared the walles, and fortified them with ditches and turrets as the maner then was, and so remoued the Cornish men further into the west parts of the countrie, that he made Tamer water to be the confines betweene the Englishmen and them. Finallie the noble prince king Adelstane departed out of this world, the 26 day of October, after he had reigned the tearme of 16 yeares. His bodie was buried at Malmesburie.

The Cornish men subdued. Excester repared.

940 Simon Dun. The decease of king Adelstane.

The description of king Adelstane. He was of such a stature, as exceeded not the common sort of men, stoping somewhat, and yellowe haired, for his valiancie ioined with courtesie beloued of all men, yet sharpe against rebels, and of inuincible constancie: his great deuotion toward the church appeared in the building, adorning & indowing of monasteries and abbeis. He built one at Wilton within the diocesse of Salisburie, and an other at Michelnie in Summersetshire. But besides these foundations, there were few famous monasteries within this land, but that he adorned the same either with some new péece of building, iewels, bookes, or portion of lands. He had in exceeding fauour Wolstan archbishop of Yorke that liued in his daies, for whose sake he greatlie inriched that bishoprike. His fame spread ouer all the parties of Europe, so that sundrie princes thought themselues happie if they might haue his friendship, either by affinitie or otherwise: by meanes whereof, he bestowed his sisters so highlie in mariage as before ye haue heard. He receiued manie noble and rich presents from diuers princes, as from Hugh king of France, horsses and sundrie rich iewels, with certeine relikes: as Constantines sword, in the hilt whereof was set one of the nailes wherewith Christ was fastened to the crosse, the speare of Charles the great, which was thought to be the same wherewith the side of our sauiour was pearced, the banner of saint Maurice, with a part of the holie crosse, and likewise a part of the thorned crowne: yet Mandeuile saw the one halfe of this crowne in France, and the other at Constantinople, almost 400 yeares after this time, as he writeth. Of these iewels king Adelstane gaue part to the abbie of saint Swithon at Winchester, and part to the abbie of Malmesburie. Moreouer, the king of Norwaie sent vnto him a goodlie ship of fine workmanship, with gilt sterne and purple sailes, furnished round about the decke within with a rowe of gilt pauises. ¶ In the daies of this Adelstane reigned that right worthie Guy earle of Warwike, who (as some writers haue recorded) fought with a mightie giant of the Danes in a singular combat, and vanquished him. Harding.

Wolstan archbishop of Yorke.

His estimation in forraine realmes.

## Edmund succeedeth Adelstane in the kingdome, the Danes of Northumberland rebell against him, a peace concluded betwene Aulafe their king and king Edmund vpon conditions, Aulafe dieth, another of that name succeedeth him; king Edmund subdueth the Danes, and compelleth them to receiue the christian faith, Reinold and Aulafe are baptised, they violate their fealtie vowed to king Edmund, they are put to perpetuall exile; why king Edmund wasted all Northumberland, caused the eies of king Dunmails sonnes to be put out, and assigned the said countrie to Malcolme king of Scots; the Scotish chroniclers error in peruerting the time & order of the English kings, king Edmunds lawes, by what misfortune he came to his end, how his death was foreshewed to Dunstane in a vision, a tale of the vertue of the crosse, Dunstane reproueth duke Elstane, his dreame, and how the interpretation thereof came to passe.

## The xxj. Chapter.

After that Adelstane was departed this life, without leauing issue behind to succéed him in the kingdome, his brother Edmund, sonne of Edward the elder, borne of his last wife Edgiue, toke vpon him the gouernement of this land, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 940, which was in the fift yeare of the emperor Otho the 1, in the 13 of Lewes surnamed Transmarinus king of France, and about the 38 yeare of Constantine the third king of Scotland. The Danes of Northumberland rebelled against this Edmund, and ordeined Aulafe to be their king, whom they had called out of Ireland. Some write that this Aulafe, which now in the beginning of Edmunds reigne came into Northumberland, was king of Norwaie, & hauing a great power of men with him, marched forth towards the south parts of this land, in purpose to subdue the whole: but king Edmund raised a mightie armie, and incountred with his enimies at Leicester. Howbeit, yer the matter came to the vttermost triall of battell, through the earnest sute of the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke Odo and Wolstan, a peace was concluded; so as Edmund should inioy all that part of the land which lieth from Watlingstréet southward, & Aulafe should inioy the other part as it lieth from the same stréet northward. Then Aulafe toke to wife the ladie Aldiua, daughter to earle Ormus, by whose counsell and assistance he had thus obteined the vpper hand. But this Aulafe in the yeare following, after he had destroied the church of saint Walter, and burned Cuningham, departed this life. Then the other Aulafe that was sonne to king Sithrike, toke vpon him to gouerne the Northumbers.

Edmund. Wil. Malm. 940. Simon Dun. A peace concluded. Polydor. The lawes of king Edmund. 941 Matth. West. Aulafe dieth. Another Aulafe taketh vpon him the rule. 941 Nine yeares and 7 months hath Si. Dun.

After this, in the yeare 942, king Edmund assembling an armie, first subdued those Danes which had got into their possession the cities and townes of Lincolne, Leicester, Darbie, Stafford, and Notingham,

ham, constreining them to receiue the christian faith, and reduced all the countries euen vnto Humber vnder his subiection. This done, Aulafe and Reinold the sonne of Garmo, who (as you haue heard) subdued Yorke, as a meane the sooner to obteine peace, offered to become christians, & to submit themselues vnto him: whereupon he receiued them to his peace. There be that write, that this Aulafe is not that Aulafe which was sonne to king Sithrike, but rather that the other was he with whom king Edmund made partition of the realme: but they agree, that this second Aulafe was a Dane also, & being conuerted to the faith as well through constraint of the kings puissance, as through the preaching of the gospell, was baptised, king Edmund being godfather both vnto him, and vnto the foresaid Reinold, to Aulafe at the verie fontstone, and to Reinold at his confirmation at the bishops hands. Neuertheless, their wicked natures could not rest in quiet, so that they brake both promise to God, and to their prince, and were therefore in the yeare next following driuen both out of the countrie, and punished by perpetuall exile. And so king Edmund adioined Northumberland, without admitting anie other immediat gouernor, vnto his owne estate.

Garmo or Godfrey. Will. Malm.

944 Simon. Dun.

Moreouer, he wasted and spoiled whole Cumberland, because he could not reduce the people of that countrie vnto due obeisance, and conformable subiection. The two sonnes of Dunmaile king of that prouince he apprehended, and caused their eies to be put out. Herewith vpon consideration either of such aid as he had receiued of the Scots at that time, or some other friendlie respect, he assigned the said countrie of Cumberland vnto Malcolme king of Scots, to hold the same by fealtie of him and his successors. The Scotish chronicles, peruerting the time and order of the acts and doings of the English kings which reigned about this season, affirme, that by couenants of peace concluded betwixt Malcolme king of Scotland, and Adelstan king of England, it was agreed, that Cumberland should remaine to the Scots: as in their chronicles you may find at full expressed. And againe, that Indulfe, who succeeded Malcolme in the kingdome of Scotland, aided king Edmund against Aulafe, whom the same chronicles name Aualaffus, but the time which they attribute vnto the reignes of their kings, will not alow the same to stand. For by account of their writers, king Malcolme began not his reigne till after the decease of king Adelstan, who departed this life in the yeare 940. And Malcolme succeeded Constantine the third in the yeare 944, which was about the third yeare of king Edmunds reigne, and after Malcolme (that reigned 15 yeares) succeeded Indulfe in the yeare 959. The like discordance proceedeth and followeth in their writers, as to the diligent reader, in conferring their chronicles with ours, manifestlie appeareth. We therefore (to satisfie the desirous to vnderstand and see the diuersitie of writers) haue for the more part in their chronicles left the same as we found it.

Leolin king of South-wales aided king Edmund in this enterprise. 946

But now to the other doings of king Edmund: it is recorded, that he ordeined diuers good and wholsome lawes, verie profitable and necessarie for the commonwealth, which lawes with diuers other of like antiquitie are forgot and blotted out by rust of time, the consumer of things worthie of long remembrance (as saith Polydor:) but sithens his time they haue beene recouered for the more part, & by maister William Lambert turned into Latine, & were imprinted by Iohn Day, in the yeare 1568, as before I haue said. Finallie, this prince king Edmund, after he had reigned fiue yeares and a halfe, he came to his end by great misfortune. For (as some say) it chanced, that espieng where one of his seruants was in danger to be slaine amongest his enimies that were about him with drawen swords, as he stepped in to haue holpen his seruant, he was slaine at a place called Pulcher church, or (as other haue) Michelsbourgh.

Polydor. The lawes of king Edmund.

Fiue yeares and 7 months hath Si. Dun.

Other say, that keeping a great feast at the aforesaid place on the day of saint Augustine the English apostle (which is the 26 of Maie, and as that yeare came about, it fell on the tuesday) as he was set at the table, he espied where a common robber was placed neere vnto him, whome sometime he had banished the land, and now being returned without licence, he presumed to come into the kings presence, wherewith the king was so moued with high disdaine, that he suddenlie arose from the table, and flew vpon the theefe, and catching him by the heare of the head, threw him vnder his feet, wherewith the theefe, hauing fast hold on the king, brought him downe vpon him also, and with his knife stroke him into the bellie, in such wise, that the kings bowels fell out of his chest, and there presentlie died. The theefe was hewen in peeces by the kings seruants, but yet he slue and hurt diuers before they could dispatch him. This chance was lamentable, namelis to the English people, which by the ouertimelie death of their king, in whome appeared manie euident tokens of great excellencie, lost the hope which they had conceiued of great wealth to increase by his prudent and most princelie gouernement. His bodie was buried at Glastenburie where Dunstane was then abbat.

Pridecire saith Si. Dun. Will. Malm. Matth. West. 946

There be that write, that the death of king Edmund was signified aforehand to Dunstane, who about the same time attending vpon the same king, as he remoued from one place to an other, chanced to accompanie himselfe with a noble man, one duke Elstane, and as they rode togither, behold suddenlie Dunstane saw in the waie before him, where the kings musicians rode, the diuell running and leaping amongst the same musicians after a reioising maner, whome after he had beheld a good while, he said to the duke; Is it possible that you may see that which I see? The duke answered that he saw nothing otherwise than he ought to see. Then said Dunstane, Blesse your eies with the signe of the crosse, and trie whether you can see that I see. And when he had done as Dunstane appointed him, he saw also the feend in likenesse of a little short euill fauoured Aethiopian dansing and leaping, whereby they gathered that some euill hap was towards some of the companie: but when they had crossed and blessed them, the foule spirit vanished out of their sight.

Capgraue.

A vaine tale.

Crossing driueth light of the diuels, and crossing driueth them away.

Now after they had talked of this vision, and made an end of their talke touching the same, the duke required of Dunstane to interpret a dreame which he had of late in sleepe, and that was this: He thought that he saw in a vision the king with all his nobls sit in his dining chamber at meate, and as they were there making merrie togither, the king chanced to fall into a dead sleepe, and all the noble men, and those of his councell that were about him were changed into robucks and goats. Dunstane quicklie declared that this dreame signified the kings death, and the changing of the nobles into dum and insensible beasts betokened that the princes & gouernors of the realme should decline from the waie of truth, and wander as foolish beasts without a guide to rule them. Also the night after this talke when the king was set at supper, Dunstane saw the same spirit, or some other, walke vp and downe amongst them that waited at the table, and within three daies after, the king was slaine, as before ye haue heard.

Dunstane an interpretor of dreames.

Dunstan seeth the diuell often, but now he was become a waiter at the table when Dunstane sat with the king.

Edred succedeth his brother Edmund *in the realme of England, the Northum-* bers rebell against him, they and the Scots *sweare to be his true subiects, they breake their* oth and ioine with Aulafe the Dane, who returneth *into Northumberland, and is made king thereof, the people* expell him and erect Hericius in his roome, king Edred taketh reuenge on the Northumbers for their disloialtie, the rereward of his armie is assalted by an host of his enimies issuing out of Yorke, the Northumbers submit themselues, and put awaie Hericius their king, Wolstane archbishop of Yorke punished for his disloialtie, whereto Edred applied himselfe after the appeasing of ciuill tumults, his death and buriall, a speciall signe of Edreds loue to Dunstane abbat of Glastenburie, his practise of cousenage touching king Edreds treasure.

## *The xxij. Chapter.*

*Edred.*

EDred the brother of Edmund, and sonne to Edward the elder and to Edgiue his last wife, began his reigne ouer the realme of England in the yeare of our Lord 946, or (as other say) 997, which was in the twelfe yeare of the emperor Otho the first, and in the 21 yeare of the reigne of Lewes K. of France, & about the third or fourth yeare of Malcolme the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was crowned and annointed the 16 day of August by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie at Kingstone vpon Thames. In the first yeare of his reigne, the Northumbers rebelled against him, whereupon he raised an armie, inuaded their countrie, and subdued them by force. This done, he went forward into Scotland: but the Scots without shewing anie resistance submitted themselues vnto him, and so both Scots and Northumbers receiued an oth to be true vnto him, which they obserued but a small while, for he was no sooner returned into the south parts, but that Aulafe which had beene chased out of the countrie by king Edmund, as before ye haue heard, returned into Northumberland with a great nauie of ships, and was ioifullie receiued of the inhabitants, and restored againe to the kingdome, which he held by the space of foure yeares, and then by the accustomed disloialtie of the Northumbers he was by them expelled, and then they set vp one Yirke or Hericius the sonne of one Harrold to reigne ouer them, who held not the estate anie long time. For in the third yeare of his reigne, Edred in the reuenge of such disloiall dealings in the Northumbers, destroied the countrie with fire & sword, sleaing the most part of the inhabitants. He burnt the abbeie of Ripon, which was kept against him.

946

Hen. Hunt. The Northumbers rebell and are subdued.

As he was returning homeward, an host of enimies brake out of Yorke, and setting vpon the rereward of the kings armie at a place called Easterford, made great slaughter of the same. Wherefore the king in his rage ment to haue begun a new spoile and destruction, but the Northumbers humbled themselues so vnto him, that putting awaie their forsaid king Yirke or Hericius, and offering great rewards and gifts to buy their peace, they obteined pardon. But bicause that Wolstane the archbishop of Yorke was of counsell with his countriemen in reuolting from king Edred, and aduancing of Hericius, king Edred toke him and kept him in prison a long time after, but at length in respect of the reuerence which he bare to his calling, he set him at libertie, and pardoned him his offense. Math. Westm. reciteth an other cause of Wolstans imprisonment, as thus. In the yeare of Grace, saith he, 951, king Edred put the archbishop of Yorke in

Aulafe returned into Northumberland.

Yirke or Hericius.

Wil. Malm. The disloialtie of the Northumbers punished.

Ran. Higd. Simon Dun.

Easterford.

The archbishop of Yorke imprisoned. Math. West.

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close prison, bicause of often complaints exhibited against him, as he which had commanded manie townesmen of Theadford to be put to death, in reuenge of the abbat Aldelme by them vnmurthered.

After this, when Edred had appeased all ciuill tumults and dissentions within his land, he applied him selfe to the aduancing of religion, wholie following the mind of Dunstane, by whose exhortation he suffered patientlie manie torments of the bodie, and exercised himselfe in praier and other deuout studies. This Edred in his latter daies being greatlie addicted to deuotion & religious priests, at the request of his mother Edgiua, restored the abbeie of Abington which was built first by king Inas, but in these daies sore decaied and fallen into ruine. Finallie, after he had reigned nine yeares and a halfe, he departed this life to the great greeuance of men, and reioising of angels (as it is written) and was buried at Winchester in the cathedrall church there. ¶ Heere is to be noted, that the foresaid Edred, when he came first to the crowne, vpon a singular and most especiall fauour which he bare towards Dunstane the abbat of Glastenburie, committed vnto him the chiefest part of all his treasure, as charters of lands with other monuments, and such ancient princelie iewels as belonged to the former kings, with other such as he got of his owne, willing him to lay the same in safe keeping within his monasterie of Glastenburie.

Will. Malm.

Edred departeth this life.

Dunstane fauour.

Afterward, when king Edred perceiued himselfe to be in danger of death by force of that sickenesse, which in deed made an end of his life, he sent into all parties to such as had anie of his treasure in keeping, to bring the same vnto him with all speed, that he might dispose thereof before his departure out of this life, as he should see cause. Dunstane toke such things as he had vnder his hands, & hasted forward to deliuer the same vnto the king, and to visit him in that time of his sickenesse according to his dutie: but as he was vpon the waie, a voice spake to him from heauen, saieng; Behold king Edred is now departed in peace. At the hearing of this voice, the horsse whereon Dunstane rode fell downe and died, being not able to abide the presence of the angell that thus spake to Dunstane. And when he came to the court, he vnderstood that the king died the same houre in which it was told him by the angell, as before ye haue heard.

But was it this a deuil thereby to returne the measure? for I do not read that he deliuered out of his hands. An angell, as some think a simple conceit.

Edwin succeedeth Edred in the kingdome of England, *his beastlie and incestu-* ous carnalitie with a kinswoman of his on the *verie day of his coronation, he is reproued of Dun-* stane and giueth ouer the gentlewomans companie, *Dunstane is banished for rebuking king Edwin for his vnlaw-* full lust and lewd life, the diuell reioised at his exile, what reuenging mischiefs the king did for displeasure sake against the said Dunstane in exile, the middle part of England rebelleth against king Edwin, and erecteth his brother Edgar in roiall roome ouer them, he taketh thought and dieth; Edgar succeedeth him, he is a fauourer of moonks, his prouision for defense of his realme, his policie and discretion in gouernment, what kings he bound by oth to be true vnto him, eight princes row his barge in signe of submission, the vicious inconueniences that grew among the Englishmen vpon his fauouring of the Danes, a restraint of excessiue quaffing; Dunstane is made bishop of Worcester and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester; iustice in Edgars time seuerelie executed, theft punished with death, a tribute of woolfs skins paid him out of Wales, and the benefit of that tribute.

## *The xxiij. Chapter.*

*Edwin.*

After the decease of Edred, his nephue Edwin the eldest sonne of king Edmund was made king of England, and began his reigne



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Will. Malmes. Polydor.

John Capgraue.

Dunstane banished the realme.

Dunstane saith not the diuell.

Dunstane departed into exile.

Wil. Malm. Edwine displaceth monks and putteth secular priests in their roomes.

Rebellion raised against king Edwine Simon Dun.

Edwin departeth this life.

*Edgar.*

959

Polydor.

Edgar a fauorer of monks.

955 reigne ouer the same in the yere of our Lord 955, & in the 20 yere of the emperor Otho the first, in the 28 and last yere of the reigne of Lewes king of France, and about the twelfe yere of Malcolme the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was consecrated at Kingston vpon Thames by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie. On the verie day of his coronation, as the lords were set in councell about weightie matters touching the gouernment of the realme, he rose from the place, gat him into a chamber with one of his neere kinswomen, and there had to do with hir, without anie respect or regard had to his roiall estate and princelie dignitie. Dunstane latelie before named abbat of Glastenburie, did not onlie without feare of displeasure reproue the K. for such shamefull abusing of his bodie, but also caused the archbishop of Canturburie to constreine him to forsake that woman whom vnlawfullie he kept.

Will. Malmes. Polydor.

Iohn Capgraue.

There be that write, that there were two women, both mother and daughter, whome king Edward kept as concubines: for the mother being of noble parentage, sought to satisfie the kings lust, in hope that either he would take hir or hir daughter vnto wife. And therefore perceiuing that Dunstane was sore against such wanton pastime as the king vsed in their companie, she so wrought, that Dunstane was through hir earnest trauell banished the land. This is also reported, that when he should depart the realme, the diuell was heard in the west end of the church, taking vp a great laughter after his roring maner, as though he should shew himselfe glad and ioifull at Dunstanes going into exile. But Dunstane perceiuing his behauiour, spake to him, and said: Well thou aduersarie, do not so greatly reioise at the matter, for thou dwelt not now so much reioise at my departure, but by Gods grace thou shalt be as sorrowfull for my returne.

Dunstane banished the realme.

Dunstane saith not the diuell.

Thus was Dunstane banished by king Edwine, so that he was compelled to passe ouer into Flanders, where he remained for a time within a monasterie at Gant, finding much friendship at the hands of the gouernor of that countrie. Also the more to wreake his wrath, the king spoiled manie religious houses of their goods, and droue out the monks, placing secular priests in their rowmes, as namelie at Malmesburie, where yet the house was not empaired, but rather inriched in lands and ornaments by the kings liberalitie, and the industrious meanes of the same priests, which toke vp the bones of saint Aldelme, and put the same into a shrine. At length the inhabitants of the middle part of England, euen from Humber to Thames rebelled against him, and elected his brother Edgar to haue the gouernement ouer them, wherwith king Edwine toke such griefe, for that he saw no meane at hand how to remedie the matter, that shortlie after, when he had reigned somewhat more than foure yeres, he died, and his bodie was buried at Winchester in the new abbeie.

Dunstane departed into exile.

Wil. Malm. Edwine displaceth monks and putteth secular priests in their rowmes.

Rebellion raised against king Edwine Simon Dun.

Edwin departeth this life.

*Edgar.*

EDgar the second sonne of Edmund late king of England, after the decease of his elder brother the foresaid Edwine, began his reigne ouer this realme of England in the yere of our Lord God

959 959, in the 22 yere of the emperour Otho the first, in the fourth yere of the reigne of Lotharius king of France, 510 almost ended after the comming of the Saxons, 124 after the arriuall of the Danes, and in the last yere of Malcolme king of Scotland. He was crowned & consecrated at Bath, or (as some say) at Kingstone vpon Thames by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie, being as then not past 16 yeres of age, when he was thus admitted king. He was no lesse indued with commendable gifts of mind, than with strength and force of bodie. He was a great fauorer of monks, and specially had

Polydor.

Edgar a fauorer of monks.

Dunstane in high estimation. Aboue all things in this world he regarded peace, and studied dailie how to preserue the same, to the commoditie & aduancement of his subiects.

When he had established things in good quiet, and set an order in matters as seemed to him best for the peaceable gouernement of his people, he prepared a great naue of ships, and diuiding them in three parts, he appointed euerie part to a quarter of the realme, to wast about the coast, that no forren enimie should approch the land, but that they might be incountered and put backe, before they could take land. And euerie yere after Easter, he vsed to giue order, that his ships should assemble togither in their due places: and then would he with the east naue saile to the west parts of his realme, and sending those ships backe, he would with the west naue saile into the north parts; and with the north naue come backe againe into the east. This custome he vsed, that he might scowre the seas of all pirats & theeues. In the winter season and spring time, he would ride through the prouinces of his realme, searching out how the iudges and great lords demeaned themselues in the administration of iustice, sharpelie punishing those that were found guiltie of extortion, or had done otherwise in anie point than dutie required. In all things he vsed such politike discretion, that neither was he put in danger by treason of his subiects, nor molested by forren enimies.

The diligent prouision of K. Edgar for defense of the realme.

Wil. Malm.

He caused diuerse kings to bind themselues by oth to be true and faithfull vnto him, as Kinadius or rather Indulf king of Scotland, Malcolme king of Cumberland, Mascutius an archpirat, or (as we may call him) a maister rouer, and also all the kings of the Welshmen, as Dufnall, Girffith, Huball, Jacob, and Iudithill, all which came to his court, and by their solemne othes receiued, sware to be at his commandement. And for the more manifest testimonie therof, he hauing them with him at Chester, caused them to enter into a barge vpon the water of Dee, and placing himselfe in the forepart of the barge, at the helme, he caused those eight high princes to row the barge vp and downe the water, shewing thereby his princelie prerogatiue and roiall magnificence, in that he might vse the seruice of so manie kings that were his subiects. And therevpon he said (as hath bin reported) that then might his successours account themselues kings of England, when they inioied such prerogatiue of high and supreme honor.

Malcutius.

Kings of Welshmen.

King Edgar roweth on the water of Dee.

The same of this noble prince was spred ouer all, as well on this side the sea as beyond, insomuch that great resort of strangers chanced in his daies, which came euer into this land to serue him, and to see the state of his court, as Saxons and other, yea and also Danes, which became verie familiar with him. He fauored in deed the Danes (as hath beene said) more than stood with the commoditie of his subiects, for scarse was anie street in England, but Danes had their dwelling in the same among the Englishmen, whereby came great harme: for whereas the Danes by nature were great drinkers, the Englishmen by continuall conuersation with them learned the same vice. King Edgar to reforme in part such excessiue quaffing as then began to grow in vse, caused by the procurement of Dunstane, nailes to be set in cups of a certeine measure, marked for the purpose, that none should drinke more than was assigned by such measured cups. Englishmen also learned of the Saxons, Flemings, and other strangers, their peculiar kind of vices, as of the Saxons a disordered fiercenesse of mind, of the Flemings a feeble tendernesse of bodie: where before they reioised in their owne simplicitie, and esteemed not the lewd and vnprofitable manners of strangers.

Ran. Higd. King Edgar fauoureth Danes.

English learned to quaffe of the Danes.

Wil. Malm.

Englishmen learne other vices of strangers.

Dunstane was made bishop of Worcester, and had also the administration of the sée of London committed vnto him. He was in such fauor with the king, that he ruled most things at his pleasure. Ethelwold, which being first a monke of Glastenburie, and after abbat of Abington, was likewise made bishop of Winchester, and might doo verie much with the king. Also Oswald, which had béene a monke in the abbeie of Floxie in France, and after was made bishop of Worcester, and from thence remoued to the sée of Yorke, was highlie in fauor with this king, so that by these three prelates he was most counselled. Iustice in his daies was strictlie obserued, for although he were courteous and gentle towards his friends, yet was he sharpe and hard to offendors, so that no person of what estate or degree soeuer he was escaped worthie punishment, if he did transgresse the lawes and ordinances of the realme. There was no priuie theefe nor common robber that durst lay hands vpon other mens goods, but he might looke to make amends with losse of his life, if he were knowne to be giltie. For how might men that did offend, thinke to escape his hands, which deuised waies how to rid the countrie of all wild rauening beasts, that liued vpon sucking the bloud of others? For as it is said, he appointed Iudweall or Ludweall king of Wales to present him with three hundred woolues yéerelie in name of a tribute, but after three yéeres space, there was not a woolfe to be found, and so that tribute ceased in the fourth yéere after it began to be paid.

Ethelwold made bishop of Winchester.

Oswald. Floriacum.

Monks must néeds write much in praise of Edgar who had men of their cote in such estimatiõ

A tribute instituted of woolfskins.

## The death of Alfred king Edgars wife *(or concubine) causeth him to fall into a* fowle offense, an example teaching men to *take heed how they put others in trust to woo for* them; earle Ethelwold cosseneth the king of his *wife, the danger of beholding a womans beautie with lustfull* eies; king Edgar killeth earle Ethelwold to marrie faire Alfred his wife; the bloudie and vnnaturall speach of Ethelwolds base sonne; examples of king Edgars great incontinencie and lewd life; Dunstane putteth the king to penance for his vnchastitie, the Welshmen rebell against him and are corrected, king Edgars vision before his death, of what religious buildings he was founder, his example a spur to others to doo the like, monks esteemed and secular priests little regarded, king Edgars deformed reformation, his vices, stature, and bodilie qualities, he offereth to fight hand to hand with Kinadius king of Scots vpon occasion of words euill taken, Kinadius submitteth himselfe and is pardoned; his wiues and children, the good state of the realme in king Edgars time, the amplenesse of his dominions.

## *The xxiiij. Chapter.*

Osborne and Capgraue hold that she was not his wife but a nun. Wil. Malm.

Yorger.

IN this meane time, Alfred the wife of king Edgar (as some say) or rather (as others write) his concubine died, of whome he had begot a sonne named Edward. The death of this woman caused the king to commit an heinous offense. For albeit at the same time the fame went, that Yorgerius duke of Cornewall, or rather Deuonshire, had a daughter named Alfred, a damosell of excellent beautie, whome Edgar minding to haue in mariage, appointed one of his noble men called earle Ethelwold, to go with all speed into Cornewall or Deuonshire, to sée if the yoong ladies beautie answered the report that went of hir, and so to breake the matter to hir father in his behalfe: yet Ethelwold being a yong iollie gentleman, tooke his iournie into Cornewall, and comming to the duke, was well receiued, and had a sight of his daughter, with whose beautie he was streight rauished so far in loue, that not regarding the kings pleasure, who had sent him thither, he began to purchase the good will of both father and daughter for himselfe, and did so much that he obteined the same in déed. Hereupon returning to the king, he informed him that the damosell was not of such beautie and comelie personage, as might be thought worthie to match in mariage with his maiestie.

Ethelwold deceiueth the king of his wife.

Shortlie after perceiuing the kings mind by his wrongfull misreport to be turned, and nothing bent that way, he began to sue to him that he might with his fauour marie the same damosell: which the king granted, as one that cared not for hir, because of the credit which he gaue to Ethelwolds words. And so by this meanes Ethelwold obteined Alfred in mariage, which was to his owne destruction, as the case fell out. For when the fame of hir passing beautie did spread ouer all the realme, now that she was maried and came more abroad in sight of the people, the king chanced to heare thereof, and desirous to sée hir, deuised vnder colour of hunting to come vnto the house of Ethelwold, and so did: where he had no soner set his eie vpon hir, but he was so farre wrapped in the chaine of burning concupiscence, that to obteine his purpose, he shortlie after contriued Ethelwolds death, and maried his wife.

King Edgar séeketh the destruction of earle Ethelwold.

Some say, that the woman kindled the brand of purpose: for when it was knowne, that the king would sée hir, Ethelwold willed hir in no wise to trim vp hir selfe, but rather to disfigure hir in fowle garments, and some euill fauored attire, that hir natiue beautie should not appeare: but she perceiuing how the matter went, of spite set out hir selfe to the vttermost, so that the king vpon the first sight of hir, became so farre inamored of hir beautie, that taking hir husband forth with him on hunting into a forrest or wood then called Warlewood, after Horewood, not shewing that he meant him anie hurt, till at length he had got him within the thicke of the wood, where he suddenlie stroke him through with his dart. Now as his bastard son came to the place, the king asked him how he liked the maner of hunting, whereto he answered; Verie well if it like your grace, for that that liketh you, ought not to displease me. With which answer the king was so pacified, that he indeuored by pretending his fauor towards the sonne, to extenuat the tyrannicall murther of the father. Then did the king marie the countesse Alfred, and of hir begat two sonnes, Edmund which died yong, and Ethelred or Egelred.

King Edgar a murtherer.

Besides this cruell act wrought by king Edgar, for the satisfieng of his fleshlie lust, he also plaied another part greatlie to the staine of his honor, moued also by wanton loue, with a yong damosell named Wilfrid, for after that she had (to auoid the danger of him) either professed hir selfe a nun, or else for colour (as the most part of writers agrée) got hirselfe into a nunrie, and clad hir in a nuns weed, he tooke hir forth of hir cloister, and lay by hir sundrie times, and begat on hir a daughter named Edith, who comming to conuenient age, was made a nun. A third example of his incontinencie is written by authors, and that is this. It chanced on a time that he lodged one night at Andeuer, and hauing a mind to a lords daughter there, he commanded that she should be brought to his bed. But the mother of the gentlewoman would not that hir daughter should be deflowred: and therefore in the darke of the night brought one of hir maidseruants, and laid hir in the kings bed, she being both faire, proper, and pleasant.

His licentious life & incontinence.

In the morning when the day began to appeare, she made hast to arise: and being asked of the king why she so hasted; That I may go to my daies worke if it please your grace (quoth she.) Herewith she being

Ran. Higd. Fabian out of Guido de Columna. Wil. Malm.

Hen. Hunt. Ranul. Hig.

Polydor.

Mart. West. Simon Dun.

Fabian. Ran. Higd. The welshmen rebel and are chastised.

Will. Malmes. Hen. Hunt. King Edgar departeth this life.

ting ſtated by the king, as it were againſt hir will, ſhe fell downe on hir knees, & required of him that ſhe might be made free, in guerdon of hir nights worke. For (ſaith ſhe) it is not for your honor, that the woman which hath taſted the pleaſure of the kings bodie ſhould anie more ſuffer ſeruitude vnder the rule and appointment of a ſharpe & rough miſtreſſe.

The king then being moued in his ſpirits, laughed at the matter, though not from the heart, as he that tooke great indignation at the doings of the dutcheſſe, and pitied the caſe of the poore wench. But yet in fine (turning earneſt to a ieſt) he pardoned all the parties, and aduanced the wench to high honor, farre aboue thoſe that had rule of hir afore, ſo that ſhe ruled them (willed they nilled they:) for he vſed hir as his paramour, till he maried the foreſaid Alfred.

For theſe youthfull parts, & namelie for the rauiſhing of Wilfride (which though ſhe were no nun, yet the offenſe ſeemed verie heinous, for that he ſhould not once touch anie woman ſhadowed vnder that habit) he greatlie diſpleaſed Dunſtane, ſo that by him he was put to his ſeuen yeares penance, and kept from the crowne till the 12 yeere of his reigne or more. For ſome write that he was not crowned nor annointed king, till the 30 yeere of his age, which ſhould be about the 13 or 14 yeere of his reigne by that account, ſith he entred into the rule of the kingdome about the 16 yeere of his age. In deed one author witneſſeth, that he was conſecrated at Bath on a Whitſunday, the 13 yeere of his reigne, and that by Dunſtane archbiſhop of Canturburie, and Oſwold archbiſhop of Yorke. But ſome which ſuppoſe that he was conſecrated king immediatlie vpon the death of Edrids, affirme that he was crowned and annointed king by the archbiſhop Odo, Dunſtane as then remaining in exile, from whence he was immediatlie reuoked by Edgar, and firſt made biſhop of Worceſter (as hath beene ſaid) and after the deceaſe of Odo was aduanced to be archbiſhop of Canturburie. But by ſome writers it appeareth, that Dunſtane was reuoked out of exile immediatlie vpon partition of the realme betwixt Edwin and Edgar, which chanced in the yeere 957, by the rebellion of the people of Mercia, & others (as before ye haue heard:) and that in the yeere following the archbiſhop Odo died, after whome ſucceeded Alfin biſhop of Wincheſter, who alſo died the ſame yeere that king Edward deceaſſed, as he went to fetch his pall from Rome, and then Brightelme biſhop of Dorcheſter was elected archbiſhop. But becauſe he was not able to diſcharge ſo great an office, by K. Edgars commandement he was forced to giue place to Dunſtane.

Toward the latter end of king Edgars daies, the Welſhmen moued ſome rebellion againſt him. Wherevpon he aſſembled an armie, and entering the countrie of Glamorgan, did much hurt in the ſame, ſlaughtring the inhabitants verie ſharpelie for their rebellious attempts. Amongſt other ſpoiles taken in thoſe parties at that time by the men of war, the bell of ſaint Elutus was taken away, and hanged about a horſſes necke, and (as hath beene reported) in the after noone, it chanced that king Edgar laid him downe to reſt, wherevpon in ſleepe there appeared one vnto him, and ſmote him on the breaſt with a ſpeare. By reaſon of which viſion he cauſed all things that had beene taken away to be reſtored againe. But within nine daies after the king died. Whether anie ſuch thing chanced, or that he had anie ſuch viſion it forceth not. But truth it is, that in the 37 yeere of his age, after he had reigned 16 yeeres and two moneths he departed this life, the 8 day of Julie, and was buried at Glaſtenburie.

This Edgar is highlie renowmed of writers for ſuch princelie qualities as appeared in him, but chiefly for that he was ſo beneficiall to the church, namelie to monks, the aduancement of whome he greatlie ſought, both in building abbeies new from the ground, in reparing thoſe that were decaied: alſo by inriching them with great reuenues, and in conuerting collegiat churches into monaſteries, removing ſecular prieſts, and bringing in monks in their places. There paſſed no one yeere of his reigne, wherein he founded not one abbeie or other. The abbeie of Glaſtenburie which his father had begun he finiſhed. The abbeie of Abington alſo he accompliſhed and ſet in good order. The abbeies of Peterborough & Thornie he eſtabliſhed. The nunrie of Wilton he founded and richlie endowed, where his daughter Editha was profeſſed, and at length became abbeſſe there. To be briefe, he builded (as the chronicles record) to the number of 40 abbeies and monaſteries, in ſome of which he placed monks, and in ſome nuns. By his example in thoſe daies, other nobles, as alſo prelates, & ſome of the laitie, did begin the foundation of ſundrie abbeies and monaſteries: as Adelwold biſhop of Wincheſter builded the abbeie of Elie, and (as ſome ſay) Peterborough & Thornie, though they were eſtabliſhed by the king (as before is mentioned.) Alſo earle Ailewin, at the exhortation of the ſame biſhop Adelwold, builded the abbeie of Ramſey, though ſome attribute the doing thereof vnto Oſwold the archbiſhop of Yorke, and ſome to king Edward the elder.

To conclude, the religious orders of monks and nuns in theſe daies flouriſhed, and the ſtate of ſecular prieſts was ſmallie regarded, inſomuch that they were conſtreined to auoid out of diuerſe colleges, and to leaue the ſame vnto monks, as at Worceſter and Wincheſter, where in the new monaſterie, becauſe the kings liued not in ſuch ſort as was then thought requiſite, the prebends were taken from them and giuen to vicars. But when the vicars were thought to vſe themſelues no better, but rather worſe than the other before them, they were likewiſe put out, and monks placed in their roomes by authoritie of pope John the 13. This reformation, or rather deformation was vſed by king Edgar in many other places of the realme.

He was (as appeareth by diuers writers) namelie in his beginning, cruell againſt his owne people, and wanton in luſting after yong women (as you haue heard before.) Of ſtature & proportion of bodie he was but ſmall and low, but yet nature had incloſed within ſo little a perſonage ſuch ſtrength, that he durſt incounter and combat with him that was thought moſt ſtrong, onelie doubting this, leaſt he which ſhould haue to do with him ſhould ſtand in feare of him. And as it chanced at a great feaſt (where oftentimes men vſe their tongs more liberallie than needeth) Kenneth the king of Scots caſt out certeine words in this maner: It may (ſaith hee) ſeeme a maruell that ſo manie countries and prouinces ſhould be ſubiect to ſuch a little ſillie bodie as Edgar is. Theſe words being borne awaie by a ieſter or minſtrell, and afterwards vttered to Edgar with great reproch, he wiſelie diſſembled the matter for a time; although he kept the remembrance thereof incloſed within his breaſt: and vpon occaſion, at length feigned to go on hunting, taking the king of Scots forth with him: and hauing cauſed one of his ſeruants to conuey two ſwords into a place within the foreſt by him appointed in ſecret wiſe, of purpoſe he withdrew from the reſidue of his companie, and there accompanied onelie with the Scotiſh king, came to the place where the ſwords were laid; and there taking the one of them, deliuered the other to the Scotiſh king, willing him now to aſſaie his ſtrength, that they might ſhew by proſe



Note the deep hypocriſie of Dunſtane.

Ran. Higd. Fabian out of Guido de Columna. Wil. Malm.

Hen. Hunt. Ranul. Hig.

Polydor.

Mat. Weſt. Simon Dun.

Fabian. Ran. Higd. The welſhmen rebel and are chaſtiſed.

Will. Malmeſ. Hen. Hunt. King Edgar departeth this life.

wherfore Edgar is praiſed of ſome writers.

Fabian. Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt.

Wil. Malm.

Hen. Hunt.

Matt. Weſt. Monks eſteemed & ſecular prieſts little regarded.

Ran. Higd. lib. 6. cap. 9.

Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd. Tho. Eliot.

Edgar ſmall of ſtature but ſtrong and hardie.

Kenneth king of Scots.

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The noble courage of king Edgar.

proue whether of them ought to be subiect to the o-
ther; Start not, but trie it with me (saith he:) for it
" is a shame for a king to be full of brags at bankets,
" and not to be readie to fight when triall should be
" made abroad. The Scotish king herewith being a-
stonied and maruellouslie abashed, fell downe at his
feet, and with much humilitie confessed his fault,
& desired pardon for the same, which vpon such his
humble submission king Edward easilie granted.

This noble prince had two wiues, Egelfrida or Elfrida, surnamed the white, the daughter of a mightie duke named Ordiner, by whome he had issue a sonne named Edward that succeeded him. His second wife was called Alfreda the daughter of Ogar duke of Deuon or Cornewall (as some saie) by whome he had issue Edmund that died before his father, and Egelred which afterwards was king. Also he had issue a base daughter named Editha, begotten of his concubine Wilfrid (as before ye haue heard.) The state of the realme in king Ed-
Wil. Malm. gars daies was in good point, for both the earth gaue hir increase verie plentiouslie, the elements shewed themselues verie fauorable, according to the course of times: peace was maintained, and no inuasion by forraine enimies attempted. For Edgar had not onelie all the whole Ile of Britaine in subiection, but also was ruler & souereigne lord ouer all the kings of the out Iles that lie within the seas about all the coasts of the same Britaine euen vnto the realme of Norwaie. He brought also a great
Ireland subiect to king Edgar. part of Ireland vnder his subiection, with the citie of Dublin, as by authentike records it doth and may appeare.

## Contention amongest the peeres and *states about succession to the crowne, the* monkes remoued and the canons and secular *priests restored by Alfer duke of Mercia and his* adherents, a blasing starre with the euents insuing *the same, the rood of Winchester speaketh, a prettie shift of* moonks to defeat the priests of their possessions, the controuersie betweene the moonks and the priests ended by a miracle of archbishop Dunstane, great hope that Edward would tread his fathers steps, the reuerent loue he bare his stepmother queene Alfred and hir sonne Egelred, hir diuelish purpose to murther Edward hir stepsonne accomplished, his obscure funerall in respect of pompe, but famous by meanes of miracles wrought by and about his sepulture, queene Alfred repenting hir of the said prepensed murther, doth penance, and imploieth hir substance in good woorkes as satisfactorie for hir sinnes, king Edwards bodie remoued, and solemnlie buried by Alfer duke of Mercia, who was eaten vp with lice for being against the said Edwards aduancement to the crowne, queene Alfreds offense by no meanes excusable.

## *The xxv. Chapter.*

*Edward.*

Some write that the father king Edgar appointed Edward to succéed him. Simon Dun. Iohn Capg.

After the decease of king Edgar, there was some strife and contention amongst the lords & péeres of the realme about the succession of the crowne: for Alfred the mother of Egelredus or Ethelredus, and diuers other of hir opinion, would gladlie haue aduanced the same Egelredus to the rule: but the archbishop Dunstan taking in his hands the baner of the crucifix, presented his elder brother Edward vnto the lords as they were assembled togither, and there pronounced him king, notwithstanding that both queene Alfred and hir friends, namelie Alfer the duke of Mercia were sore against him, especiallie for that he was begot in vnlawfull bed of Elfleda the nun, for which offense he did seuen yeares penance, and not for lieng with Wilfrid (as maister Fox thinketh.) But Dunstane iudging (as is to be thought) that Edward was more fit for their behoofe to continue the world in the former course as Edgar had left it, than his brother Egelred (whose mother and such as tooke part with hir vnder hir sonnes authoritie were likelie inough to turne all vpside downe) vsed the matter so, that with helpe of Oswald the archbishop of Yorke, and other bishops, abbats, and certeine of the nobilitie, as the earle of Esser and such like, he preuailed in his purpose, so that (as before is said) the said Edward, being the second of that name which gouerned this land before the conquest, was admitted king, and began his reigne ouer England in the yeare of our Lord 975, in the third yeare of the emperour Otho the second, in the 20 yeare of the reigne of Lothar king of France, and about the fourth yeare of Cumelerne king of Scotland. He was consecrated by archb. Dunstane at Kingston vpon Thames, to the great griefe of his mother in law Alfred and hir friends. ¶ About the beginning of his reigne a blasing starre was séene, signifieng (as was thought) the miserable haps that followed. And first there insued barrennesse of ground, and thereby faimine amongest the people, and mortaine of cattell.

After he had Mercians other matter vpon Edgars death before the crowne was stablished, remoued the monks and restored the canons. Simon Dun.

975

Wil. Malm.

Also duke Alfer or Elfer of Mercia, and other noble men destroied the abbies which king Edgar and bishop Adelwold had builded within the limits of Mercia. The priests or canons, which had bene expelled in Edgars time out of the prebends and benefices, began to complaine of the wrongs that were done to them, in that they had bene put out of possession from their liuings, alleging it to be a great offense and miserable case, that a stranger should come and remoue an old inhabitant, for such maner of doing could not please God, not yet be allowed of ante good man, which ought of reason to doubt least the same should hap to him which he might see to haue béene an other mans vndoing. About this matter was hard hold, for manie of the temporall lords, and namelie the same Alfer, iudged that the priests had wrong. In so much that they remoued the monks out of their places, and brought into the monasteries secular priests with their wiues. But Edelwin duke of the Eastangles, & Alfred his brother, with Brightnoth or Brighnode earle of Esser, withstood this doing, & gathering an armie, with great valiancie maintained the monks in their houses, within the countrie of Eastangles. Herevpon were councels holden, as at Winchester, at Birthling in Eastangle, and at Calne.

Alfer or Elfer duke of Mercia.

Polydor. Wil. Malmsf. Iohn Capg. Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd. Matt. West. Simon Dun.

Simon Dun.

At Winchester, when the matter was brought to that passe that the priests were like to haue had their purpose, an image of the rood that stood there in the refectorie where they sat in councell, vttered certeine words in this wise; God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so: ye iudged well once, but ye may not change well againe. As though (saith Polydor Virgil) the monks had more right, which had bereft other men of their possessions, than the priests which required restitution of their owne. But (saith he) because the image of Christ hanging on the crosse was thought to speake these words, such credit was giuen thereto, as it had bene an oracle, that the priests had their suts dashed, and all the trouble was ceassed. So the monks held those possessions, howsoeuer they came to them, by the helpe of God, or rather (as saith the same Polydor) by the helpe of man. For there were euen then diuers that thought this to be rather an oracle of Phebus than of God, that is to say, not published by Gods power, but by the fraud and craftie deceit of men.

Polydor.

A prettie shift of the monks to disappoint the priests. Polydor.

The

The matter therefore was not ſo quieted, but that vpon new trouble an other councell was had at a manour houſe belonging to the king, called Calne, where they that were appointed to haue the hearing of the matter, ſat in an vpper loft. The king by reaſon of his yong yéres was ſpared, ſo that he came not there. Héere as they were buſied in arguing the matter, either part laieng for himſelfe what could be ſaid, Dunſtane was ſore reuiled, and had ſundrie reproches laid againſt him: but ſuddenlie euen in the verie heat of their communication, the ioiſts of the loft failed, and downe came all the companie, ſo that manie were ſlaine and hurt, but Dunſtane alone ſtanding vpon one of the ioiſts that fell not, eſcaped ſafe and ſound. And ſo this miracle with the other made an end of the controuerſie betwéene the prieſts and monks, all the Engliſh people following the mind of the archbiſhop Dunſtane, who by meanes thereof had his will.

Wil. Malm.

Dunſtane by working miracles had his will, when arguments failed.

In this meane while, king Edward ruling himſelfe by good counſell of ſuch as were thought diſcréet and ſage perſons, gaue great hope to the world that he would walke in his fathers vertuous ſteps, as alreadie he well began, and bearing alwaie a reuerence to his mother in law, and a brotherlie loue to hir ſonne Egelred, vſed himſelfe as became him towards them both. Afterward by chance as he was hunting in a forreſt néere the caſtell of Corfe, where his mother in law and his brother the ſaid Egelred then ſoiourned, when all his companie were ſpred abroad in following the game, ſo that he was left alone, he tooke the waie ſtreight vnto his mother in lawes houſe, to viſit hir and his brother. The quéene hearing that he was come, was verie glad thereof, for that ſhe had occaſion offered to worke that which ſhe had of long time before imagined, that was, to ſlea the king hir ſonne in law, that hir owne ſonne might inioy the garland. Wherefore ſhe required him to alight, which he in no wiſe would yéeld vnto, but ſaid that he had ſtolne from his companie, and was onelie come to ſée hir and his brother, and to drinke with them, and therefore would returne to the forreſt againe to ſée ſome more ſport.

Polydor. Wil. Malmſ.

The wicked purpoſe of quéene Alfred.

The quéene perceiuing that he would not alight, cauſed drinke to be fetched, and as he had the cup at his mouth, by hir appointment, one of hir ſeruants ſtroke him into the bodie with a knife, whereupon féeling himſelfe wounded, he ſet ſpurres to the horſſe thinking to gallop awaie, and ſo to get to his companie. But being hurt to the death, he fell from his horſſe, ſo as one of his féet was faſtened in the ſtirrup, by reaſon whereof his horſſe drew him forth through woods and launds, & the blood which guſhed out of the wound ſhewed token of his death to ſuch as followed him, and the waie to the place where the horſſe had left him. That place was called Corfes gate or Corfes gate. His bodie being found was buried without anie ſolemne funeralls at Warham.

The ſhameful murther of K. Edward.

Marth. Weſt. Fabian. Sim. Dun. Wil. Malm.

For they which enuied that he ſhould inioy the crowne, enuied alſo the buriall of his bodie within the church: but the memorie of his fame could not ſo ſecretlie be buried with the bodie, as they imagined. For ſundrie miracles ſhewed at the place where his bodie was interred, made the ſame famous (as diuerſe haue reported) for there was ſight reſtored to the blind, health to the ſicke, and hearing to the deafe, which are eaſilier to be told than beléeued.

Miracles.

Quéene Alfred alſo would haue ridden to the place where he lai, moued with repentance (as hath béene ſaid) but the horſſe whereupon ſhe rode would not come neere the graue, for anie thing that could be done to him. Neither by changing the ſaid horſſe could the matter be holpen: for euen the ſame thing happened to the other horſſes. Héerevpon the woman perceiued hir great offenſe towards God for murthering the innocent, and did ſo repent hir afterward for the ſame, that beſides the chaſtiſing of hir bodie in faſting, and other kind of penance, ſhe imploied all hir ſubſtance and patrimonie on the poore, and in building and reparing of churches and monaſteries. She founded two houſes of nuns (as is ſaid) the one at Warwell, the other at Ambreſburie, and finallie profeſſed hirſelfe a nun in one of them, that is to ſay, at Warwell, which houſe ſhe builded (as ſome affirme) in remembrance of hir firſt huſband that was ſlaine there by king Edgar for hir ſake (as before is mentioned.)

Building of abbeies in thoſe daies was thought to be a full ſatisfaction for all maner of ſinnes.

The bodie of this Edward the ſecond, and ſurnamed the martyr, after that it had remained three yeeres at Warham where it was firſt buried, was remoued vnto Shaftesburie, and with great reuerence buried there by the forenamed Alfer or Elfer, duke of Mercia, who alſo did ſore repent himſelfe, in that he had bene againſt the aduancement of the ſaid king Edward (as ye haue heard.) But yet did not he eſcape worthie puniſhment: for within one yeere after, he was eaten to death with lice (if the hiſtorie be true.) King Edward came to his death after he had reigned three yeeres, or (as other write) three yeeres and eight moneths. ¶ Whatſoeuer hath béene reported by writers of the murther committed on the perſon of this king Edward, ſure it is that if he were baſe begotten (as by writers of no meane credit it ſhould appéere he was in déed) great occaſion vndoubtedlie was giuen vnto quéene Alfred to ſeeke reuenge for the wrongfull keeping backe of hir ſon Egelred from his rightfull ſucceſſion to the crowne: but whether that Edward was legitimate or not, ſhe might yet haue deuiſed ſome other lawfull meane to haue come by hir purpoſe, and not ſo to haue procured the murther of the yong prince in ſuch vnlawfull maner. For hir doing therein can neither be worthilie allowed, nor throughlie excuſed, although thoſe that occaſioned the miſchiefe by aduancing hir ſtepſonne to an other mans right, deſerued moſt blame in this matter.

Elfernus.

Polydor. Will. Malmeſ.

*Thus farre the ſixt booke, compriſing the firſt arriuall of the Danes in this land, which was in king Britricus his reigne, pag. 135, at which time the moſt miſerable ſtate of England tooke beginning.*

THE

# THE SEVENTH BOKE of the Historie of England.

Egelred succeedeth Edward *the martyr in the kingdome of Eng-*land, the decaie of the realme in his *reigne*, *Dunstane refusing to consecrate* him is therevnto inforced, Dunstans prophe-*sies of the English people and Egelred their king*, his slouth and idlenes accompanied with other vi-*ces, the Danes arriue on the coasts of Kent and make spoile of* manie places; warre betwixt the king and the bishop of Rochester, archbishop Dunstans bitter denunciation against the king because he would not be pacified with the bishop of Rochester without monеie; Dunstans parentage, his strange trance, and what a woonderfull thing he did during the time it lasted, his education and bringing vp, with what good qualities he was indued, an incredible tale of his harpe, how he was reuoked from louing and lusting after women whereto he was addicted, his terrible dreame of a rough beare, what preferments he obteined by his skill in the expounding of dreames.

## *The first Chapter.*

*Egelred.*

IN the former booke was discoursed the troubled state of this land by the manifold and mutinous inuasions of the Danes; who though they sought to ingrosse the rule of euerie part and parcell therof in to their hands, yet being resisted by the valiantnesse of the gouernors supported with the aid of their people, they were disappointed of their expectation, and receiued manie a dishonorable or rather reprochfull repulse at their aduersaries hands. Much mischiefe doubtlesse they did, and more had done, if they had not beene met withall in like measure of extremitie as they offred, to the offense and ouerthrow of great multitudes. Their first entrance into this land is controuersed among writers, some saieng that it was in the daies of king Britricus, other some affirming that it was in the time of king Egbert, &c: about which point (sith it is a matter of no great moment) we count it labour lost to vse manie words: onelie this by the waie is noteworthie, that the Danes had an imperfect or rather a lame and limping rule in this land, so long as the gouernors were watchfull, diligent, politike at home, and warlike abroad. But when these kind of kings discontinued, and that the raines of the regiment fell into the hands of a pezzant not a puissant prince, a man euill qualified, dissolute, slacke and licentious, not regarding the dignitie of his owne person, nor fauoring the good estate of the people; the Danes who before were coursed from coast to coast, and pursued from place to place, as more willing to leaue the land, than desirous to tarrie in the same; toke occasion of stomach and courage to reenter this Ile, & waxing more bold and confident, more desperate and venturous, spared no force, omitted no opportunitie, let slip no aduantage that they might possiblie take, to put in practise and fullie to accomplish their long conceiued purpose.

Now bicause the Danes in the former kings daies were reencountred (and that verie medlie) so often as they did encounter, and seeking the totall regiment, were dispossessed of their partile principalitie, which by warlike violence they obteined; and for that the Saxons were interessed in the land, and these but violent incrochers, vnable to keepe that which they came to by constreint; we haue thought it conuenient to comprise the troubled estate of that time in the first booke; the rather for the necessarie consequence of matters then in motion: and heere deeme it not amisse, at so great and shamefull loosenesse (specialtie in a prince) ministring hart and courage to the enimie, to begin the seuenth booke. Wherin is expressed the chiefest time of their flourishing estate in this land; if in tumults, vprores, battels, and bloudshed, such a kind of estate may possiblie be found. For heere the Danes lord it, heere they take vpon them like souereignes, & heere (if at anie time they had absolute authoritie) they did what they might in the highest degree: as shall be declared in the vnfortunate affaires of vngratious Egelred or Etheldred, the sonne of king Edgar, and of his last wife quéene Alfred, who was ordeined king in place of his brother Edward, after the same Edward was dispatched out of the waie, and began his reigne ouer this realme of England, in the yéere of our Lord 979, which was in the seuenth yéere of the emperor Otho the second, in the 24 of Lothaire K. of France, and about the second or third yéere of Kenneth the third of that name king of Scotland.

979. Simon Dun.

This Egelred or Etheldred was the 30 in number from Cerdicus the first king of the Westsaxons: through his negligent gouernment, the state of the commonwealth fell into such decaie (as writers do report) that vnder him it may be said, how the kingdome was come to the vttermost point or period of old and feeble age, which is the next degrée to the graue. For whereas, whilest the realme was diuided at the first by the Saxons into sundrie dominions, it grew at length (as it were increasing from youthfull yeeres) to one absolute monarchie, which passed vn-

der

der the late remembred princes, Egbert, Adelstane, Edgar, and others, so that in their daies it might be said, how it was growne to mans state, but now vnder this Egelred, through famine, pestilence, and warres, the state thereof was so shaken, turned vpside downe, and weakened on each part, that rightlie might the season be likened vnto the old broken yéeres of mans life, which through féeblenesse is not able to helpe it selfe. Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie was thought to haue foreséene this thing, and therfore refused to annoint Egelred king, which by the murther of his brother should atteine to the gouernment: but at length he was compelled vnto it, and so he consecrated him at Kingston vpon Thames, as the maner then was, on the 24 day of Aprill, assisted by Oswald archbishop of Yorke, and ten other bishops.

Will. Malmes. But (as hath béene reported) Dunstane then said that the English people should suffer condigne punishment generallie, with losse of ancient liberties, which before that time they had inioied. Dunstane also long before prophesied of the slouthfulnesse that should remaine in this Egelred. For at what time he ministred the sacrament of baptisme to him, shortlie after he came into this world, he defiled the font with the ordure of his wombe (as hath béene said:) wherupon Dunstane being troubled in mind; By the Lord (saith he) and his blessed mother, this child shall prooue to be a slouthfull person. It hath béene written also, that when he was but ten yeres of age, and heard that his brother Edward was slaine, he so offended his mother with wéeping, bicause she could not still him, that hauing no rod at hand, she toke tapers or sticks that stood before hir, and beat him so sore with them, that she had almost killed him, whereby he could neuer after abide to haue anie such candels lighted before him.

Polydor. This Egelred (as writers say) was nothing giuen to warlike enterprises, but was slouthfull, a louer of idlenesse, and delighting in riotous lusts, which being knowne to all men, caused him to be euill spoken of amongst his owne people, and nothing feared amongst strangers. Herevpon the Danes that exercised rouing on the seas, began to conceiue a boldnesse of courage to disquiet and molest the seacoasts of the realme, in so much that in the second yére of this Egelreds reigne, they came with seuen ships on the English coasts of Kent, and spoiled the Ile of Tenet, the towne of Southampton, and in the yeere following they destroied S. Petroks abbeie in Cornwall, Porthland in Deuonshire, and diuerse other places by the sea side, speciallie in Deuonshire & Cornwall. Also a great part of Cheshire was destroied by pirats of Norway.

Ran. Higd. 980

Sim. Dun.

Ran. Higd.

982

The same yéere by casualtie of fire, a great part of the citie of London was burnt. In the yeere of our Lord 983, Alfer duke of Mercia departed this life, who was cosen to king Edgar, & his sonne Alfrike toke vpon him the rule of that dukedome, and within thrée yéeres after was banished the land. About the eight yéere of his reigne, Egelred maried one Elgina or Ethelgina, daughter of earle Egbert. In the ninth yeere of his reigne, vpon occasion of strife betweene him and the bishop of Rochester, he made warre against the same bishop, wasted his lordships, and besieged the citie of Rochester, till Dunstan procured the bishops peace with paiment of an hundred pounds in gold. And bicause the K. would not agrée with the bishop without monie at the onelie request of Dunstane, the said Dunstane did send him word, that sithens he made more account of gold than of God, more of monie than of S. Andrew, patrone of the church of Rochester, and more of couetousnesse than of him being the archbishop, the mischiefs which the Lord had threatned would shortlie fall and come to passe, but the same should not chance whilest he was aliue, who died in the yeere following, on the 25 of Maie, being saturdaie.

983

Alfer or Esfer duke of Mercia departed this life.

Alfrike or Elfrike duke of Mercia. Fabian.

Of this Dunstane manie things are recorded by writers, that he should be of such holinesse and vertue, that God wrought manie miracles by him, both whilest he liued heere on earth, and also after his decease. He was borne in Westsaron, his father was named Heorstan, and his mother Cinifride, who in his youth set him to schoole, where he so profited, that he excelled all his equals in age. Afterward he fell sicke of an ague, which vexed him so sore that it draue him into a frensie: and therefore his parents appointed him to the cure and charge of a certeine woman, where his disease grew so on him, that he fell in a trance, as though he had béene dead, and after that he suddenlie arose, & by chance caught a staffe in his hand, and ran vp and downe through hils and dales, and laid about him as though he had béene afraid of mad dogs. The nert night (as it is said) he gat him to the top of the church (by the helpe of certeine ladders that stood there for workemen to mend the roofe) and there ran vp and downe verie dangerouslie, but in the end came safelie downe, and laid him to sléepe betweene two men that watched the church that night, & when he awaked, he maruelled how he came there. Finallie, recouering his disease, his parents made him a priest, and placed him in the abbeie of Glastenburie, where he gaue himselfe to the reading of scriptures and knowledge of vertue. But as well his kinsmen as certeine other did raise a report of him, that he gaue not himselfe so much to the reading of scriptures, as to charming, coniuring and sorcerie, which he vtterlie denied: howbeit learned he was in déed, & could do manie prettie things both in handie worke and other deuises: he had good skill in musicke and delighted much therein. At length he grew in such fauour, that he was aduanced into the seruice of king Adelstane.

Vita Dunstani.

John Capgr. Osborne. Ran. Higd.

Vpon a time, as he came to a gentlewomans house with his harpe, and hong the same on the wall, while he shaped a priests stole, the harpe suddenlie began to plaie a psalme, which draue the whole household in such feare, that they ran out and said, he was too cunning, and knew more than was expedient: wherevpon he was accused of necromancie, and so banished out of the court. After this he began to haue a liking to women, and when Elfeagus then bishop of Winchester and his cosen, persuaded him to become a monke, he refused it, for he rather wished to haue maried a yong damosell, whose pleasant companie he dailie inioied. But being sone after striken with such a swelling disease in his bellie, that all his bodie was brought into such state, as though he had béene infected with a foule leprosie, he bethought himselfe, and vpon his recouerie sent to the bishop, who immediatlie shore him a monke, in which life he liued in so great opinion of holinesse, as he in time became abbat of Glastenburie: where on a time as he was in his praiers before the altar of S. George, he fell asléepe: and imagining in his dreame, that an vglie rough beare came towards him with open mouth, and set his foresæt vpon his shoulders readie to deuoure him, he suddenlie wakening for feare, caught his walking staffe which he commonlie went with, and laid about him, that all the church rang thereof, to the great wonder of such as stood by. The common tale of his plucking the diuell by the nose with a paire of pinsors, for tempting him with women, while he was making a chalice: the great loue that the ladie Elfleda néere kinswoman to king Adelstane bare him to hir dieng day, with a great manie of other such like matters, I leaue as friuolous,

Polychron.

lous, and wholie impertinent to our purpose: onelie this I read, that through declaring of his dreames and visions, he obteined in the time of king Edgar, first the bishoprike of Worcester, after of London, & last of all the archbishoprike of Canturburie. But leauing Dunstane and the fond deuises depending vpon the commemoration of his life, we will now returne to the doings of Egelred, and speake of such things in the next chapter as chanced in his time.

The Danes inuade England on each *side, they are vanquished by the English,* Goda earle of Deuonshire slaine; the Danes in *a battell fought at Maldon kill Brightnod earle of* Essex and the most of his armie, ten thousand pounds *paid to them by composition that they should not trouble the* English subiects, they cease their crueltie for a time, but within a while after fall to their bloudie bias, the English people despaire to resist them; Egelred addresseth a nauie against the Danes vnder the erles Alfrike and Turold, Alfrike traitorouslie taketh part with the Danes, his ship and souldiers are taken, his sonne Algar is punished for his fathers offense, the Danes make great wast in many parts of this Iland, they besiege London and are repelled with dishonor, they driue king Egelred to buy peace of them for 16000 pounds; Aulafe king of Norwey is honorablie intertained of Egelred, to whome he promiseth at his baptisme neuer to make warre against England, the great zeale of people in setting forward the building of Durham towne and the minster.

## *The second Chapter.*

Wil. Malm. Matt. Westm. The Danes inuade this land.

SHortlie after the decease of Dunstane, the Danes inuaded this realme on each side, wasting and spoiling the countrie in most miserable wise. They arriued in so manie places at once, that the Englishmen could not well deuise whither to go to encounter first with them. Some of them spoiled a place or towne called Wichport, and from thence passing further into the countrie, were met with by the Englishmen, who giuing them battell, lost their capteine Goda: but yet they got the victorie, and beat the Danes out of the field, and so that part of the Danish armie was brought to confusion. Simon Dunel. saith, that the Englishmen in deed wan the field here, but not without great losse. For besides Goda (who by report of the same author was Earle of Deuonshire) there died an other valiant man of warre named Strenwold. In the yeere 991, Brightnod earle of Eller, at Maldon gaue battell to an armie of Danes (which vnder their leaders Iustine and Guthmond had spoiled Gipswich) and was there ouercome and slaine with the most part of his people, and so the Danes obteined in that place the victorie.

Alias Wecederport. H. Hunt. Simon Dun. Danes vanquished.

Simon Dun.

Goda earle of Deuonshire slaine.

Matt. VVest.

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In the same yeere, and in the 13 yeere of king Egelreds reigne, when the land was on each side sore afflicted, wasted and haried by the Danes, which couered the same as they had beene grashoppers: by the aduise of the archbishop of Canturburie Siricius (which was the second of that see after Dunstane) a composition was taken with the Danes, so that for the sum of ten thousand pounds to be paied to them by the king, they should couenant not to trouble his subiects anie further. This monie was called Danegilt or Dane monie, and was leuied of the people. Although other take that to be Danegilt, which was giuen vnto such Danes as king Egelred afterwards reteined in his seruice, to defend the land frm other Danes and enimies that sought to inuade his dominions. But by what name so euer this monie (which the Danes now receiued) was called, true it is that herevpon they ceassed from their most cruell inuasions for a time. But shortlie after they had refreshed themselues, and recouered new strength, they began to play their old parts againe, doing the like mischeefe by their semblable inuasions, as they had vsed before. By reason hereof such feare came vpon the English people, that they despaired to be able to resist the enimies.

Wil. Malm. 992

Ten thousand pounds paid to the Danes. Danegilt.

The king yet caused a nauie to be set forth at London, whereof he appointed earle Alfrike (whome before he had banished) to be high admerall, ioining with him earle Turold. This nauie did set forward from London toward the enimies, who hauing warning giuen them from Alfrike, escaped away without hurt. Shortly after a greater nauie of the Danes came, and incountered with the kings fleet, so that a great number of the Londoners were slaine, and all the kings ships taken: for Alfrike like a traitor turned to the Danes side. ¶ Matt. West. maketh other report of this matter, declaring that Alfrike in deed being one of the chiefe capteins of the fleet, aduertised them by forewarning of the danger that was toward them, and that when they should come to ioining, the same Alfrike like a traitor fled to the Danes, and after vpon necessitie being put to flight escaped away with them: but the other capteins of the kings fleet, as Theodred, Elstan, and Esewen, pursued the Danes, tooke one of their ships, and slue all those that were found therein. The Londoners also (as the same Matt. West. saith) met with the nauie of the Danish rouers as they fled away, and slue a great number, and also tooke the ship of the traitor Alfrike with his souldiers & armor, but he himselfe escaped, though with much paine, hauing plaied the like traitorous part once before, and yet was reconciled to the kings fauor againe. Vpon this mischiefe wrought by the father, the king now tooke his sonne Algar, and caused his eies to be put out.

Hen. Hunt. Alfrike a traitour to his countrie. Matth. West.

Henr. Hunt. The son punished for his fathers offence.

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About the same time was Bamburgh destroied by the Danes, which arriued after in Humber, and wasted the countrie of Lindsey and Yorkeshire, on either side that riuer. And when the Englishmen were assembled to giue them battell, before they ioined, the capteines of the English armie, Frena, Godwin, and Fredegist, that were Danes by their fathers side, began to flie away, and escaped, so giuing the occasion of the ouerthrow that lighted on their people. But by some writers it should appeare, that after the Danes had destroied all the north parts, as they spred abroad without order and good arraie, the people of the countrie fell vpon them, and slue some of them, and chased the residue. Other of the Danes with a nauie of 94 ships entered the Thames, and besieged London about our ladie daie in September. They gaue a verie sore assault to the citie, and assaied to set it on fire: but the citizens so valiantlie defended themselues, that the Danes were beaten backe and repelled, greatlie to their losse, so that they were constreined to depart thence with dishonor. Then they fell to and wasted the countries of Eller, Kent, Sussex, and Hamshire, and ceassed not till they had inforced the king to compound with them for 16 thousand pounds, which he was glad to pay to haue peace with them.

Simon Dur. Polydor. Matth. West.

Ingild king of Norway, Swein king of Denmarks were capteins of this fleet, as saith Simon Dur.

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Henr. Hunt. Wil. Malm. The king compounded with the Danes for monie.

Moreouer, whereas they wintered that yeere at Southampton, the king procured Aulafe king of the Norwegians to come vnto Andeuer (where at that time he lay) vpon pledges receiued of the king for his safe returne. Elphegus bishop of Winchester, and duke Ethelwold were appointed by king Egelred to bring Aulafe vnto him in most honorable maner. The same time was Aulafe baptised, king Egel-

Matt. West. Simon Dun. Aulafe king of Norway baptised.

red

red receiuing him at the fontſtone, and ſo he promiſed neuer after to make anie war within this land. And receiuing great gifts of the king, he returned into his countrie, and kept his promiſe faithfullie: but the euils toke not ſo an end, for other of the Danes ſprang vp, as they had béene the heads of the ſerpent Hydra, ſome of them euer being readie to trouble the quiet ſtate of the Engliſh nation.

His promiſe.

About this ſeaſon, that is to ſay, in the yéere of our Lord 995, biſhop Aldaine which was fled from Cheſter in the ſtréet (otherwiſe called Cunecеſter) with the bodie of ſaint Cuthbert for feare of the inuaſion of Danes, vnto Rippon, brought the ſame bodie now vnto Durham, and there began the foundation of a church; ſo that the ſée of that biſhoprike was from thenceforth there eſtabliſhed, and the woods were there cut downe, which before that time couered and ouergrew that place, whereupon it began firſt to be inhabited. Earle Uthred, who gouerned that countrie, greatlie furthered the biſhop in this worke, ſo that all the people inhabiting betweene the riuers of Coquid and Theis, came togither to rid the woods, and to helpe forwards the building of the church and towne there.

John Leland. Simon Dun. 995

The church of Durham builded.

Earle Uthred

Durham towne and minſter builded.

The Danes inuading the weſt parts of *this land make great hauocke by fire and* ſword, they arriue at Rocheſter, and conquer *the Kentiſhmen in field, king Egelred ouercom-* meth the Danes that inhabited Cumberland and *waſteth the countrie, the Summerſetſhire men are foiled: the* miſerable ſtate of the realme in thoſe daies; the Engliſh bloud mixed with the Danes and Britaines, and what inconueniences grew thervpon, the diſordered gouernement of king Egelred, ſickneſſes vexing the people, treaſon in the nobles, the tribute paid to the Danes vnmercifullie inhanſed, the realme brought to beggerie; king Egelred by politike perſuaſion and counſell marrieth Emma the duke of Normandies daughter, vpon what occaſion the Normans pretended a title to the crowne of England, they conquer the whole land, what order king Egelred tooke to kill all the Danes within his kingdome, and what rule they bare in this realme yer they were murdered, the thraldome of the Engliſh people vnder them, whereof the word Lordane ſprang.

## *The third Chapter.*

IN the ninteenth yere of king Egelreds reigne, the Danes ſailed about Cornewall, and comming into the Seuerne ſea, they robbed & toke preies in the coaſts of Deuonſhire & Southwales, and landing at Wichepoꝛt, they burned vp the countrie, and came about vnto Penwithſtréet on the ſouth coaſt, and ſo arriuing in the mouth of Tamer water, came vnto Lidford, and there waſted all afore them with force of fire. They burned, amongſt other places, the monaſterie of ſaint Odulfe at Eſſingſtocke. After this they came into Dorcetſhire, and paſſed through the countrie with flame and fire, not finding anie that offered to reſiſt them. The ſame yéere alſo they ſoiourned in the Ile of Wight, and liued vpon ſpoiles & preies which they toke in Hampſhire and Suſſex. At length they came into the Thames, and ſo by the riuer of Medwey arriued at Rocheſter. The Kentiſhmen aſſembled togither and fought with the Danes, but they were ouercome, and ſo left the field to the Danes. After this, the ſame Danes ſailed into Normandie, and king Egelred went into Cumberland, where the Danes inhabited in great numbers, whome he ouercame with ſore warre, and waſted almoſt all Cumberland, taking great ſpoiles in the ſame. About the ſame time, or ſhortlie after, the Danes with their nauie, returning out of Normandie, came vnto Ermouth, and there aſſaulted the caſtell, but they were repelled by them that kept it. After this they ſpread abroad ouer all the countrie, exerciſing their accuſtomed trade of deſtroieng all before them with fire and ſword. The men of Summerſetſhire fought with them at Pentho, but the Danes got the vpper hand.

997 The Danes made the weſt parts of this land.

Tamerſtocke

998

999 The Danes arriue in the Thames.

1000

1001 Ermouth.

Pentho.

Thus the ſtate of the realme in thoſe daies was verie miſerable, for there wanted worthie chieftains to rule the people, and to chaſtiſe them when they did amiſſe. There was no truſt in the noble men, for euerie one impugned others doing, and yet would not deuiſe which way to deale with better likelihood. When they aſſembled in councell, and ſhould haue occupied their heads in deuiſing remedies for the miſchiefe of the common wealth, they turned their purpoſe vnto altercation, about ſuch ſtrifes, contentions and quarels as each one had againſt other, and ſuffered the generall caſe to lie ſtill in the duſt. And if at anie time there was anie good concluſion agreed vpon, for the withſtanding of the enimie, & releéſe of the common wealth, anon ſhould the enimie be aduertiſed thereof by ſuch as were of aliance or conſanguinitie to them. For (as Caxton, Polychr. and others ſay) the Engliſh bloud was ſo mired with that of the Danes and Britains, who were like enimies to the Engliſhmen, that there was almoſt few of the nobilitie and commons, which had not on the one ſide a parent of ſome of them.

Diſagréement with councellors what fruit it bringeth.

Whereby it came to paſſe, that neither the ſecret purpoſes of the king could be concealed till they might take due effect; neither their aſſemblies proue quiet without quarelling and taking of parts. Manie alſo being ſent forth with their powers one way (whileſt the king went to make reſiſtance another) did reuolt to his enimies, and turned their ſwords againſt him (as you haue heard of Elfrike and his complices, and ſhall read of manie others) ſo that it was no maruell that Egelred ſped no better, and yet was he as valiant as anie of his predeceſſors, although the monks fauour him not in their writings, becauſe he demanded aid of them toward his warres, and was nothing fauorable to their lewd hypocriſie. But what is a king if his ſubiects be not loiall? What is a realme, if the common wealth be diuided? By peace & concord, of ſmall beginnings great and famous kingdomes haue oft times proceeded; whereas by diſcord the greateſt kingdoms haue oftner bene brought to ruine. And ſo it proued here, for whileſt priuat quarels are purſued, the generall affaires are vtterlie neglected: and whileſt ech nation ſéeketh to preferre his owne aliance, the Iland it ſelfe is like to become a deſert.

The miſgouernement of the king.

But to proceed with our monaſticall writers: certes they lay all the fault in the king, ſaieng that he was a man giuen to no good exerciſe, he delighted in fleſhlie luſtes and riotous bankettings, and ſtill ſought waies how to gather of his ſubiects what might be got, as well by vnlawfull meanes as otherwiſe. For he would for feined or for verie ſmall & light cauſes diſherit his native ſubiects, and cauſe them to redéeme their owne poſſeſſions for great ſummes of monie. Beſides theſe oppreſſions, diuers kinds of ſickneſſes vered the people alſo, as the bloodie flix, and hot burning agues which then raged through the land, ſo that manie died thereof. By ſuch manner of meanes therefore, what through the miſgouernance of the king, the treaſon and diſloialtie of the nobilitie, the lacke of good order and due correction amongſt the people, and by ſuch other ſcourges and miſhaps as afflicted the Engliſh nation

Sickneſſe vexing the people.

Treaſon in the nobilitie.

tion in that season, the land was brought into great ruine, so that, where by strength the enimie could not be kept off, there was now no helpe but to appease them with monie. By reason hereof from time of the first agréement with the Danes for 10 thousand pounds tribute, it was inhanced to 16000 pounds, (as you haue heard) & after that to 20000 pounds, then to 24000 pounds, & so to 30000 pounds, & lastlie to 40000 pounds, till at length the reime was emptied in maner of all that monie and coine that could be found in it. In this meane time died Elgina or Ethelgina the quéene. Shortlie after it was deuised that the king should be a suter vnto Richard duke of Normandie, for his sister Emma, a ladie of such excellent beautie, that she was named the floure of Normandie. This suite was begun and tooke such good successe, that the king obteined his purpose. And so in the yeare of our Lord 1002, which was about the 24 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, he maried the said Emma with great solemnitie.

The inhancing of the tribute paid to the Danes.

The death of quéene Elguna. Emma.

Hen. Hunt.

1002

Emma daughter of R. duke of Normandie maried to K. Edgar.

This mariage was thought to be right necessarie, honorable, and profitable for the realme of England, because of the great puissance of the Norman princes in those daies: but as things afterward came to passe, it turned to the subuersion of the whole English state: for by such affinitie and dealing as happened hereby betwixt the Normans and Englishmen, occasion in the end was ministred to the same Normans to pretend a title to the crowne of England, in prosecuting of which title, they obteined and made the whole conquest of the land, as after shall appeare. Egelred being greatlie aduanced (as he thought) by reason of his mariage, deuised vpon presumption thereof, to cause all the Danes within the land to be murthered in one day. Herevpon he sent priuie commissioners to all cities, burrowes and townes within his dominions, commanding the rulers and officers in the same, to kill all such Danes as remained within their liberties, at a certeine day prefixed, being saint Brices day, in the yeare 1012, and in the 34 yeare of king Egelreds reigne. Herevpon (as sundrie writers agree) in one day & houre this murther began, and was according to the commission and iniunction executed. But where it first began, the same is vncerteine: some say at Wellowin in Herefordshire, some at a place in Staffordshire called Holwnhill, & others in other places, but wheresoeuer it began, the doers repented it after.

1012

The 13 of November. The murder of the Danes.

Holwnhill, or Houndhill, a place within Merchington parish beside the forest of Méedwood, somewhat more than two miles from Worcester.

But now yer we proceed anie further, we will shew what rule the Danes kept here in this realme before they were thus murthered, as in some bookes we find recorded. Whereas it is shewed that the Danes compelled the husbandmen to til the ground & do all maner of labour and toile to be done about husbandrie: the Danes liued vpon the fruit and gaines that came thereof, and kept the husbandmens wiues, their daughters, maids and seruants, vsing and abusing them at their pleasures. And when the husbandmen came home, then could they scarse haue such sustenance of meats and drinkes as fell for seruants to haue: so that the Danes had all at their commandements, eating and drinking of the best, where the sillie man that was the owner, could hardlie come to his fill of the worst. Besids this, the common people were so oppressed by the Danes, that for feare and dread they called them in euerie such house where anie of them soiourned, Lord Dane. And if an Englishman and a Dane chanced to méet at anie bridge or streight passage, the Englishman must staie till the Lord Dane were passed. But in processe of time, after the Danes were voided the land, this word Lord Dane was in derision and despight of the Danes turned by Englishmen into a name of reproch, as Lordane, which till these our daies is not forgotten. For when the people in manie parts of this realme will note and signifie anie great idle lubber that will not labour nor take paine for his liuing, they will call him Lordane. Thus did the Danes vse the Englishmen in most vile manner, and kept them in such seruile thraldome as cannot be sufficientlie vttered.

Hector Boet.

Lordane whereof the word came.

A fresh power of Danes inuade England to reuenge the slaughter of their countrimen that inhabited this Ile, the west parts betraied into their hands by the conspiracie of a Norman that was in gouernement, earle Edrike feigned himselfe sicke when king Egelred sent vnto him to leuie a power against the Danes, and betraieth his people to the enimies; Sweine king of Denmarke arriueth on the coast of Northfolke, and maketh pitifull spoile by fire and sword; the truce taken betweene him and Vikillus is violated, and what reuengement followeth; king Sweine forced by famine returneth into his owne countrie, he arriueth againe at Sandwich, why king Egelred was vnable to preuaile against him, the Danes ouerrun all places where they come and make cruell waste, king Egelred paieth him great summes of monie for peace; the mischiefes that light vpon a land by placing a traitorous stranger in gouernement, how manie acres a hide of land conteineth, Egelreds order taken for ships and armour, why his great fleet did him little pleasure; a fresh host of Danes vnder three capteines arriue at Sandwich, the citizens of Canturburie for monie purchase safetie, the faithlesse dealing of Edrike against king Egelred for the enimies aduantage, what places the Danes ouerran and wasted.

## *The fourth Chapter.*

VPon knowledge giuen into Denmarke of the cruell murder of the Danes here in England, truth it is, that the people of the countrie were greatlie kindled in malice, and set in such a furious rage against the Englishmen, that with all spéed they made forth a nauie full fraught with men of warre, the which in the yeare following came swarming about the coasts of England, and landing in the west countrie, tooke the citie of Excester, and gat there a rich spoile. One Hugh a Norman borne, whome queene Emma had placed in those parties as gouernour or shirife there, conspired with the Danes, so that all the countrie was ouerrun and wasted.

Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun. The Danes returne to inuade England. Excester taken.

1003

Hugh a Norman conspireth with the Danes.

The king hearing that the Danes were thus landed, and spoiled the west parts of the realme, he sent vnto Edricus to assemble a power to withstand the enimies. Herevpon the people of Hampshire and Wiltshire rose and got togither: but when the armies should ioine, earle Edzicus surnamed de Streona feigned himselfe sicke, and so betraied his people, of whome he had the conduct: for they perceiuing the want in their leader, were discouraged, and so fled. The Danes followed them vnto Wilton, which towne they rifled and ouercame. From thence they went to Salisburie, and so taking their pleasure there, returned to their ships, because (as some write) they were aduertised that the king was comming towards them with an huge armie. In the yeare next insuing, that is to saie 1004, which was about the 24 yeare of K. Egelreds reigne, Sweine or Swanus, king of Denmarke, with a mightie nauie of ships came on the coast of Northfolke, and there landing with his people, made toward Norwich, and comming thither tooke that citie, and spoiled it. Then went he vnto Thetford, and when he had taken and rifled that towne, he burnt it, notwithstanding a truce taken by Wikillus or Wilb ketell

The commers sickenesse of duke Edrike.

Wilton spoiled.

Simon Dun.

1004

Sweyn king of Denmark.

Norwich taken by the Danes. Thetford burnt.

ketell gouernor of those parties with the same king Swaine after the taking of Norwich. In reuenge therefore of such breach of truce, the same Vikillus, or Wilfeketell, with such power as he could raise, assaulted the host of Danes as they returned to their ships, and slue a great number of them, but was not able to mainteine the fight, for his enimies ouermatched him in number of men. And so he was constrained in the end to giue backe; and the enimies kept on their waies to their ships.

Vikillus or wilfeketell gouernour of Norffolke.

Hen. Hunt.

1005

In the yeare following king Swaine returned into Denmarke with all his fleet, partlie constrained so to do (as some write) by reason of the great famin & want of necessarie sustenance, which in that yeare sore oppressed this land. In the yeare of our Lord 1006, king Swaine returned againe into England with a mightie & huge nauie, arriuing at Sandwich, and spoiled all the countrie neere vnto the sea side. King Egelred raised all his power against him, and all the haruest time laie abroad in the field to resist the Danes, which according to their wonted maner spared not to exercise their vnmercifull crueltie, in wasting and spoiling the land with fire and sword, pilfering and taking of preies in euerie part where they came. Neither could king Egelred remedie the matter, because the enimies still conueied themselues with their ships into some contrarie quarter, from the place where they knew him to be, so that his trauell was in vaine.

Swaine returned into Denmarke. Simon Dun.

1006

Hen. Hunt. Swaine returned into England.

About the beginning of winter they remained in the Ile of Wight, & in the time of Christmasse they landed in Hampshire, and passing through that countrie into Barkeshire, they came to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and so to Colesetie, and then approching to Essington, came to Achikelmeslawe, and in euerie place whersoeuer they came, they made cleane worke. For that which they could not carie with them, they consumed with fire, burning vp their innes and sleaing their hoasts. In returning backe, the people of the west countrie gaue them battell, but preuailed not, so that they did but inrich their enimies with the spoile of their bodies. They came by the gates of Winchester as it were in maner of triumph, with vittels and spoiles which they had fetched fiftie miles from the sea side. In the meane time king Egelred lay about Shrewsburie sore troubled with the newes hereof, and in the yeare next insuing, by the aduise of his councell he gaue to king Swaine for the redeeming of peace 30000 pounds.

The Danes winter in the Ile of wight. They inuade Hampshire, Barkshire, &c.

Winchester.

1007

36000 pound saith Si. Dun.

In the same yeare K. Egelred created the traitor Edrike earle of Mercia, who although he had maried Edgiua the kings daughter, was yet noted to be one of those which disclosed the secrets of the realme, and the determinations of the councell vnto the enimies. But he was such a craftie dissembler, so greatlie prouided of sleight to dissemble and cloake his falshod, that the king being too much abused by him, had him in singular fauour, whereas he vpon a malicious purpose studied dailie how to bring the realme into vtter destruction, aduertising the enimies from time to time how the state of things stood, whereby they came to knowlege when they should giue place, and when they might safelie come forward. Moreouer, being sent vnto them oftentimes as a commissioner to treat of peace, he persuaded them to warre. But such was the pleasure of God, to haue him and such other of like sort aduanced to honor in this season, when by his diuine prouidence he meant to punish the people of this realme for their wickednesse and sinnes, whereby they had iustlie prouoked his wrath and high displeasure.

Edrike de Streona made duke or earle of Mercia.

Wil. Malm.

Henr. Hunt. Simon Dun.

In the 30 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, which fell in the yeare of our Lord 1008, he tooke order that of euerie three hundred and ten hides of land within this realme, there should one ship be builded, and of euerie eight hides a complet armor furnished. In the yeare following, the kings whole fleet was brought togither at Sandwich, and such souldiers came thither as were appointed to go to sea in the same fleet: There had not beene seene the like number of ships so trimlie rigged and furnished in all points, in anie kings daies before. But no great profitable peece of seruice was wrought by them: for the king had about that time banished a noble yong man of Sussex called Wilnot, who getting togither twentie sailes, laie vpon the coasts taking praies where he could get them. Withthe the brother of earle Edrike, being desirous to win honor, take forth foure score of the said ships, and promised to bring in the enimie dead or aliue. But as he was sailing forward on the seas, a sore tempest with an outragious wind rose with such violence, that his ships were cast vpon the shore: and Wilnot comming vpon them, set them on fire, and so burned them euerie one. The residue of the ships, when newes came to them of this mishap, returned backe to London; and then was the armie dispersed, and so all the cost and trauell of the Englishmen proued in vaine.

An hundred acres is an hide of land.

1008

Prouision for ships and armour.

Matt. West.

After this, in the haruest time a new armie of Danes, vnder the conduct of three capteines, Turkill, Yenning, and Aulafe landed at Sandwich, and from thence passed forth to Canturburie, and had taken the citie but that the citizens gaue them a 1000 pounds to depart from thence, and to leaue the countrie in peace. Then went the Danes to the Ile of Wight, and afterwards landed and spoiled the countrie of Sussex and Hampshire. King Egelred assembled the whole power of all his subiects, and comming to giue them battell, had made an end of their cruell harieng the countrie with the slaughter of them all, if earle Edrike with forged tales (deuised onelie to put him in feare) had not disswaded him from giuing battell. The Danes by that meanes returning in safetie, immediatlie after the feast of saint Martine, returned into Kent, and lodged with their nauie in the winter following in the Thames, and oftentimes assaulting the citie of London, were still beaten backe to their losse.

Danes land at Sandwich.

1009

3000 pound saith Si. Dun.

Sussex and Hampshire spoiled.

The Danes returne into Kent.

After the feast of Christmasse they passed through the countrie and woods of Chilterne vnto Oxford, which towne they burned, and then returning backe they fell to wasting of the countrie on both sides the Thames. But hearing that an armie was assembled at London to giue them battell; that part of their host which kept on the northside of the riuer, passed the same riuer at Stanes, and so ioining with their fellowes marched forth through Southerie, and comming backe to their ships in Kent, fell in hand to repare & amend their ships that were in anie wise decaied. Then after Easter, the Danes sailing about the coast, arriued at Gipswich in Suffolke, on the Ascension day of our Lord: and inuading the countrie, gaue battell at a place called Wigmere or Rigmere, vnto Vikill or Wilfeketell leader of the English host in those parties, on the fift of Maie. The men of Northfolke and Suffolke fled at the first onset giuen: but the Cambridgeshire men sticked to it valiantlie, winning thereby perpetuall fame and commendation. There was no mindfulnesse amongest them of running awaie, so that a great number of the nobilitie and other were beaten downe and slaine, till at length one Turketell Mireneheued, that had a Dane to his father, first began to take his flight, and deserued thereby an euerlasting reproch.

1010

Oxford burnt.

Stanes.

Gipswich in Suffolke. Simon Dun.

Caput formicæ.

The Danes obteining the vpper hand, for the

space of three moneths togither went vp and downe the countries, & wasted those parties of the realme, that is to say, Northfolke, and Suffolke, with the borders of Lincolnshire, Huntingtonshire, and Cambridgeshire where the fens are, gaining exceeding riches by the spoile of the great and wealthie abbies and churches which had their situation within the compasse of the same fens. They also destroied Thetford, and burnt Cambridge, and from thence passed through the pleasant mountaine-countrie of Belsham, cruellie murdering the people without respect of age, degree or ser. After this also they entred into Esser, and so came backe to their ships; which were then arriued in the Thames. But they rested not anie long time in quiet, as people that minded nothing but the destruction of this realme. So as sone after, when they had somwhat refreshed them, they set forward againe into the countrie, passing through Buckinghamshire, & so into Bedfordshire. And about saint Andrewes tide they turned towards Northampton, & comming thither set fire on that towne. Then turning through the west countrie, with fire & sword they wasted and destroied a great part thereof, & namelie Wiltshire, with other parties. And finallie about the feast of Christmas they came againe to their ships. Thus had the Danes wasted the most part of 16 or 17 shires within this realme, as Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, Esser, Middlesex, Hartfordshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire, with a part of Huntingtonshire, and also a great portion of Northamptonshire. This was done in the countries that lie on the northside of the riuer of Thames. On the southside of the same riuer, they spoiled and wasted Kent, Southerie, Sussex, Barkeshire, Hampshire, and (as is before said) a great part of Wiltshire.

Thetford. Cambridge. Hen. Hunt.

The Danes arriue in the Thames.

1011

Northampton burnt by Danes.

How manie shires the Danes wasted.

## King Egelred offereth the Danes great *summes of moneie to desist from destroieng* his countrie, their vnspeakable crueltie, bloud-*thirstinesse, and insatiable spoiling of Canturbu*rie betraied by a churchman; their merciles murthe-*ring of Elphegus archbishop of Canturburie, Turkillus the* Dane chiefe lord of Norfolke and Suffolke, a peace concluded betweene the Danes and the English vpon hard conditions; Gunthildis a beautifull Danish ladie and hir husband slaine, hir courage to the death.

## *The fift Chapter.*

THe king and the peeres of the realme, vnderstanding of the Danes dealing in such merciles maner (as is aboue mentioned) but not knowing how to redresse the matter, sent ambassadors vnto the Danes, offering them great summes of moneie to leaue off such cruell wasting and spoiling of the land. The Danes were contented to reteine the moneie, but yet could not abstaine from their cruell doings, neither was their greedie thirst of bloud and spoile satisfied with the wasting and destroieng of so manie countries and places as they had passed through. Where vpon, in the yeere of our Lord 1011, about the feast of S. Matthew in September, they laid siege to the citie of Canturburie, which of the citizens was valiantlie defended by the space of twentie daies. In the end of which terme it was taken by the enimies, through the treason of a deacon named Almaricus, whome the archbishop Elphegus had before that time preserued from death.

The king sendeth to the Danes. Simon Dun.

1011

Canturburie woone by Danes.

The Danes exercised passing great crueltie in the winning of that citie (as by sundrie authors it doth and maie appeere.) For they slue of men, women, and children, aboue the number of eight thousand. They toke the archbishop Elphegus with an other bishop named Godwine; also abbat Lefwin and Alsewold the kings bailife there. They spared no degree, in so much that they slue and toke 900 priests, and other men of religion. And when they had taken their pleasure of the citie, they set it on fire, and so returned to their ships. There be some which write that they tithed the people after an inuerted order, slaieng all by nines through the whole multitude, and reserued the tenth: so that of all the monks there were but foure saued, and of the laie people 4800, whereby it followeth that there died 43200 persons. Whereby is gathered that the citie of Canturburie, and the countrie thereabouts (the people whereof belike fled thither for succor) was at that time verie well inhabited, so as there haue not wanted (saith maister Lambert) which affirme that it had then more people than London it selfe.

Fabian ex Ammino.

The archbishop Elphegus taken. Hen. Hunt.

Antoninus. Vincentius. Wil. Lamb. ex Asserio Menenesi, &c.

But now to our purpose. In the yeere next insuing, vpon the saturday in Easter weeke, after that the bishop Elphegus had beene kept prisoner with them the space of six or seuen moneths, they cruellie in a rage led him forth into the fields, and dashed out his braines with stones, bicause he would not redeeme his libertie with three thousand pounds, which they demanded to haue beene leuied of his farmers and tenants. This cruell murther was committed at Greenewich foure miles distant from London, the 19 of Aprill, where he lay a certeine time vnburied, but at length through miracles shewed (as they say, for miracles are all wrought now by dead men, and not by the liuing) the Danes permitted that his bodie might be caried to London, and there was it buried in the church of S. Paule, where it rested for the space of ten yeeres, till king Cnute or Knought had the gouernment of this land, by whose appointment it was remoued to Canturburie.

1111 Henr. Hunt.

The archbishop Elphegus murthered.

Miracles.

Elphegus buried in London.

Translated to Canturbur. Wil. Malm.

Turkillus the leader of those Danes by whome the archbishop Elphegus was thus murthered, held Northfolke and Suffolke vnder his subiection, & so continued in those parties as chiefe lord and gouernor. But the residue of the Danes at length, compounding with the Englishmen for a tribute to be paid to them of eight thousand pounds, spred abroad in the countrie, soiorning in cities, townes and villages, where they might find most conuenient harbour. Moreouer, fortie of their ships, or rather (as some write) 45 were reteined to serue the king, promising to defend the realme; with condition, that the souldiers and mariners should haue prouision of meate and drinke, with apparell found them at the kings charges. As one author hath gathered, Swaine king of Denmarke was in England at the concluding of this peace, which being confirmed with solemne othes and sufficient hostages, he departed into Denmarke.

Turkillus discloseth the secrets of the realme to K. Swaine.

Turkillus held Norfolk and Suffolk.

48 thousand pound as such Sim. Dun. and M. West. Henr. Hunt.

Simon Dun.

The same author bringeth the generall slaughter of Danes vpon S. Brices day, to haue chanced in the yeere after the conclusion of this agreement, that is to say, in the yeere 1012, at what time Gunthildis the sister of king Swaine was slaine, with hir husband & hir sonne, by the commandement of the false traitor Edrike. But bicause all other authors agree that the same murther of Danes was executed about ten yeeres before this supposed time: we haue made rehearsall thereof in that place. Howbeit, for the death of Gunthildis, it mate be, that she became hostage either in the yeere 1007, at what time king Egelred paied thirtie thousand pounds vnto king Swaine to haue peace (as before you haue heard) or else

March. West.

Swaine prepareth an armie to inuade England.

He landeth at Sandwich.

1013

Gainsbourgh

Gunthildis the sister of K. Swaine murthered.

elſe might ſhe be deliuered in hoſtage, in the yéere 1011, when the laſt agréement was made with the Danes (as aboue is mentioned.) But when or at what time ſoeuer ſhe became hoſtage, this we find of hir, that ſhe came hither into England with hir huſband Palingus, a mightie earle, and receiued baptiſme héere. Wherevpon ſhe earneſtlie trauelled in treatie of a peace betwixt hir brother and king Egelred: which being brought to paſſe chieflie by hir ſute, ſhe was contented to become an hoſtage for performance thereof (as before is recited.) And after by the commandement of earle Edrike ſhe was put to death, pronouncing that the ſhedding of hir bloud would cauſe all England one day ſore to rue. She was a verie beautifull ladie, and toke hir death without all feare, not once changing countenance, though ſhe ſaw hir huſband and hir onelie ſonne (a yong gentleman of much towardneſſe) firſt murthered before hir face.

Wil. Malm.

## Turkillus the Daniſh capteine telleth *king Swaine the faults of the king, nobles,* & commons of this realme, he inuadeth *England, the Northumbers and others ſubmit themſelues* to him, Danes receiued into ſeruice vnder *Egelred, London aſſalted by Swaine, the citizens behaue themſelues* ſtoutlie, and giue the Daniſh hoſt a ſhamefull repulſe, Ethelmere earle of Deuonſhire and his people ſubmit themſelues to Swaine, he returneth into Denmarke, commeth backe againe into England with a freſh power, is incountred with all of the Engliſhmen, whoſe king Egelred is diſcomfited, his oration to his ſouldiers touching the preſent reliefe of their diſtreſſed land, their reſolution and full purpoſe in this their perplexitie, king Egelred is minded to giue place to Swaine, he ſendeth his wife and children ouer into Normandie, the Londoners yeeld vp their ſtate to Swaine, Egelred ſaileth ouer into Normandie, leauing his land to the enimie.

## *The ſixt Chapter.*

Turkillus diſcloſeth the ſecrets of the realme to k. Swaine.

NOw had Turkillus in the meane time aduertiſed king Swaine in what ſtate things ſtood here within the realme: how king Egelred was negligent, onlie attending to the luſts & pleaſures of the fleſh: how the noble men were vnfaithfull, and the commons weake and féeble through want of good and truſtie leaders. Howbeit, ſome write, that Turkillus as well as other of the Danes which remained héere in England, was in league with king Egelred, in ſomuch that he was with him in London, to helpe and defend the citie againſt Swaine when he came to aſſalt it (as after ſhall appéere.) Which if it be true, a doubt may riſe whether Swaine receiued anie aduertiſement from Turkillus to moue him the rather to inuade the realme: but ſuch aduertiſements might come from him before that he was accorded with Egelred.

Simon Dun.

Swaine prepareth an armie to inuade England.

He landeth at Sandwich. 1013

Gainſbourgh

Swaine therefore as a valiant prince, deſirous both to reuenge his ſiſters death, and win honor, prepared an huge armie, and a great number of ſhips, with the which he made towards England, and firſt comming to Sandwich, taried there a ſmall while, and taking eaſtlones the ſea, compaſſed about the coaſts of the Eaſtangles, and arriuing in the mouth of Humber, ſailed vp the water, and entering into the riuer of Trent, he landed at Gainesbourgh, purpoſing to inuade the Northumbers. But as men brought into great feare, for that they had béene ſubiect to the Danes in times paſt, and thinking therefore not to reuolt to the enimie, but rather to their old acquaintance, if they ſhould ſubmit themſelues to the Danes, ſtreightwaies offered to become ſubiect vnto Swaine, togither with their duke named Wightred. Also the people of Lindſey and all thoſe of the northſide of Watlingſtreet yielded themſelues vnto him, and deliuered pledges. When he appointed his ſonne Cnutus to haue the keeping of thoſe pledges, and to remaine vpon the ſafegard of his ſhips, whiles he himſelfe paſſed forward into the countrie. Then marched he forward to ſubdue them of ſouth Mercia: and ſo came to Oxford, to Winchéſter, making the countries ſubiect to him through out whereſoeuer he came.

The Northumbers paid to Swaine.

The people of Lindſey paid themſelues to him.

Simon Dun.

South Mercia.

With this proſperous ſucceſſe Swaine being greatlie incouraged, prepared to go vnto London, where king Egelred as then remained, hauing with him Turkillus the Dane, which was reteined in wages with other of the Danes (as by report of ſome authors it maie appeare) and were now readie to defend the citie againſt their countriemen in ſupport of king Egelred, togither with the citizens. Swaine, becauſe he would not ſtep ſo farre out of the way as to go to the next bridge, loſt a great number of his men as he paſſed through the Thames. At his comming to London, he began to aſſault the citie verie fiercelie, in hope either to put his enimie in ſuch feare that he ſhould deſpaire of all reliefe and comfort, or at the leaſt trie what he was able to doo. The Londoners on the other part, although they were brought in ſome feare by this ſudden attempt of the enimies, yet conſidering with themſelues, that the hazard of all the whole ſtate of the realme was annexed to theirs, ſith their citie was the chiefe and metropolitane of all the kingdome, they valiantlie ſtood in defenſe of themſelues, and of their king that was preſent there with them, beating backe the enimies, chaſing them from the walles, and otherwiſe doing their beſt to keepe them off. At length, although the Danes did moſt valiantlie aſſault the citie, yet the Engliſhmen to defend their prince from all iniurie of enimies, did not ſhrinke, but boldlie ſallied forth at the gates in heapes togither, and incountered with their aduerſaries, and began to fight with them verie fiercelie.

Sim. Dunel.

Swaine aſſaulteth London.

Swaine whileſt he went about to kéepe his men in order, as one moſt deſirous to reteine the victorie now almoſt gotten, was compaſſed ſo about with the Londoners on each ſide, that after he had loſt a great number of his men, he was conſtreined for his ſafegard to breake out through the midſt of his enimies weapons, and was glad that he might ſo eſcape: and ſo with the reſidue of his armie ceaſſed not to journie day and night till he came to Bath, where Ethelmere an earle of great power in thoſe weſt parts of the realme ſubmitted himſelfe with all his people vnto him, who ſhortlie after neuertheleſſe (as ſome write) was compelled through want of victels to releaſe the tribute latelie couenanted to be paied vnto him for a certeine ſummie of monie, which when hée had receiued, he returned into Denmarke, meaning ſhortlie to returne againe with a greater power.

Polydor.

Wil. Malm. Erle of Deuonſhire as ſaith Mart. Weſt. Polydor.

Swaine returneth into Denmarke.

King Egelred ſuppoſed that by the paiment of that monie he ſhould haue béene rid out of all troubles, of warre with the Danes. But the nobles of the realme thought otherwiſe, and therefore willed him to prepare an armie with all ſpéed that might be made. Swaine taried not long (to proue the doubt of the noble men to be grounded of foreknowledge) but that with ſwift ſpéed he returned againe into England, and immediatlie vpon his arriuall was an armie of Engliſhmen aſſembled and led againſt him into the field. Herevpon they ioined in battell, which was ſore foughten for a time, till at length by reaſon of diuerſe Engliſhmen that turned to the

Swaine returneth into England to make warre.

King Egelred diſcomfited in battell.

enimies side, the discomfiture fell with such slaughter vpon the English host, that king Egelred well perceiued the state of his regall gouernement to bee brought into vtter danger. Wherevpon after the losse of this field, he assembled the rest of his people that were escaped, and spake vnto them after this manner.

## The oration of king Egelred to the *remanent of his souldiers.*

IShould for euer be put to silence, if there wanted in vs the vertue of a fatherlie mind, in giuing good aduise & counsel for the well ordering and due administration of things in the common wealth, or if their lacked courage or might in our souldiers and men of warre to defend our countrie. Trulie to die in defense of the countrie where we are borne, I confesse it a worthie thing, and I for my part am readie to take vpon me to enter into the midst of the enimies in defense of my kingdome. But here I see our countrie and the whole English nation to be at a point to fall into vtter ruine. We are ouercome of the Danes, not with weapon or force of armes; but with treason wrought by our owne people: we did at the first prepare a nauie against the enimies, the which that false traitour Elfrike betraid into their hands. Againe, oftentimes haue we giuen battell with euill successe, and onelie through the fault of our owne people that haue bene false and disloiall: whereby we haue bin constreined to agree with the enimies vpon dishonorable conditions, euen as necessitie required, which to ouercome, resteth onelie in God. Such kind of agreement hath bene made in deed to our destruction, sith the enimies haue not sticked to breake it (they being such a wicked kind of people as neither regard God nor man) contrarie to right and reason, and beside all our hope & expectation. So that the matter is come now to this passe, that we haue not cause onlie to feare the losse of our gouernement, but least the name of the whole English nation be destroied for euer. Therefore sithens the enimies are at hand, and as it were ouer our heads, you to whom my commandement hath euer bene had in good regard, prouide, take counsell, and see to succor the state of your countrie now readie to decay and to fall into irrecouerable ruine.

Herevpon they fell in consultation, euerie one alledging and bringing forth his opinion as seemed to him best: but it appeared they had the woolfe by the eare, for they wist not which way to turne them. If they should giue battell, it was to be doubted least through treason among themselues, the armie should be betraied into the enimies hands, the which would not faile to execute all kind of crueltie in the slaughter of the whole nation. And if they stood not valiantlie to shew themselues readie to defend their countrie, there was no shift but yeeld themselues. Which though it were a thing reprochfull and dishonorable, yet should it be lesse euill, as they toke the matter, for thereby might manie be preserued from death, and in time to come, be able to recouer the libertie of their countrie, when occasion should be offered. This point was allowed of them all, and so in the end they rested vpon that resolution.

King Egelred therefore determined to commit himselfe into the hands of his brother in law Richard duke of Normandie, whose sister (as ye haue heard) he had maried. But bicause he would not do this vnaduisedlie, first he sent ouer his wife quæne Emma, with his sonnes which he had begotten of hir, Alfred and Edward, that by their interteinment he might vnderstand how he should be welcome. Duke Richard receiued his sister and his nephues verie ioifullie, and promised to aid his brother king Egelred in defense of his kingdome. But in this meane while had Swaine conquered the more part of all England, and brought (by little and little) that which remained vnder his subiection. The people through feare submitting themselues on each hand, king Egelred in this meane time (for the Londoners had submitted themselues to Swaine) was first withdrawne vnto Greenwich, and there remained for a time with the nauie of the Danes, which was vnder the gouernement of earle Turkill, and from thence sailed into the Ile of Wight, and there remained a great part of the winter, and finallie after Christmas himselfe sailed into Normandie, and was of his brother in law ioifullie receiued & greatlie comforted in that his time of necessitie.

King Egelred determineth to giue place vnto Swaine.

He sendeth his wife and sonnes ouer into Normandie.

Richard duke of Normandie.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt. Turkill.

1014

King Egelred passeth into Normandie.

Swaine king of Denmarke is reputed *king of this land, he oppresseth the English* people cruellie, and spoileth religious houses, *the strange and miraculous slaughter of Swaine* vaunting of his victories; the Danish chronicles *write parciallie of him and his end, Cnute succeedeth his father* Swaine in regiment, the Englishmen send king Egelred woord of Swaines death, Edward king Egelreds eldest sonne commeth ouer into England to know the state of the countrie and people of certeintie; Egelred with his power returneth into England; what meanes Cnute made to establish himselfe king of this land, and to be well thought of among the English people, Egelred burneth vp Gainesbrough, and killeth the inhabitants therof for their disloialtie; Cnutes flight to Sandwich, his cruel decree against the English pledges, he returneth into Denmarke, why Turkillus the Danish capteine with his power compounded with the Englishmen to tarrie in this land, his faithlesse seruice to Egelred, his drift to make the whole realme subiect to the Danish thraldome.

## *The seuenth Chapter.*

SWaine hauing now got the whole rule of the land, was reputed full king, and so commanded that his armie should be prouided of wages and vittels to be taken vp & leuied through the realme. In like maner Turkill commanded that to his armie lodged at Greenewich, wages and vittels sufficient should be deliuered, for the finding, releeuing, succouring, and sustaining thereof. Swaine vsed the victorie verie cruellie against the Englishmen, oppressing them on each hand; to the intent that them being brought low he might gouerne in more suertie. The yeere in which he obteined the rule thus of this realme, and that king Egelred was constreined to flie into Normandie, was in the 35 yeere of the same Egelred his reigne, and after the birth of our Lord 1014. Swaine being once established in the gouernment, did not onelie vse much crueltie in oppressing the laitie, but also stretched forth his hand to the church, and to the ministers

Swaine handleth the Englishmen hardlie.

niſters in the ſame, fleecing them and ſpoiling both churches and miniſters, without anie remorſe of conſcience, inſomuch that hauing a quarell againſt the inhabitants within the precinct of S. Edmunds land in Suffolke, he did not onelie harrie the countrie, but alſo rifled and ſpoiled the abbeie of Burie, where the bodie of ſaint Edmund reſted.

Whereupon ſhortlie after, as he was at Gainesborough or Thetford (as ſome ſay) and there in his iollitie talked with his Nobles of his good ſucceſſe in conquering of this land, he was ſuddenlie ſtriken with a knife, as it is reported, miraculouſlie, for no man wiſt how or by whome: and within three daies after, to wit, on the third of Februarie, he ended his life with grieuous paine and torment in yelling and roring, by reaſon of his extreame anguiſh beyond all meaſure. There hath ſprong a pleaſant tale among the poſteritie of that age, how he ſhould be wounded with the ſame knife which king Edmund in his life time vſed to weare. Thus haue ſome of our writers reported, but the Daniſh chronicles report a farre more happie end which ſhould chance to this Swaine, than is before mentioned out of our writers: for the ſaid chronicles report, that after he had ſubdued England, he tooke order with king Egelred, whome they name amiſſe Adelſtane, that he ſhould not ordeine any other ſucceſſor, but onlie the ſaid Swaine. Then after this, he returned into Denmarke, where vſing himſelfe like a right godlie prince, at length he there ended his life, being a verie old man.

Fabian. S. Edmund fighteth for the wealth, but not for the ſlaughter of his people. Simon Dun. 1115

Albertus Crantz. Saxo Grammaticus.

Notwithſtanding all this, when or howſoeuer he died, immediatlie after his deceaſſe the Danes elected his ſonne Cnute or Knought to ſucceed in his dominions. But the Engliſhmen of nothing more deſirous than to ſhake off the yoke of Daniſh thraldome beſides their necks & ſhoulders, ſtreightwaies vpon knowledge had of Swaines death, with all ſpéd aduertiſed king Egelred thereof, and that they were readie to receiue and aſſiſt him if he would make haſt to come ouer to deliuer his countrie out of the hands of ſtrangers. Theſe newes were right ioifull vnto Egelred, who burning in deſire to be reuenged on them that had expelled him out of his kingdome, made no longer tariance to ſet that enterprize forward. But yet doubting the inconſtancie of the people, he ſent his elder ſon (named Edmund) to trie the minds of them, and to vnderſtand whether they were conſtant or wauering in that which they had promiſed.

Will. Malm. H. Hunt. Cnute or Cnute.

Egelred ſent for home.

Edmund K. Egelreds eldeſt ſonne.

The yong gentleman hafting ouer into England, and with diligent inquirie perceiuing how they were bent, returned with like ſpéd as he came into Normandie againe, declaring to his father, that all things were in ſafetie if he would make haſt. King Egelred then conceiued an aſſured hope to recouer his kingdom, aided with his brother in laws power, and truſting vpon the aſſiſtance of the Engliſhmen, returned into England in the time of Lent. His returne was ioifull and moſt acceptable to the Engliſh people, as to thoſe that abhorred the rule of the Danes, which was moſt ſharpe and bitter to them, although Cnute did what he could by bountifulneſſe and courteous dealings to haue reteined them vnder his obeiſance.

King Egelred returneth into England

Cnutes endeuor to eſtabliſh himſelfe in the kingdome.

And of an intent to procure Gods fauour in the well ordering of things for the adminiſtration in the common wealth, he ſought firſt to appeaſe his wrath, and alſo to make amends to ſaint Edmund for his fathers offenſe committed (as was thought) againſt him: inſomuch that after he had obteined the kingdome, he cauſed a great ditch to be caſt round about the land of ſaint Edmund, and granted manie frées doms to the inhabitants, acquiting them of certeine taſkes and paiments, vnto the which other of their neighbours were contributarie. He alſo builded a church on the place where ſaint Edmund was buried, and ordeined an houſe of monks there, or rather remoued the canons or ſecular prieſts that were there afore, and put monks in their romes. He offered vp alſo his crowne vnto the ſame S. Edmund, and redéemed it againe with a great ſumme of monie; which maner of doing grew into an vſe vnto other kings that followed him. He adorned the church there with manie rich iewels, and indowed the monaſterie with great poſſeſſions.

S. Edmunds ditch.

Polydor. Fabian.

But theſe things were not done now at the firſt, but after that he was eſtabliſhed in the kingdome. For in the meane time, after that king Egelred was returned out of Normandie, Cnute as then ſoiourning at Gainesborough, remained there till the feaſt of Caſter, and made agréement with them of Lindſey, ſo that finding him horſſes, they ſhould altogither go forth to ſpoile their neighbors. King Egelred aduertiſed thereof, ſped him thither with a mightie hoſt, and with great crueltie burned vp the countrie, and ſlue the more part of the inhabitants, becauſe they had taken part with his enimies. Cnute as then was not of power able to reſiſt Egelred, and therefore taking his ſhips which lay in Humber, fled from thence, & ſailed about the coaſt, till he came to Sandwich, and there ſore gréeued in his mind to remember what miſchéefe was fallen and chanced to his friends and ſubiects of Lindſey, onelie for his cauſe; he commanded that ſuch pledges as had béene deliuered to his father by certeine noble men of this realme, for aſſurance of their fidelities, ſhould haue their noſes ſlit, and their eares ſtukked, or (as ſome write) their hands and noſes cut off.

Cnute driuen to forſake the land.

He was driuen thither by force of contrarie winds as ſhould appeare by Matth. Weſt.

The cruell decrée of Cnute againſt the Engliſh pledges. Will. Malmeſ.

When this cruell act according to his commandement was done, taking the ſea, he ſailed into Denmarke: but yet tooke not all the Danes with him which his father brought thither. For earle Turkill perceiuing the wealthineſſe of the land, compounded with the Engliſhmen, and choſe rather to remaine in a region repleniſhed with all riches, than to returne home into his owne countrie that wanted ſuch commodities as were here to be had. And yet (as ſome thought) he did not forſake his ſouereigne lord Cnute for anie euill meaning towards him, but rather to aid him (when time ſerued) to recouer the poſſeſſion of England againe, as it afterwards well appeared. For notwithſtanding that he was now reteined by K. Egelred with fortie ſhips, and the flower of all the Danes that were men of warre, ſo that Cnute returned but with 60 ſhips into his countrie: yet ſhortlie after, erle Turkill with 9 of thoſe ſhips ſailed into Denmarke, ſubmitted himſelfe vnto Cnute, counſelled him to returne into England, and promiſed him the aſſiſtance of the reſidue of thoſe Daniſh ſhips which yet remained in England, being to the number of thirtie, with all the ſouldiers and mariners that to them belonged. To conclude, he did ſo much by his earneſt perſuaſions, that Cnute (through aid of his brother Harrold king of Denmarke) got togither a naule of two hundred ſhips, ſo roiallie decked, furniſhed, and appointed, both for braue ſhew and neceſſarie furniture of all maner of weapons, armor & munition, as it is ſtrange to conſider that which is written by them that liued in thoſe daies, and tooke in hand to regiſter the doings of that time. Howbeit to let this pompe of Cnutes fléete paſſe, which (no doubt) was right roiall, conſider a little and looke backe to Turkill, though a ſworne ſeruant to king Egelred, how he did direct all his drift to the aduancement of Cnute, and his owne commoditie, cloking his purpoſed treacherie with pretended amitie, as ſhall appeare hereafter by his deadlie hoſtilitie.

This Turkill was reteined in ſeruice with Egelred, as I thinke.

Encomium. Emmæ.

A great waste by an inundation or in-*breaking of the sea, a tribute of* 30000 pounds to the Danes, king Egelred holdeth a *councell at Oxford, where he causeth two noble* men of the Danes to be murdered by treason, Ed-*mund the kings eldest sonne marieth one of their wiues, and* seizeth vpon his predecessors lands; Cnute the Danish king returneth into England, the Danish and English armies encounter, both sustaine losse; Cnute maketh waste of certeine shires, Edmund preuenteth Edriks purposed treason, Edrike de Streona flieth to the Danes, the Westernemen yeeld to Cnute; Mercia refuseth to be subiect vnto him, Warwikeshire wasted by the Danes; Egelred assembleth an armie against them in vaine; Edmund & Vtred with ioined forces lay waste such countries and people as became subiect to Cnute; his policie to preuent their purpose, through what countries he passed, Vtred submitteth himselfe to Cnute, and deliuereth pledges, he is put to death and his lands alienated, Cnute pursueth Edmund to London, and prepareth to besiege the citie, the death and buriall of Egelred, his wiues, what issue he had by them, his infortunatenesse, and to what affections and vices he was inclined, his too late and bootlesse seeking to releeue his decaied kingdome.

## *The eight Chapter.*

1015

Matt. VVest.

BVt now to returne to our purpose, and to shew what chanced in England after the departure of Cnute. In the same yeare to the forsaid accustomed mischiefes an vnwonted misaduenture happened: for the sea rose with such high spring-tides, that ouerflowing the countries next adioining, diuers villages with the inhabitants were drowned and destroied. Also to increase the peoples miserie, king Egelred commanded, that 30000 pounds should be leuied to paie the tribute due to the Danes which lay at Greenewich. This yeare also king Egelred held a councell at Orford, at the which a great number of noble men were present, both Danes and Englishmen, and there did the king cause Sigeferd and Morcad two noble personages of the Danes to be murdered within his owne chamber, by the traitorous practise of Edrike de Streona, which accused them of some conspiracie. But the quarell was onelie as men supposed, for that the king had a desire to their goods and possessions.

Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm. Matth. West. A councell at Orford.

Sigeferd and Morcad murdered.

Their seruants take in hand to haue reuenged the death of their maisters, but were beaten backe, whereupon they fled into the steeple of saint Friswids church, and kept the same, till fire was set vpon the place, and so they were burned to death. The wife of Sigeferd was taken, & sent to Malmsburie, being a woman of high fame and great worthinesse, whereupon the kings eldest sonne named Edmund, take occasion vpon pretense of other businesse to go thither, and there to see hir, with whome he fell so far in loue, that he take and maried hir. That done, he required to haue hir husbands lands and possessions, which were an earles liuing, and lay in Northumberland. And when the king refused to graunt his request, he went thither, and seized the same possessions and lands into his hands, without hauing anie commission so to do, finding the farmers and tenants there readie to receiue him for their lord.

Edmund the kings eldest sonne marrieth the widow of Sigeferd.

Whilest these things were a doing, Cnute hauing made his prouision of ships and men, with all necessarie furniture (as before ye haue heard) for his returne into England, set forward with full purpose, either to recouer the realme out of Egelreds hands, or to die in the quarrell. Herevpon he landed at Sandwich, and first earle Turkill obteined licence

Cnute returneth into England.

to go against the Englishmen that were assembled to resist the Danes, and finding them at a place called Scorastan, he gaue them the ouerthrow, got a great bootie, and returned therewith to the ships. After this, Edrike gouernor of Norwaie made a rode likewise into an other part of the countrie, & with a rich spoile, and manie prisoners, returned vnto the nauie. After this iournie atchiued thus by Edrike, Cnute commanded that they should not waste the countrie anie more, but gaue order to prepare all things readie to besiege London: but before he attempted that enterprise, as others write, he marched forth into Kent, or rather sailing round about that countrie, take his iournie westward, & came to Fromundham, and after departing from thence, wasted Dorsetshire, Summersetshire, & Wiltshire.

Encomium Emmæ.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Sim. Dun.

King Egelred in this meane time lay sicke at Cossam; and his sonne Edmund had got togither a mightie hoast, howbeit yer he came to ioine battell with his enimies, he was aduertised, that earle Edrike went about to betraie him, and therefore he withdrew with the armie into a place of suertie. But Edrike to make his traitorous purpose manifest to the whole world, fled to the enimies with fortie of the kings ships, fraught with Danish souldiers. Herevpon, all the west countrie submitted it selfe vnto Cnute, who receiued pledges of the chiefe lords and nobles, and then set forward to subdue them of Mercia. The people of that countrie would not yeeld, but determined to defend the quarrell and title of king Egelred, so long as they might haue anie capteine that would stand with them, and helpe to order them. In the yeare 1016, in Christmas, Cnute and earle Edrike passed the Thames at Kirkelade, & entring into Mercia, cruellie began with fire and sword to waste and destroie the countrie, and namelie Warwikeshire.

King Egelred sicke. Matth. West.

Edrike de Streona fleeth to the Danes. Simon Dun. The west countrie.

The people of Mercia would not yeeld. Matth. West. Hen. Hunt.

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Warwikeshire wasted by the Danes.

In the meane time was king Egelred recouered of his sickenesse, and sent summons forth to raise all his power, appointing euerie man to resort vnto him, that he might incounter the enimies and giue them battell. But yet when his people were assembled, he was warned to take heed vnto himselfe, and in anie wise to beware how he gaue battell, for his owne subiects were purposed to betraie him. Herevpon the armie brake vp, & king Egelred withdrew to London, there to abide his enimies within the walles, with whom in the field he doubted to trie the battell. His sonne Edmund got him to Vtred, an earle of great power, inhabiting beyond Humber, and persuading him to ioine his forces with his, forth they went to waste those countries that were become subiect to Cnute, as Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Shropshire, not sparing to exercise great crueltie vpon the inhabitants, as a punishment for their reuolting, that others might take example thereby.

King Egelred recouered of his sickenesse.

He assembleth an armie in vaine.

Wil. Malm. Edmund king Egelreds sonne.

But Cnute perceiuing whereabout they went, politikelie deuised to frustrate their purpose, and with doing of like hurt in all places where he came, passed through Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingtonshire, and so through the fens came to Stamford, and then entred into Lincolnshire, and from thence into Notinghamshire, & so into Yorkeshire, not sparing to do what mischefe might be deuised in all places where he came. Vtred aduertised hereof, was constreined to depart home to saue his owne countrie from present destruction, and therefore comming backe into Northumberland, & perceiuing himselfe not able to resist the puissant force of his enimies, was constreined to deliuer pledges, and submit himselfe vnto Cnute. But yet was he not hereby warranted from danger, for shortlie after he was taken, and put to death, and then were his

Cnute, what countries he passed through.

Earle Vtred deliuered pledges to Cnute.

See the historie of Cambria pag. 62, 63

his lands giuen vnto one Iricke or Iricius, whome afterward Cnute did baniſh out of the realme, becauſe that he did attempt to chalenge like authoritie to him in all points as Cnute himſelfe had. After that Cnute had ſubdued the Northumbers, he purſued Edmund, till he heard that he had taken London for his refuge, and ſtaied there with his father. Then did Cnute take his ſhips, and came about to the coaſts of Kent, preparing to beſiege the citie of London.

Alds Egricus.

Cnute prepareth to beſiege London.

In the meane time, king Egelred ſore worne with long ſickneſſe, departed this life on the 23 of Aprill, being ſaint Georges day, or (as others ſay) on ſaint Gregories day, being the 12 of March, but I take this to be an error growen, by miſtaking the feaſt-day of ſaint Gregorie for ſaint George. He reigned the tearme of 37 yeares, or little leſſe. His bodie was buried in the church of ſaint Pauls, in the north Ile beſids the quéere, as by a memoriall there on the wall it maie appeare. He had two wiues (as before is mentioned.) By Elgina his firſt wife he had iſſue three ſonnes, Edmund, Edwine, and Adelſtane; beſides one daughter named Egiua. By his ſecond wife Emma, daughter to Richard the firſt of that name, duke of Normandie, and ſiſter to Richard the ſecond, he had two ſonnes, Alfrid and Edward.

King Egelred departed this life. Simon Dun. Matth. Weſt.

He is buried in the church of S. Paul at London.

This Egelred (as you haue heard) had euill ſucceſſe in his warres againſt the Danes, and beſides the calamitie that fell thereby to his people, manie other miſeries oppreſſed this land in his daies, not ſo much through his lacke of courage and ſlouthfull negligence, as by reaſon of his preſumptuous pride, whereby he alienated the hearts of his people from him. His affections he could not rule, but was led by them without order of reaſon, for he did not onlie diſherit diuerſe of his owne Engliſh ſubiects without apparant cauſe of offenſe by plaine forged cauillations; and alſo cauſed all the Danes to be murdered through his realme in one day, by ſome light ſuſpicion of their euill meanings: but alſo gaue himſelfe to lecherous luſts, in abuſing his bodie with naughtie ſtrumpets, forſaking the bed of his owne lawfull wife, to the great infamie & ſhame of that high degrée of maieſtie, which by his kinglie office he bare and ſuſteined. To conclude, he was from his tender youth more apt to idle reſt, than to the exerciſe of warres; more giuen to pleaſures of the bodie, than to anie vertues of the mind: although that toward his latter end, being growen into age, and taught by long experience of worldlie affaires, and proofe of paſſed miſeries, he ſought (though in vaine) to haue recouered the decaied ſtate of his common wealth and countrie.

The pride of king Egelred alienated the harts of his people.

¶ In this Egelreds time, and (as it is recorded by a Britiſh chronographer) in the yéere of our Lord 984, one Cadwalhon, the ſecond ſonne of Ieuaf tooke in hand the gouernance of Northwales, and firſt made warre with Ionauall his coſen, the ſonne of Meyric, and right heire to the land, and ſlue him, but Edwall the yongeſt brother eſcaped awaie priuilie. The yéere following, Meredith the ſonne of Owen king or prince of Southwales, with all his power entered into Northwales, and in fight ſlue Cadwalhon the ſonne of Ieuaf, and Meyric his brother, and conquered the land to himſelfe. Wherein a man maie ſée how God puniſhed the wrong, which Iago and Ieuaf the ſonnes of Edwall Voell did to their eldeſt brother Meyric, who was firſt diſherited, and afterward his eies put out, and one of his ſonnes ſlaine. For firſt Ieuaf was impriſoned by Iago; then Iago with his ſonne Conſtantine, by Howell the ſon of Ieuaf: and afterward the ſaid Howell, with his brethren Cadwalhon and Meyric, were ſlaine and ſpoiled of all their lands.

Sée the hiſtorie of Cambria pag. 62, 63

Edmund Ironſide ſucceedeth his father *in the kingdome, the ſpiritualtie fauouring* Cnute would haue him to be king, the Londoners *are his backe friends, they receiue Edmund* their king honorablie and ioifullie, Cnute is proclaimed *king at Southampton, manie of the ſtates cleaue vnto him,* he beſiegeth London by water and land, the citizens giue him the foile, he incountreth with king Edmund and is diſcomfited, two battels fought betweene the Danes and Engliſh with equall fortune and like ſucceſſe, the traitorous ſtratagem of Edrike the Dane, king Edmund aduiſedlie defeateth Edriks trecherie, 20000 of both armies ſlaine, Cnute marching towards London is purſued of Edmund, the Danes are repelled, incountred, and vanquiſhed; queene Emma prouideth for the ſafetie of hir ſonnes; the Danes ſeeke a pacification with Edmund, thereby more eaſilie to betraie him; Cnute with his armie lieth neere Rocheſter, king Edmund purſueth them, both armies haue a long and a ſore conflict, the Danes diſcomfited, and manie of them ſlaine; Cnute with his power aſſemble at Eſſex and there make waſte, king Edmund purſueth them, Edrike traitorouſlie reuolteth from the Engliſh to ſuccour the Danes, king Edmund is forced to get him out of the field, the Engliſhmen put to their hard ſhifts and ſlaine by heapes; what noble perſonages were killed in this battell, of two dead bodies latelie found in the place where this hot and heauie skirmiſh was fought.

## *The ninth Chapter.*

*Edmund Ironſide.*

After that king Egelred was dead, his eldeſt ſonne Edmund ſurnamed Ironſide was proclaimed king by the Londoners and others, hauing the aſſiſtance of ſome lords of the realme, although the more part, and ſpeciallie thoſe of the ſpiritualtie fauoured Cnute, becauſe they had aforetime ſworne fealtie to his father. Some write, that Cnute had planted his ſiege both by water and land verie ſtronglie about the citie of London, before Egelred departed this life, and immediatlie vpon his deceaſſe was receiued into the citie; but the armie that was within the citie, not conſenting vnto the ſurrender made by the citizens, departed the night before the day on the which Cnute by appointment ſhould enter, and in companie of Edmund Ironſide (whome they had choſen to be their king and gouernour) they prepared to increaſe their numbers with new ſupplies, meaning eftſones to trie the fortune of battell againſt the Daniſh power. Cnute perceiuing the moſt part of all the realme to be thus againſt him, and hauing no great confidence in the lotaltie of the Londoners, tooke order to leauie monie for the paiment of his men of warre and mariners that belonged to his nauie, left the citie, and imbarking himſelfe, ſailed to the Ile of Shepie, and there remained all the winter. In which meane while, Edmund Ironſide came to London, where he was ioifullie receiued of the citizens, and continuing there till the ſpring of the yéere, made himſelfe ſtrong againſt the enimies.

The kingdom goeth where the ſpiritualtie fauoureth.

This Edmund for his noble courage, ſtrength of bodie, and notable patience to indure and ſuffer all ſuch hardneſſe and paines as is requiſite in a man of warre, was ſurnamed Ironſide, & began his reigne in the yéere of our Lord 1016, in the ſirtéenth yéere of the emperor Henrie the ſecond ſurnamed Claudius, in the twentieth yéere of the reigne of Robert king of France, & about the firt yéere of Malcolme the ſecond king of the Scots. After that king Edmund had receiued the crowne in the citie of London by the hands of the archbiſhop of Yorke, he aſſembled togither ſuch a power as he could make, and with the ſame marched forth towards the weſt parts, and made the countrie ſubiect to him. In the meane time was Cnute proclaimed and ordeined king

The author of the booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ* ſaith that it was reported that Edmund offered the combate vnto Cnute at this his going from the citie, but Cnute refuſed it.

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Ran. Higd.

king at Southampton by the bishops and abbats, and diuerse lords also of the temporaltie there togither assembled, vnto whome he sware to be their good and faithfull souereigne, and that he would see iustice trulie and vprightlie ministred.

Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun.

After he had ended his businesse at Southampton, he drew with his people towards London, and comming thither, besieged the citie both by water and land, causing a great trench to be cast about it, so that no man might either get in or come forth. Manie great assalts he caused to be giuen vnto the citie,

London besieged.

but the Londoners and others within so valiantlie defended the wals and gates, that the enimies got small aduantage, and at length were constreined to depart with losse. Cnute then perceiuing that he might not haue his purpose there, withdrew westward, and beside Gillingham in Dorsetshire, incountred with K. Edmund in the Rogation weeke,

Cnute at Gillingham in Dorsetshire put to flight.

and after sore & sharpe battell was put to the worse, and constreined to forsake the field by the high prowesse & manhood of the said Edmund. King Cnute the same night, after the armies were seuered, departed towards Winchester, so to get himselfe out of danger. Shortlie after, king Edmund hearing that an other armie of the Danes had besieged Salisburie, marched thither to succour them within, and immediatlie Cnute followed him, so that at a place in Worcestershire called Scorastan, on the foure and twentith of June, they incountred togither, and fought a verie cruell battell, which at length the night parted with equall fortune. And likewise on the next day they buckled togither againe, and fought with like successe as they had done the day before, for towards euening they gaue ouer well wearied, and not knowing to whome the victorie ought to be ascribed.

Polydor.

Salisburie besieged.

Simon Dun. Matt. West. Wil. Malm.

A battell with equall fortune.

In other battell with like successe.

Writers haue reported, that this second day, when duke Edrike perceiued the Englishmen to be at point to haue got the vpper hand, he withdrew aside, and hauing by chance slaine a common souldier called Osmear, which in visage much resembled king Edmund, whose head he cut off, held it vp, & shaking his sword bloudie with the slaughter, cried to the

Edrike de Streona his treason. Simon Dun.

"Englishmen; Flee ye wretches, flee and get awaie,
"for your king is dead, behold heere his head which I
"hold in my hands. Herewith had the Englishmen
"fled immediatlie, if king Edmund aduised of this stratagem, had not quicklie got him to an high ground where his men might see him aliue and lustie. Herewith also the traitor Edrike escaped hardlie the danger of death, the Englishmen shot so egerlie at him. At length, as is said, the night parting them in sunder, they withdrew the one armie from the other, as it had beene by consent. The third day they remained in armor, but yet abstaining from battell, sate still, in taking meate and drinke to relieue their wearied bodies, and after gathered in heapes the dead carcases that had beene slaine in the former fight, the number of which on either partie reckoned, rose to the point of twentie thousand and aboue.

Twentie thousand dead bodies.

In the night following, Cnute remoued his campe in secret wise, and marched towards London, which citie in a maner remained besieged by the nauie of the Danes. King Edmund in the morning when the light had discouered the departure of his enimies, followed them by the tract, and comming to London with small adoo remoued the siege, and entered the citie like a conqueror. Shortlie after he fought with the Danes at Brentford, and gaue them a great ouerthrow. In this meane while queene Emma the widow of king Egelred, doubting the fortune of the warre, sent hir two sonnes Alfred and Edward ouer into Normandie vnto hir brother

The armies dislodged.

The Danes ouercome at Brentford. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Fabian. Caxton. Polydor.

duke Richard, or rather fled thither hirselfe with them (as some write.)

Moreouer, earle Edrike, perceiuing the great manhood of king Edmund, began to feare, least in the end he should subdue and vanquish the Danes, wherefore he sought meanes to conclude a peace, and take such order with him as might stand with both their contentations, which per long he brought about. This was done (as you shall heare) by the consent of Cnute (as some write) to the intent that Edrike being put in trust with king Edmund, might the more easilie deuise waies how to betraie him. But Cnute disappointed of his purpose at London, and fetching a great bootie and preie out of the countries next adioining, repared to his ships, to see what order was amongst them, which a little before were withdrawen into the riuer that passeth by Rochester called Medwaie. Heere Cnute remained certeine daies, both to assemble a greater power, and also to hearken and learne what his enimies ment to do, the which he easilie vnderstood.

Hen. Hunt.

The riuer of Medwaie.

King Edmund, who hated nothing worse than to linger his businesse, assembled his people, and marching forward toward his enimies, approched neere vnto them, & pitcht downe his tents not farre from his enimies campe, exhorting his people to remember their passed victories, and to do their good willes, at length by one battell so to ouerthrow them, that they might make an end of the warre, and dispatch them clearelie out of the realme. With these and the like words he did so incourage his souldiers, that they disdaining thus to haue the enimies dailie prouoke them, and to put them to trouble, with eger minds and fierce courages offered battell to the Danes, which Cnute had prepared to receiue whensoeuer the Englishmen approched: and herewith bringing his men into arate, he came forth to meet his enimies. Then was the battell begun with great earnestnesse on both sides, & continued foure houres, till at length the Danes began somewhat to shrinke, which when Cnute perceiued, he commanded his horsemen to come forward into the forepart of his dawnted host.

King Edmunds diligence.

The battell begun.

But whilest one part of the Danes gaue backe with feare, and the other came slowlie forward, the arraie of the whole armie was broken, & then without respect of shame they fled amaine, so that there died that day of Cnutes side foure thousand and fiue hundred men; and of king Edmunds side, not past six hundred, and those were footmen. This battell was fought as should appeere by diuerse writers, at Okeford or Dteford. It was thought, that if king Edmund had pursued the victorie and followed in chase of his enimies in such wise as he safelie might haue done, he had made that day an end of the warres: but he was counselled by Edrike (as some write) in no condition to follow them, but to staie and giue time to his people to refresh their wearie bodies. Then Cnute with his armie passed ouer the Thames into Esser, and there assembled all his power togither, and began to spoile and waste the countrie on each hand. King Edmund aduertised thereof, hasted forth to succour his people, and at Ashdone in Esser three miles from Saffron Walden, gaue battell to Cnute, where after sore and cruell fight continued with great slaughter on both sides a long time, duke Edrike fled to the comfort of the Danes, and to the discomfort of the Englishmen.

The Danes put to flight.

The number of Danes slaine. Polydor. Fabian. Ran. Higd. Matt. West.

Hen. Hunt. Will. Malmes. Edrikus counsell.

Polydor. Matth. West.

Simon Dun.

Herevpon king Edmund was constreined in the end to depart out of the field, hauing first done all that could be wished in a worthie chiefteine, both by words to incourage his men, & by deeds to shew them good example; so that at one time the Danes were at point to haue giuen backe, but that Cnute

aduised

aduised thereof, rushed into the left wing where most danger was, and so relieued his people there, that finallie the Englishmen, both wearied with long fight, and also discouraged with the running awaie of some of their companie, were constreined to giue ouer, and by flight to seeke their safegard, so that king Edmund might not by anie meanes bring them againe into order. Herevpon all the waies and passages being forelaid and stopped by the enimies, the Englishmen wanting both carriage to make longer resistance, and perceiuing no hope to rest in fleeing, were beaten downe and slaine in heapes, so that few escaped from that dreadfull and bloudie battell.

Noble men slaine at the battell of Assh-dune. Simon Dun. Wil. Malm.

There died on king Edmunds side, duke Edmund, duke Alfrike, and duke Godwine, with earle Ulfketell or Archell of Eastangle, and duke Aileward, that was sonne to Ardelwine late duke of Eastangle; and to be briefe, all the floure of the English nobilitie. There were also slaine at this battell manie renowmed persons of the spiritualtie, as the bishop of Lincolne, and the abbat of Ramsey, with others: king Edmund escaping awaie, got him into Glocestershire, and there began to raise a new armie. In the place where this field was fought, are yet seuen or eight hils, wherein the carcases of them that were slaine at the same field were buried: and one being digged downe of late, there were found two bodies in a coffin of stone, of which the one laie with his head towards the others feet, and manie chaines of iron, (like to the water-chains of the bits of horsses) were found in the same hill. But now to the matter.

King Edmund withdraweth into Glocestershire

## London & other great cities & townes *submit themselues to Cnute, he hasteth after* Edmund with his power, both their armies *being readie to incounter by occasion are staied,* the oration of a capteine in the hearing of both hosts; *the title and right of the realme of England is put to the triall* of combat betweene Cnute and Edmund, Cnute is ouermatched, his woords to king Edmund, both kings are pacified and their armies accorded, the realme diuided betwixt Cnute and Edmund, king Edmund traitorouslie slaine, the diffonant report of writers touching the maners of his death and both the kings dealing about the partition of the realme, Cnute causeth Edrike to be slaine for procuring king Edmunds death, wherein the reward of treason is noted; how long king Edmund reigned, and where he was buried, the eclipsed state of England after his death, and in whose time it recouered some part of it brightnesse.

## *The tenth Chapter.*

IN the meane while that Edmund was busie to leauie a new armie in Glocester, and other parties of Mercia, Cnute hauing got so great a victorie (as before is mentioned) receiued into his obeisance, not onelie the citie of London, but also manie other cities and townes of great name, and shortlie after hasted forward to pursue his enimie king Edmund, who was readie with a mightie host to trie the vttermost chance of battell if they should eftsoones ioine. Herevpon, both the armies being readie to giue the onset, the one in sight of the other at a place called Dearehurst, neere to the riuer of Seuerne, by the drift of duke Edrike, who then at length began to shew some token of good meaning, the two kings came to a communication, and in the end concluded an agreement, as some haue written, without anie more adoo. Others write, that when both the armies were at point to haue ioined, one of the capteins (but whether he were a Dane or an Englishman, it is not certeinlie told) stood vp in such a place, as he might be heard of both the princes, & boldlie vttered his mind in forme following.

Polydor. Matth. West.

Simon Dun.

Matth. West. saith this was Edrike.

### The oration of a capteine in the audience of the English and Danish armie.

WE haue, most worthie capteins, fought long inough one against another, there hath beene but too much bloud shed betweene both the nations, and the valiancie of the souldiers on both sides is sufficientlie seene by triall, & either of your manhoods likewise, and yet can you beare neither good nor euill fortune. If one of you win the battell, he pursueth him that is ouercome; and if he chance to be banquished, he resteth not till he haue recouered new strength to fight eftsoones with him that is victor. What should you meane by this your inuincible courage? At what marke shooteth your greedie desire to beare rule, and your excessiue thirst to atteine honour? If you fight for a kingdome, diuide it betweene you two, which sometime was sufficient for seuen kings: but if you couet to winne fame and glorious renowme, and for the same are driuen to try the hazard whether ye shall command or obeie, deuise the waie whereby ye may without so great slaughter, and without such pitifull bloudshed of both your guiltlesse peoples, trie whether of you is most worthie to be preferred.

Thus made he an end, and the two princes allowed well of his last motion, and so order was taken, that they should fight togither in a singular combat within a litle Iland inclosed with the riuer of Seuerne called Oldney, with condition, that whether of them chanced to be victor, should be king, and the other to resigne his title for euer into his hands. The two princes entering into the place, appointed in faire armour, began the battell in sight of both their armies ranged in goodlie order on either side the riuer, with doubtfull minds, and nothing ioifull, as they that wauered betwirt hope and feare. The two champions manfullie assailed either other, without sparing. First, they went to it on horsseback, and after on foot. Cnute was a man of a meane stature, but yet strong and hardie, so that receiuing a great blow by the hand of his aduersarie, which caused him somewhat to stagger; yet recouered himselfe, and boldly stept forward to be reuenged. But perceiuing he could not find aduantage, and that he was rather too weake, and shrewdlie ouermatched, he spake to Edmund with a lowd voice on this wise: What necessitie (saith he) ought thus to moue vs, most valiant prince, that for the obteining of a kingdome, we should thus put our liues in danger. Better were it that laieng armour and malice aside, we should condescend to some reasonable agreement. Let vs become sworne brethren, and part the kingdome betwixt vs: and let vs deale so friendlie, that thou maist vse my things as thine owne, and I thine as though they were mine. King Edmund with those woords of his aduersarie was so pacified, that immediatlie he cast awaie his sword, and comming to Cnute, ioined hands with him. Both the armies by their example did the like, which looked for the same fortune to fall on their countries, which should happen to

The two kings appoint to try the matter by a combat. Oldney.

Matt. Westm. Cnute of what stature he was.

Cnute ouermatched. Cnutes woords to Edmund.

H. Hunt.

They take vp the matter betwixt themselues.

to their princes by the successe of that one battell. After this, there was an agreement deuised betwixt them, so that a partition of the realme was made, and that part that lieth fore against France, was assigned to Edmund, and the other fell to Cnute. Here be that write, how the offer was made by king Edmund for the auoiding of more bloudshed, that the two princes should trie the matter thus togither in a singular combat. But Cnute refused the combat, because (as he alledged) the match was not equall. For although he was able to match Edmund in boldnesse of stomach, yet was he farre too weake to deale with a man of such strength as Edmund was knowne to be. But sith they did pretend title to the realme by due and good direct meanes, he thought it most conuenient that the kingdome should be diuided betwixt them. This motion was allowed of both the armies, so that king Edmund was of force constreined to be contented therewith.

Wil. Malm.

¶ Thus our common writers haue recorded of this agreement, but if I should not be thought presumptuous, in taking vpon me to reproue, or rather but to mistrust that which hath béene receiued for a true narration in this matter, I would rather giue credit vnto that which the author of the booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ*, doth report in this behalfe. Which is that through persuasion of Edrike de Streona, king Edmund immediatelie after the battell fought at Asshdone, sent ambassadors vnto Cnute to offer vnto him peace, with halfe the realme of England, that is to say, the north parts, with condition that king Edmund might quietlie inioy the south parts, and thereupon haue pledges deliuered interchangeablie on either side.

*Encomium Emmæ.*

Cnute hauing heard the effect of this message, stayed to make answer till he heard what his councell would aduise him to do in this behalfe: and vpon good deliberation taken in the matter, considering that he had lost no small number of people in the former battell, and that being farre out of his countrie, he could not well haue anie new supplie, where the Englishmen although they had likewise lost verie manie of their men of warre, yet being in their owne countrie, it should be an easie matter for them to restore their decaid number, it was thought expedient by the whole consent of all the Danish captains, that the offer of king Edmund should be accepted.

Hereupon Cnute calling the ambassadors before him againe, declared vnto them, that he was contented to conclude a peace vpon such conditions as they had offered: but yet with this addition, that their king whatsoeuer he should be, should paie Cnutes souldiers their wages, with monie to be leuied of that part of the kingdome which the English king should possesse. For (this saith he) I haue vndertaken to see them paid, and otherwise I will not grant to anie peace. The league and agreement therefore being concluded in this sort, pledges were deliuered and receiued on both parties, and the armies discharged. But God (saith mine author) being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it selfe cannot long stand, shortlie after tooke Edmond out of this life: and by such meanes seemed to take pitie of the English kingdome, lest if both the kings should haue continued in life togither, they should haue liued in danger. And incontinentlie hereupon was Cnute chosen and receiued for absolute king of all the whole realme of England. Thus hath he written that liued in those daies, whose credit thereby is much aduanced.

" "

This is alleged touching the partitiō of the kingdome.

Howbeit the common report of writers touching the death of Edmund varieth from this, who do affirme, that after Cnute and Edmund were made friends, the serpent of enuie and false conspiracie burnt so in the hearts of some traitorous persons, that within a while after king Edmund was slaine at Orford, as he sat on a priuie to do the necessaries of nature. The common report hath gone, that earle Edrike was the procurer of this villanous act, and that (as some write) his sonne did it. But the author that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, writing of the death of Edmund, hath these words (immediatlie after he had first declared in what sort the two princes were agreed, and had made partition of the realme betwixt them:) But God (saith he) being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it selfe can not long stand, shortlie after tooke Edmund out of this life: and by such meanes seemed to take pitie vpon the English kingdome, least if both the kings should haue continued in life togither, they should both haue liued in great danger, and the realme in trouble. With this agreeth also Simon Dunel. who saith, that king Edmund died of naturall sickenesse, by course of kind at London, about the feast of saint Andrew next insuing the late mentioned agreement.

K. Edmund traitorouslie slaine at Oxford.

Fabian.

Simon Dun.

This is alleged against the proofe of Edmunds naturall death.

Fabian.

And this should seeme true: for whereas these authors which report, that earle Edrike was the procurer of his death, do also write, that when he knew the act to be done, he hasted vnto Cnute, and declared vnto him what he had brought to passe for his aduancement to the gouernment of the whole realme. Whereupon Cnute, abhorring such a detestable fact, said vnto him: Because thou hast for my sake, made away the worthiest bodie of the world, I shall raise thy head aboue all the lords of England, and so caused him to be put to death. Thus haue some bookes. Howbeit this report agreeth not with other writers, which declare how Cnute aduanced Edrike in the beginning of his reigne vnto high honor, and made him gouernor of Mercia, and vsed his counsell in manie things after the death of king Edmund, as in banishing Edwin, the brother of king Edmund, with his sonnes also, Edmund and Edward.

Ranul. Higd.

Hen. Hunt.

" "

Some think that he was duke of Mercia before, and now had Elfer adioined thereto.

But for that there is such discordance and variable report amongst writers touching the death of king Edmund, and some fables inuented thereof (as the manner is) we will let the residue of their reports passe; sith certeine it is, that to his end he came, after he had reigned about the space of one yeere, and so much more as is betweene the moneth of June and the latter end of November. His bodie was buried at Glastenburie, neere his vncle Edgar. With this Edmund, surnamed Ironside, fell the glorious maiestie of the English kingdome, the which afterward as it had beene an aged bodie being sore decaied and weakened by the Danes, that now got possession of the whole, yet somewhat recouered after the space of 26 yeers vnder king Edward, surnamed the Confessor: and shortlie thereupon as it had beene falne into a resiluation, came to extreame ruine by the inuasion and conquest of the Normans: as after by Gods good helpe and fauorable assistance it shall appeare. So that it would make a diligent and marking reader both muse and maine, to see how variable the state of this kingdome hath beene, & thereby to fall into a consideration of the fraitie and vncertaintie of this mortall life, which is no more free from securitie, than a ship on the sea in tempestuous weather. For as the casualties wherewith our life is inclosed and beset with round about, are manifold; so also are they miserable, so also are they sudden, so also are they vnauoidable. And true it is, that the life of man is in the hands of God, and the state of kingdoms doth also belong vnto him, either to continue or discontinue. But to the processe of the matter.

Wil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

King of charles. Wil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

Polydor. King Cnute maried to quéene Emma the widow of Egelred, in Julie, anno. 1017.

Cnute

Danes.

Cnute vndertaketh the totall regiment of this land, he assembleth a councell at London, the nobles doo him homage, he diuideth the realme into foure parts to be gouerned by his assignes; Edwin and Edward the sonnes of Edmund are banished, their good fortune by honorable mariages, King Cnute marieth queene Emma the widow of Egelred, the wise and politike conditions whereupon this mariage was concluded, the English bloud restored to the crowne and the Danes excluded, queene Emma praised for hir high wisedome in choosing an enimie to hir husband; Cnute dismisseth the Danish armie into Denmarke; Edrike de Streona bewraieth his former trecherie, and procureth his owne death through rashnesse and follie, the discordant report of writers touching the maner & cause of his death, what noble men were executed with him, and banished out of England, Cnute a monarch.

## The xj. Chapter.

*Canute, Knought or Cnute.*

CAnute, or Cnute, whome the English chronicles do name Knought, after the death of king Edmund, tooke vpon him the whole rule ouer all the realme of England, in the yeere of our Lord 1017, in the seuenteenth yeere of the emperour Henrie the second, surnamed Claudus, in the twentith yeere of the reigne of Robert king of France, and about the 7 yeere of Malcolme king of Scotland. Cnute shortlie after the death of king Edmund, assembled a councell at London, in the which he caused all the nobles of the realme to do him homage, in receiuing an oth of lotall obeisance. He diuided the realme into foure parts, assigning Northumberland vnto the rule of Irke or Iricius, Mercia vnto Edrike, and Eastangle vnto Turkill, and reseruing the west part to his owne gouernance. He banished (as before is said) Edwin, the brother of king Edmund; but such as were suspected to be culpable of Edmunds death, he caused to be put to execution: whereby it should appeere, that Edrike was not then in anie wise detected or once thought to be giltie.

1017

Wil. Malm.

The said Edwin afterwards returned, and was then reconciled to the kings fauor (as some write) but shortlie after traitorouslie slaine by his owne seruants. He was called the king of churles. Others write, that he came secretlie into the realme after he had béene banished, and kéeping himselfe closelie out of sight, at length ended his life, and was buried at Tauestocke. Moreouer, Edwin and Edward the sonnes of king Edmund were banished the land; and sent first vnto Sweno king of Norweie to haue bin made away: but Sweno vpon remorse of conscience sent them into Hungarie, where they found great fauor at the hands of king Salomon, insomuch that Edwin maried the daughter of the same Salomon, but had no issue by hir. Edward was aduanced to marie with Agatha, daughter of the emperour Henrie, and by hir had issue two sonnes, Edmund and Edgar surnamed Edeling, and as many daughters, Margaret and Christine, of the which in place conuenient more shall be said.

Ran. Higd.

King of churles. Wil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

When king Cnute had established things, as he thought stood most for his saertie, he called to his remembrance, that he had no issue but two baskard sonnes Harold and Sweno, begotten of his concubine Alwine. Wherefore he sent ouer to Richard duke of Normandie, requiring to haue queene Emma, the widow of king Egelred in mariage, and so obteined hir, not a little to the wonder of manie, which thought a great ouersight both in the woman and in hir brother, that would satisfie the request of Cnute herein, considering he had beene such a mortall enimie to hir former husband. But duke Richard did not onelie consent, that his said sister should be maried vnto Cnute, but also he himselfe toke to wife the ladie Westritha, sister to the said Cnute.

Polydor.

¶ Here ye haue to vnderstand, that this mariage was not made without great consideration & large couenants granted on the part of king Cnute: for before he could obteine queene Emma to his wife, it was fullie condescended & agréed, that after Cnuts decease, the crowne of England should remaine to the issue borne of this mariage betwixt hir & Cnute, which couenant although it was not performed immediatlie after the decease of king Cnute, yet in the end it toke place, so as the right séemed to be deferred, and not to be taken away nor abolished: for immediatlie vpon Harolds death that had vsurped, Hardicnute succéeded as right heire to the crowne, by force of the agréement made at the time of the mariage solemnized betwixt his father and mother, and being once established in the kingdome, he ordeined his brother Edward to succéed him, whereby the Danes were vtterlie excluded from all right that they had to pretend vnto the crowne of this land, and the English bloud restored thereto, chieflie by that gratious conclusion of this mariage betwixt king Cnute and quéene Emma. For the which no small praise was thought to be due vnto the said quéene, sith by hir politike gouernement, in making hir match so beneficiall to hir selfe and hir line, the crowne was thus recouered out of the hands of the Danes, and restored againe in time to the right heire, as by an auncient treatise which some haue intituled *Encomium Emmæ*, and was written in those daies, it doth and may appeare. Which booke although there be but few copies thereof abroad, giueth vndoubtedlie great light to the historie of that time.

The couenants made at the mariage betwixt Cnute and Emma.

The english bloud restored.

The praise of queene Emma for hir wisdome.

*Encomium Emmæ.*

But now to our purpose. Cnute the same yeare in which he was thus maried, through persuasion of his wife queene Emma, sent awaie the Danish nauie and armie home into Denmarke, giuing to them fourescore and two thousand pounds of siluer, which was leuied throughout this land for their wages. In the yeare 1018, Edrike de Streona earle of Mercia was ouerthrowen in his owne turne: for being called before the king into his priuie chamber, and there in reasoning the matter about some quarrell that was picked to him, he began verie presumptuouslie to vpbraid the king of such pleasures as he had before time done vnto him; "I did (said he) for the loue which I bare towards you, forsake my "souereigne lord king Edmund, and at length for "your sake slue him. At which words Cnute began "to change countenance, as one maruellouslie abashed, and straightwaies gaue sentence against Edrike in this wise; "Thou art worthie (saith he) of death, "and die thou shalt, which art guiltie of treason both "towards God and me, sith that thou hast slaine thine "owne souereigne lord, and my déere alied brother. "Thy blood therefore be vpon thine owne head, sith "thy tong hath vttered thy treason. And immediatlie "he caused his throat to be cut, and his bodie to be throwen out at the chamber window into the riuer of Thames. ¶ But others say, that hands were laid vpon him in the verie same chamber or closet where he murdered the king, & straightwaies to preuent all causes of tumults & hurlieburlies, he was put to death with terrible torments of fierbrands & links; which execution hauing passed vpon him, a second succeeded; for both his féet were bound together, and his bodie drawne through the streets of the citie, & in fine cast into a common ditch called Houndsditch,

Match. West.

Wil. Malm. 1018

Edrike put to death.

Polydor. King Cnute maried to queene Emma the widow of Egelred, in Julie, anno. 1017.

ditch; for that the citizens threw their dead dogs and stinking carrion with other filth into it, accounting him worthie of a worse rather than of a better buriall. In such hatred was treason had, being a vice which the verie infidels and grosse pagans abhorred, else would they not haue said, *Proditionem ama, proditorem odi*; Treason I loue, but a traitor I hate. This was the end of Edrike, surnamed de Stratten or Streona, a man of great infamie for his craftie dissimulation, falshood and treason, vsed by him to the ouerthrow of the English estate, as partlie before is touched.

Simon Dun. But there be that concerning the cause of this Edriks death, seeme partlie to disagree from that which before is recited, declaring that Cnute standing in some doubt to be betraied through the treason of Edrike, sought occasion how to rid him and others (whome he mistrusted) out of the way. And therefore on a day when Edrike craued some preferment at Cnuts hands, & said that he had deserued to be well thought of, sith by his flight from the battell at Ashendon, the victorie thereby inclined to Cnutes part: Cnute hearing him speake these words, made this answere: And canst thou (quoth he) be true to me, that through fraudulent meanes diddest deceiue thy souereigne lord and maister? But I will reward thee according to thy deserts, so as from henceforth thou shalt not deceiue anie other, and so forthwith commanded Erike one of his chiefe capteines to dispatch him, who incontinentlie cut off his head with his axe or halbert. Herelie Simon Dunelmensis saith, that K. Cnute vnderstanding in what sort both king Egelred, and his sonne king Edmund Ironside had beene betraied by the said Edrike, stood in great doubt to be likewise deceiued by him, and therefore was glad to haue some pretended quarell, to dispatch both him and others, whome he likewise mistrusted, as it well appeared. For at the same time there were put to death with Edrike earle Norman the sonne of earle Leofwin, and brother to earle Leofrike: also Adelward the sonne of earle Agelmare and Brightrike the sonne of Alfegus gouernor of Deuonshire, without all guilt or cause (as some write.) And in place of Norman, his brother Leofrike was made earle of Mercia by the king, and had in great fauour. This Leofrike is commonlie also by writers named earle of Chester. After this, Cnute likewise banished Iric and Turkill, two Danes, the one (as before is recited) gouernor of Northumberland, and the other of Northfolke and Suffolke or Eastangle.

Encomium Emmæ.

Then rested the whole rule of the realme in the kings hands, whereupon he studied to preserue the people in peace, and ordeined lawes, according to the which both Danes and Englishmen should be gouerned in equall state and degree. Diuers great lords whome he found vnfaithfull or rather suspected, he put to death (as before ye haue heard) beside such as he banished out of the realme. He raised a tax or tribute of the people, amounting to the summe of fourescore & two thousand pounds, besides 11000 pounds, which the Londoners paid towards the maintenance of the Danish armie. But whereas these things chaunced not all at one time, but in sundrie seasons, we will returne somewhat backe to declare what other exploits were atchiued in the meane time by Cnute, not onelie in England, but also in Denmarke, and elsewhere: admonishing the reader in the processe of the discourse following, that much excellent matter is comprehended, whereout (if the same be studiouslie read and diligentlie considered) no small profit is to be reaped, both for the augmentation of his owne knowledge and others that be studious.

Hen. Hunt. Lords put to death.

A taxe raised.

Cnute saileth into Denmarke to subdue the Vandals, earle Goodwins good seruice with the English against the said Vandals, *and what benefit accrewed vnto the Englishmen* by the said good seruice, he returneth into England *after the discomfiture of the enimie, he saileth ouer* againe into Denmarke and incountreth with the Sweideners, the occasion of this warre or incounter taken by Olauus, his hard hap, vnluckie fortune, and wofull death wrought by the hands of his owne vnnaturall subiects; Cnuts confidence in the Englishmen, his deuout voiage to Rome, his returne into England, his subduing of the Scots, his death and interrement.

## The twelfth Chapter.

IN the third yeare of his reigne Cnute sailed with an armie of Englishmen and Danes into Denmarke, to subdue the Vandals there, which then sore annoied and warred against his subiects of Denmarke. Earle Godwine, which had the souereigne conduct of the Englishmen, the night before the day appointed for the battell got him forth of the campe with his people, and suddenlie assailing the Vandals in their lodgings, easilie distressed them, sleaing a great number of them, and chasing the residue. In the morning earlie, when as Cnute heard that the Englishmen were gone forth of their lodgings, he supposed that they were either fled awaie, or else turned to take part with the enimies. But as he approched to the enimies campe, he vnderstood how the mater went; for he found nothing there but bloud, dead bodies, and the spoile. For which good seruice, Cnute had the Englishmen in more estimation euer after, and highlie rewarded their leader the same earle Godwine. When Cnute had ordered all things in Denmarke, as was thought behoefull, he returned againe into England: and within a few daies after, he was aduertised that the Swedeners made warre against his subiects of Denmarke, vnder the leding of two great princes, Ulfe and Ulafe. Wherefore to defend his dominions in those parts, he passed againe with an armie into Denmarke, incountred with his enimies, and receiued a sore ouerthrow, losing a great number both of Danes and Englishmen. But gathering togither a new force of men, he set againe vpon his enimies, and ouercame them, constreining the two foresaid princes to agree vpon reasonable conditions of peace. Matth. West. reckoneth, that at this time earle Godwine and the Englishmen wrought the enterprise aboue mentioned, of assaulting the enimies campe in the night season, after Cnute had first lost in the day before no small number of his people: and that then the foresaid princes or kings, as he nameth them Ulfus and Aulafus, which latter he calleth Eiglafe, were constrained to agree vpon a peace. The Danish chronicles alledge, that the occasion of this warre rose hereof. This Olauus aided Cnute (as the same writers report) against king Edmund and the Englishmen. But when the peace should be made betweene Cnute and Edmund, there was no consideration had of Olauus: whereas through him the Danes chiefly obteined the victorie. Herevpon Olauus was sore offended in his mind against Cnute, and now vpon occasion sought to be reuenged. But what soeuer the cause was of this warre betwixt these two princes, the end was thus: that Olauus was expelled out of his kingdome, and constreined to flee

1019 King Cnute passeth into Denmarke.

Earle Godwin his seruice in Denmarke.

Cnute hath Englishmen in estimation for their good seruice.

1028 Cnute passeth againe into Denmarke.

Will. Malm.

Matt. West.

Albertus Cranz.

flée to Grithallaus a duke in the parties of Eaſtland, and afterward returning into Norwaie, was ſlaine by ſuch of his ſubiects as tooke part with Cnute, in manner as in the hiſtorie of Norwaie, appeareth more at large, with the contrarietie found in the writings of them which haue recorded the hiſtories of thoſe north regions.

Magnus Olaus.

But here is to be remembred, that the fame and glorie of the Engliſh nation was greatlie aduanced in theſe warres, as well againſt the Swedeners as the Norwegians, ſo that Cnute began to loue and truſt the Engliſhmen much better than it was to be thought he would euer haue done. Shortlie after that Cnute was returned into England, that is to ſay (as ſome haue) in the 15 yeare of his reigne, he went to Rome to performe his vow which he had made to viſit the places where the apoſtles Peter and Paule had their buriall, where he was honorablie receiued of pope John the 20 that then held the ſée. When he had done his deuotion there, he returned into England. In the yeare following, he made a iournie againſt the Scots, which as then had rebelled; but by the princelie power of Cnute they were ſubdued and brought againe to obedience: ſo that not onelie king Malcolme, but alſo two other kings Melbeath and Jeohmare became his ſubiects. Finallie after that this noble prince king Cnute had reigned the tearme of 20 yeares currant, after the death of Ethelred, he died at Shaftſburie, as the Engliſh writers affirme, on the 12 of November, and was buried at Wincheſter. But the Daniſh chronicles record that he died in Normandie, and was buried at Rone (as in the ſame chronicles ye may reade more at large.)

Fabian. Polydor. Hen. Hunt.

Other ſay, that he went forth of Denmarke to Rome. Simon Dun. Anno 1031.

1032 Wil. Malm. Matth. Weſt.

1033 Scots ſubdued. Hen. Hunt.

Anno 1035. Wil. Malm. The death of king Cnute.

Hen. Hunt. Alb. Crantz.

## The treſpuiſſance of Cnute, the amplenesſe of his dominions, the good and charitable fruits of his voiage to Rome redounding to the common benefit of all trauellers from England thither, with what great perſonages he had conference, and the honour that was doone him there, his intollerable pride in commanding the waters of the flouds not to riſe, he humbleth himſelfe and confeſſeth Chriſt Ieſus to be king of kings, he refuſeth to weare the crowne during his life, he reproueth a gentleman flatterer, his iſſue legitimate and illegitimate, his inclination in his latter yeares, what religious places he erected, repaired, and inriched; what notable men he fauoured and reuerenced, his lawes; and that in cauſes as well eccleſiaſticall as temporall he had cheefe and ſole gouernement in this land, whereby the popes vſurped title of vniuerſall ſupremaſie is impeached.

## The xiij. Chapter.

The large dominion of K. Cnute. Hen. Hunt. Alb. Crantz.

THis Cnute was the mightieſt prince that euer reigned ouer the Engliſh people: for he had the ſouereigne rule ouer all Denmark, England, Norwaie, Scotland, and part of Sweiden. Amongeſt other of his roiall acts, he cauſed ſuch tolles and tallages as were demanded of way-goers at bridges and ſtreets in the high way betwixt England and Rome to be diminiſhed to the halfes, and againe got alſo a moderation to be had in the paiment of the archbiſhops fees of his realme, which was leuied of them in the court of Rome when they ſhould receiue their palles, as may appeare by a letter which he himſelfe being at Rome, directed to the biſhops and other of the nobles of England. In the which it alſo appeareth, that beſides the roiall interteinment, which he had at Rome of pope John, he had conference there with the emperour Conrad, with Rafe the king of Burgongne, and manie other great princes and noble men, which were preſent there at that time: all which at his requeſt, in fauour of thoſe Engliſhmen that ſhould trauell vnto Rome, granted (as we haue ſaid) to diminiſh ſuch duties as were gathered of paſſingers.

Grants made to the benefit of Engliſhmen. at the inſtance of king Cnute.

He receiued there manie great gifts of the emperour, and was highlie honored of him, and likewiſe of the pope, and of all other the high princes at that time preſent at Rome: ſo that when he came home (as ſome write) he did grow greatlie into pride, inſomuch that being neere to the Thames, or rather (as other write) vpon the ſea ſtrand, neere to Southhampton, and perceiuing the water to riſe by reaſon of the tide, he caſt off his gowne, and wrapping it round togither, threw it on the ſands verie neere the increaſing water, and ſat him downe vpon it, ſpeaking theſe or the like words to the ſea: Thou art (ſaith he) within the compaſſe of my dominion, and the ground whereon I ſit is mine, and thou knoweſt that no wight dare diſobeie my commandements; I therefore do now command thee not to riſe vpon my ground, nor to preſume to wet anie part of thy ſouereigne lord and gouernour. But the ſea keeping hir courſe, roſe ſtill higher and higher, and ouerflowed not onelie the kings feet, but alſo flaſhed vp vnto his legs and knees. Wherewith the king ſtarted ſuddenlie vp, and withdrew from it, ſaieng withall to his nobles that were about him: Behold you noble men, you call me king, which can not ſo much as ſtaie by my commandement this ſmall portion of water. But know ye for certeine, that there is no king but the father onelie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, with whome he reigneth, & at whoſe becke all things are gouerned. Let vs therefore honor him, let vs confeſſe and profeſſe him to be the ruler of heauen, earth, and ſea, and beſides him none other.

Polydor. Matt. Weſt.

He cauſed his chaire to be ſet there, as Matth. Weſt. ſaith. Hen. Hunt.

" " " " " " " " " "

The ſaieng of king Cnute.

" " " " "

Jealouſie inough, if it had bin according to true knowledge.

From thence he went to Wincheſter, and there with his owne hands ſet his crowne vpon the head of the image of the crucifix, which ſtood there in the church of the apoſtles Peter and Paule, and from thenceforth he would neuer weare that crowne nor anie other. Some write that he ſpake not the former words to the ſea vpon anie preſumptuouſneſſe of mind, but onelie vpon occaſion of the vaine title, which in his commendation one of his gentlemen gaue him by way of flatterie (as he rightlie tooke it) for he called him the moſt mightieſt king of all kings, which ruled moſt at large both men, ſea, and land. Therefore to repreue the fond flatterie of ſuch vaine perſons, he deuiſed and practiſed the déed before mentioned, thereby both to repreue ſuch flatterers, and alſo that men might be admoniſhed to conſider the omnipotencie of almightie God. He had iſſue by his wife quéene Emma, a ſonne named by the Engliſh chronicles Hardiknought, but by the Daniſh writers Canute or Knute: alſo a daughter named Gonilda, that was after maried to Henrie the ſonne of Conrad, which alſo was afterwards emperour, and named Henrie the third. By his concubine Alwine that was daughter to Alſelme, whome ſome name earle of Hampton, he had two baſtard ſonnes, Harold and Sweno. He was much giuen in his latter daies to vertue, as he that conſidered how perfect felicitie reſted onelie in godlines and true deuotion to ſerue the heauenlie king and gouernour of all things.

Polydor.

Flatterie repreued.

Polydor.

Alb. Crantz.

Polydor. Fabian.

He repared in his time manie churches, abbeies, and houſes of religion, which by occaſion of warres had béene ſore defaced by him and his father, but ſpeciallie he did great coſt vpon the abbeie of ſaint Edmund, in the towne of Burie, as partlie before is mentioned. He alſo built two abbeies from the foundation, as ſaint Benets in Norfolke, ſeuen

miles distant from Norwich, and an other in Norwaie. He did also build a church at Ashdone in Esser, where he obteined the victorie of king Edmund, and was present at the hallowing or consecration therof with a great multitude of the lords and nobles of the realme, both English and Danes. He also holpe with his owne hands to remoue the bodie of the holie archbishop Elphegus, when the same was translated from London to Canturburie. The roiall and most rich iewels which he & his wife quéene Emma gaue vnto the church of Winchester, might make the beholders to wonder at such their exceeding and bountifull munificence.

which is supposed to be Warclow: for Ashdone it selfe is halfe a mile from thence.

1020

Simon Dun.

Thus did Cnute striue to reforme all such things as he and his ancestors had done amisse, and to wipe awaie the spot of euill doing, as suerlie to the outward sight of the world he did in deed; he had the archbishop of Canturburie Achelnotus in singular reputation, and vsed his counsell in matters of importance. He also highlie fauoured Leofrike earle of Chester, so that the same Leofrike bare great rule in ordering of things touching the state of the common wealth vnder him as one of his chiefe councellors. Diuerse lawes and statutes he made for the gouernment of the common wealth, partlie agréeable with the lawes of king Edgar, and other the kings that were his predecessors, and partlie tempered according to his owne liking, and as was thought to him most expedient: among the which there be diuerse that concerne causes as well ecclesiasticall as temporall. Whereby (as maister Fox hath noted) it maie be gathered, that the gouernment of spirituall matters did depend then not vpon the bishop of Rome, but rather apperteined vnto the lawfull authoritie of the temporall prince, no lesse than matters and causes temporall. But of these lawes & statutes enacted by king Cnute, ye may read more as ye find them set forth in the before remembred booke of maister William Lambert, which for briefenesse we héere omit.

Leofrike earle of Chester,

King Cnutes lawes.

## Variance amongest the peeres of the realme about the roiall succession, the kingdome is diuided betwixt Harold the bastard sonne and Hardicnute the lawfullie begotten son of king Cnute late deceassed, Harold hath the totall regiment, the authoritie of earle Goodwine gardian to the queenes sonnes, Harold is proclaimed king, why Elnothus did stoutlie refuse to consecrate him, why Harold was surnamed Harefoot, he is supposed to be a shoomakers sonne, and how it came to passe that he was counted king Cnutes bastard; Alfred challengeth the crowne from Harold, Goodwine (vnder colour of friendlie interteinment) procureth his retinues vter vndooing, a tithing of the Normans by the poll, whether Alfred was interessed in the crowne, the trecherous letter of Harold written in the name of queene Emma to hir two sons in Normandie, wherevpon Alfred commeth ouer into England, the vnfaithfull dealing of Goodwine with Alfred and his people, teaching that in trust is treason, a reseruation of euerie tenth Norman, the remanent slaine, the lamentable end of Alfred, and with what torments he was put to death; Harold banisheth queene Emma out of England, he degenerateth from his father, the short time of his reigne, his death and buriall.

## The xiiij. Chapter.

*Harold.*
Matth. West.
Wil. Malm.

After that Cnute was departed this life, there arose much variance amongst the peeres and great lords of the realme about the succession. The Danes and Londoners (which through continuall familiaritie with the Danes, were become like vnto them) elected Harold the base sonne of king Cnute, to succeed in his fathers roome, hauing earle Leofrike, and diuerse other of the noble men of the north parts on their side. But other of the Englishmen, and namelie earle Godwine earle of Kent, with the chiefest lords of the west parts, coueted rather to haue one of king Egelreds sonnes, which were in Normandie, or else Hardicnute the sonne of king Cnute by his wife quéene Emma, which remained in Denmarke, aduanced to the place. This controuersie held in such wise, that the realme was diuided (as some write) by lot betwixt the two brethren Harold and Hardicnute. The north part, as Mercia and Northumberland fell to Harold, and the south part vnto Hardicnute: but at length the whole remained vnto Harold, bicause his brother Hardicnute refused to come out of Denmarke to take the gouernment vpon him.

Controuersie for the crowne.

Simon Dun.

The realme diuided betwixt Harold and Hardicnute.

But yet the authoritie of earle Godwine, who had the quéene and the treasure of the realme in his kéeping, staied the matter a certeine time, (professing himselfe as it were gardian to the yoong men, the sonnes of the quéene, till at length he was constreined to giue ouer his hold, and conforme himselfe to the stronger part and greater number.) And so at Oxford, where the assemblie was holden about the election, Harold was proclaimed king, and consecrated according to the maner (as some write.) But it should appeere by other, that Elnothus the archbishop of Canturburie, a man indued with all vertue and wisedome refused to crowne him: for when king Harold being elected of the nobles and péeres, required the said archbishop that he might be of him consecrated, and receiue at his hands the regall septer with the crowne, which the archbishop had in his custodie, and to whome it onelie did apperteine to inuest him therewith, the archbishop flatlie refused, and with an oth protested, that he would not consecrate anie other for king, so long as the quéenes children liued: for (saith he) Cnute committed them to my
" trust and assurance, and to them will I kéepe my
" faith and loiall obedience. The septer and crowne
" I héere lay downe vpon the altar, and neither do I
" denie nor deliuer them vnto you: but I forbid by the
" apostolike authoritie all the bishops, that none of
" them presume to take the same awaie, and deliuer
" them to you, or consecrate you for king. As for your
" selfe, if you dare, you maie vsurpe that which I haue
" committed vnto God and his table.

The authoritie of earle Godwine, H. Hunt.

Sée maister Fox acts and monuments, pag. 112. Simon Dun.

The refusall of the archbishop Elnothus to consecrate king Harold.

But whether afterwards the king by one meane or other, caused the archbishop to crowne him king, or that he was consecrated of some other, he was admitted king of all the English people, begining his reigne in the yéere of our Lord a thousand thirtie and six, in the fouretenth yéere of the emperor Conrad the second, in the first yéere of Henrie the first, king of France, and about the seuen and twentith yéere of Malcolme the second, king of Scots. This Harold for his great swiftnesse, was surnamed Harefoot, of whome little is written touching his doings, sauing that he is noted to haue béene an oppressor of his people, and spotted with manie notable vices. It was spoken of diuerse in those dates, that this Harold was not the sonne of Cnute, but of a shoomaker, and that his supposed mother Elgina, king Cnutes concubine, to bring the king further in loue with hir, feined that she was with child: and about the time that she should be brought to bed (as she made hir account) caused the said shoomakers son to be secretlie brought into hir chamber, and then vntrulie caused it to be reported that she was deliuered, and the child so reputed to be the kings sonne.

1036

Harold why he is surnamed Harefoot.

Harold euill spoken of.

Ran. Higd. ex Mariano.

Matth. West.

Immediatlie vpon aduertisement had of Cnutes death, Alfred the sonne of king Egelred, with fiftie saile landed at Sandwich, meaning to challenge the crowne,

crowne, and to obteine it by lawfull claime with quietnesse, if he might; if not, then to vse force by aid of his friends, and to assaie that waie forth to win it, if he might not otherwise obteine it. From Sandwich he came to Canturburie: and shortlie after, earle Godwine feining to receiue him as a friend, came to meet him, and at Gilford in the night season appointed a number of armed men to fall vpon the Normans as they were asleepe, and so toke them togither with Alfred, & slue the Normans by the poll, in such wise that nine were slaine, & the tenth reserued. But yet when those that were reserued, seemed to him a greater number than he wished to escape, he fell to and againe tithed them as before. Alfred had his eies put out, and was conueied to the Ile of Elie, where shortlie after he died.

Ran. Higd.

¶ How Alfred should claime the crowne to himselfe I see not: for verelie I can not be perswaded that he was the elder brother, though diuers authors haue so written, sith Gemeticensis, & the author of the booke called *Encomium Emmæ*, plainlie affirme, that Edward was the elder: but it might be, that Alfred being a man of a stouter stomach than his brother Edward, made this attempt, either for himselfe, or in the behalfe of his brother Edward, being as then absent, and gone into Hungarie, as some write: but other say, that as well Edward as Alfred came ouer at this time with a number of Norman knights, and men of warre imbarked in a few ships, onelie to speake with their mother, who as then lay at Winchester, whether to take aduise with hir how to recouer their right here in this land, or to aduance their brother Hardicnute, or for some other purpose, our authors do not declare.

Sée maister Fox acts and monuments, pag. 112. Simon Dun.

But the lords of the realme that bare their good wils vnto Harold, and (though contrarie to right) ment to maintaine him in the estate, seemed to be much offended with the comming of these two brethren in such order: for earle Godwine perswaded them, that it was great danger to suffer so manie strangers to enter the realme, as they had brought with them. Whereupon earle Godwine with the assent of the other lords, or rather by commandement of Harold, went forth, and at Gilford met with Alfred that was comming towards king Harold to speake with him, accordinglie as he was of Harold required to do. But now being taken, and his companie miserablie murthered (as before ye haue heard) to the number of six hundred Normans, Alfred himselfe was sent into the Ile of Elie, there to remaine in the abbeie in custodie of the monks, hauing his eies put out as soone as he entered first into the same Ile. William Malmesburie saith, that Alfred came ouer, and was thus handeled betwixt the time of Harolds death, & the comming in of Hardicnute. Others write, that this chanced in his brother Hardicnuts daies, which seemeth not to be true: for Hardicnute was knowne to loue his brethren by his mothers side too dearelie to haue suffered anie such iniurie to be wrought against either of them in his time.

¶ Thus ye see how writers dissent in this matter, but for the better clearing of the truth touching the time, I haue thought good to shew also what the author of the said booke intituled *Encomion Emmæ* writeth hereof, which is as followeth. When Harold was once established king, he sought meanes how to rid quéene Emma out of the way, and that secretlie, for that openlie as yet he durst not attempt anie thing against hir. She in silence kept hir selfe quiet, looking for the end of these things. But Harold remembring himselfe, of a malicious purpose, by wicked aduise toke counsell how he might get into his hands and make away the sons of quéene Emma, & so to be out of danger of all annoiance that by them might be procured against him. Wherefore he caused a letter to be written in the name of their mother Emma, which he sent by certeine messengers suborned for the same purpose into Normandie, where Edward and Alfred as then remained. The tenour of which letter here insueth.

A counterfet letter.

## The tenour of a letter forged and sent in queene Emmas name to hir two sonnes.

*EMmatantum nomine regina filijs Edwardo & Alfredo materna impertit salutamina. Dũ domini nostri regis obitum separatim plangimus (filij charissimi) dúmq; dietim magis magisque regno hæreditatis vestræ priuamini; miror quid captetis consilij, dum sciatis intermissionis vestræ dilatione inuasoris vestri imperij fieri quotidiè solidtatẽ. Is enim incessanter vicos & vrbes circuit, & sibi amicos principes muneribus, minis, & precibus facit: sed vnum è vobis super se mallent regnare quàm istius (qui nunc ijs imperat) teneri ditione. Vnde rogo vnus vestrum ad me velociter & priuatè veniat, vt salubre à me consilium accipiat, & sciat quo pacto hoc negotium quod volo fieri debeat, per præsentem quóque internuncium quid super his facturi estis remandate. Valete cordis mei viscera.*

## The same in English

EMma in name onelie queene to hir sons Edward and Alfred sendeth motherlie greeting. Whilest we separatelie bewaile the death of our souereigne lord the king (most deare sonnes) and whilest you are euerie day more and more depriued from the kingdome of your inheritance, I maruell what you doo determine, sith you know by the delay of your ceassing to make some enterprise, the grounded force of the vsurper of your kingdom is dailie made the stronger. For incessantlie he goeth from towne to towne, from citie to citie, and maketh the lords his friends by rewards, threats, and praiers, but they had rather haue one of you to reigne ouer them, than to be kept vnder the rule of this man that now gouerneth them. Wherefore my request is, that one of you doo come with speed, and that priuilie ouer to me, that he may vnderstand my wholesome aduise, and know in what sort this matter ought to be handled, which I would haue to go forward, and see that ye send mee word by this present messenger what you meane to doo herein. Fare ye well euen the bowels of my heart.

These letters were deliuered vnto such as were made priuie to the purposed treason, who being fullie instructed how to deale, went ouer into Normandie, and presenting the letters vnto the yong gentlemen, vsed the matter so, that they thought verelie that this message had béene sent from their mother, and wrote againe by them that brought the letters, that one of them would not faile but come ouer vnto hir according to that she had requested, and withall appointed the day and time. The messengers returning to king Harold, informed him how they

had sped. The yonger brother Alfred, with his brothers consent, toke with him a certeine number of gentlemen and men of warre, and first came into Flanders, where after he had remained a while with earle Baldwine, he increased his retinue with a few Bullogners, and passed ouer into England, but approching to the shore, he was streightwaies descried by his enimies, who hasted forth to set vpon him; but perceiuing their drift, he bad the ships cast about, and make againe to the sea; then landing at an other place, he ment to go the nert way to his mother.

Godwin was suspected to do this vnder a colour to betray him as by writers it sermeth.

But earle Godwine hearing of his arriuall, met him, receiued him into his assurance, and binding his credit with a corporall oth, became his man, and therwith leading him out of the high way that leadeth to London, he brought him to Gilford, where he lodged all the strangers, by a score, a dozen, and halfe a score togither in innes, so as but a few remained about the yong gentleman Alfred to attend vpon him. There was plentie of meat and drinke prepared in euerie lodging, for the refreshing of all the companie. And Godwine taking his leaue for that night, departed to his lodging, promising the nert morning to come againe to giue his dutifull attendance on Alfred.

But behold, after they had filled themselues with meats and drinks, and were gone to bed, in the dead of the night came such as king Harold had appointed, and entring into euerie inne, first seized vpon the armor and weapons that belonged to the strangers: which done, they toke them, and chained them fast with fetters and manacles, so keeping them sure till the nert morning. Which being come, they were brought forth with their hands bound behind their backs, and deliuered to most cruell tormentors, who were commanded to spare none but euerie tenth man, as he came to hand by lot, and so they slue nine and left the tenth aliue. Of those that were left aliue, some they kept to serue as bondmen, other for couetousnesse of gaine they sold, and some they put in prison, of whome yet diuerse afterwards escaped. This with more hath the foresaid author written of this matter, declaring further, that Alfred being conueied into the Ile of Elie, had not onelie his eies put out in most cruell wise, but was also presentlie there murthered. But he speaketh not further of the maner how he was made away, sauing that he saith he forbeareth to make long recitall of this matter, because he will not renew the mothers greefe in hearing it, sith there can be no greater sorrow to the mother than to heare of hir sonnes death.

Not onelie Godwine but other such as king Harold appointed, took Alfred with his Normans

¶ I remember in Caxton we read, that his cruell tormentors should cause his bellie to be opened, & taking out one end of his bowels or guts, tied the same to a stake which they had set fast in the ground; then with needels of iron pricking his bodie, they caused him to run about the stake, till he had wound out all his intrailes, & so ended he his innocent life, to the great shame & obloquie of his cruel aduersaries. But whether he was thus tormented or not, or rather died (as I thinke) of the anguish by putting out his eies, no doubt but his death was reuenged by Gods hand in those that procured it. But whether erle Godwine was cheefe causer thereof, in betraieng him vnder a cloked colour of pretended freendship, I cannot say: but that he toke him and slue his companie, as some haue written, I cannot thinke it to be true, both as well for that which ye haue heard recited out of the author that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, as also for that it should seeme he might neuer be so directlie charged with it, but that he had matter to alledge in his owne excuse. But now to other affaires of Harold.

Simon Dun. Queene Emma banished.

After he had made away his halfe brother Alfred, he spoiled his mother in law queene Emma of the most part of hir riches, and therewith banished hir quite out of the realme: so that she sailed ouer to Flanders, where she was honourablie receiued of earle Baldwine, and hauing of him honourable prouision assigned hir, she continued there for the space of three yeeres, till that after the death of Harold, she was sent for by hir sonne Hardiknought, that succeeded Harold in the kingdome. Moreouer, Harold made small account of his subiects, degenerating from the noble vertues of his father, following him in few things (except in exacting of tributes and payments.) He caused indeed eight marks of siluer to be leuied of euerie port or hauen in England, to the reteining of 16 ships furnished with men of warre, which continued euer in a readinesse to defend the coasts from pirats. To conclude with this Harold, his spedie death prouided well for his fame, because (as it was thought) if his life had beene of long continuance, his infamie had beene the greater. But after he had reigned foure yeeres, or (as other gathered) three yeeres and three moneths, he departed out of this world at Orford, & was buried at Winchester (as some say.) Other say he died at Meneford in the moneth of Aprill, and was buried at Westminster, which should appeare to be true by that which after is reported of his brother Hardiknoughts cruell dealing, and great spite shewed toward his dead bodie, as after shall be specified.

Polydor. Harold degenereth from his father. Hen. Hunt.

I meane in a tractatelle.

Euill men the longer they liue, the more they grow into miserie.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm.

## Hardicnute is sent for into England to *be made king*; *alteration in the state of* Norwaie and Denmarke by the death of king *Cnute, Hardicnute is crowned, he sendeth for his* mother queene Emma, Normandie ruled by the *French king*, *Hardicnute reuengeth his mothers exile vpon* the dead bodie of his stepbrother Harold, queene Emma and erle Godwine haue the gouernment of things in their hands, Hardicnute leuieth a sore tribute vpon his subiects; contempt of officers & deniall of a prince his tribute sharplie punished; prince Edward commeth into England; the bishop of Worcester accused and put from his see for being accessarie to the murthering of Alfred, his restitution procured by contribution; Earle Godwine being accused for the same trespasse excuseth himselfe, and iustifieth his cause by swearing, but specially by presenting the king with an inestimable gift; the cause why Godwine purposed Alfreds death; the English peoples care about the succession to the crowne, moonke Brightwalds dreame and vision touching that matter; Hardicnute poisoned at a bridall, his conditions, speciallie his hospitalitie, of him the Englishmen learned to eate and drinke immoderatlie, the necessitie of sobrietie, the end of the Danish regiment in this land, and when they began first to inuade the English coasts.

Matt. West. Ran. Higd. Marianus.

### *The xv. Chapter.*

Polydor.

*Hardicnute, or Hardiknought.*

After that Harold was dead, all the nobles of the realme, both Danes & Englishmen agreed to send for Hardiknought, the sonne of Canute by his wife queene Emma, and to make him king. Heere is to be noted, that by the death of king Canute, the state of things was much altered in those countries of beyond the seas wherein he had the rule and dominion. For the Norwegians elected one Magnus, the sonne of Olauus to be their king, and the Danes chose this Hardiknought, whome their writers name Canute the third, to be their gouernor. This Hardiknought or Canute being aduertised of the death of his halfe brother Harold, and that the lords of England had chosen him to their king, with all conuenient speed prepared a naule, and imbarking a certeine number of men of warre, toke the sea, and had the wind so fauorable for his purpose, that he arriued vpon the coast of Kent the first day after he set out of Denmarke, and

*Alteration in the state of things.*

Simon Dun. & Matt. West. say, that he was at Bruges in Flanders with his mother when he was thus sent for, being come thither to visit her.

and so comming to London, was ioifullie receiued, and proclaimed king, and crowned of Athelnotus archbishop of Canturburie, in the yere of our Lord 1041, in the first yéere of the emperour Henrie the third, in the 9 yære of Henrie the first of that name king of France, and in the first yéere of Magsinloch, *alias* Machabeda king of Scotland. Incontinentlie after his establishment in the rule of this realme, he sent into Flanders for his mother quæne Emma, who during the time of hir banishment, had remained there. For Normandie in that season was gouerned by the French king, by reason of the minoritie of duke William, surnamed the bastard.

1041

Quæne Emma sent for.

Moreouer, in reuenge of the wrong offered to quæne Emma by hir sonne in law Harold, king Hardicnute did cause Alfrike archbishop of Yorke and earle Godwine, with other noble men to go to Westminster, and there to take vp the bodie of the same Harold, and withall appointed, that the head thereof should be striken off, and the trunke of it cast into the riuer of Thames. Which afterwards being found by fishers, was taken vp and buried in the churchyard of S. Clement Danes without Temple barre at London. He committed the order and gouernement of things to the hands of his mother Emma, and of Godwine that was erle of Kent. He leuied a sore tribute of his subiects here in England to pay the souldiers and mariners of his nauie, as first 21 thousand pounds, & 99 pounds, and afterward vnto 32 ships there was a paiment made of a 11 thousand and 48 pounds. To euerie mariner of his nauie he caused a paiment of 8 marks to be made, and to euerie master 12 marks. About the paiment of this monie great grudge grew amongst the people, insomuch that two of his seruants, which were appointed collectors in the citie of Worcester, the one named Feader, and the other Turstane, were there slaine. In reuenge of which contempt a great part of the countrie with the citie was burnt, and the goods of the citizens put to the spoile by such power of lords and men of warre as the king had sent against them.

The bodie of king Harold taken vp, and throwen into Thames.

S. Clement Danes.

Tribute raised. Hen. Hunt.

Simon Dun. Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Sim. Dun.

Shortlie after, Edward king Hardicnutes brother came forth of Normandie to visit him and his mother quæne Emma, of whome he was most ioifullie and honorablie welcomed and interteined, and shortlie after made returne backe againe. It should appeare by some writers, that after his comming ouer out of Normandie he remained still in the realme, so that he was not in Normandie when his halfe brother Hardicnute died, but here in England: although other make other report, as after shall bée shewed. Also (as before ye haue heard) some writers sæme to meane, that the elder brother Alfred came ouer at the same time. But suerlie they are therein deceiued: for it was knowne well inough how tenderlie king Hardicnute loued his brethren by the mothers side, so that there was not anie of the lords in his daies, that durst attempt anie such iniurie against them. True it is, that as well earle Godwine, as the bishop of Worcester (that was also put in blame and suspected for the apprehending and making away of Alfred, as before ye haue heard) were charged by Hardicnute as culpable in that matter, insomuch that the said bishop was expelled out of his sée by Hardicnute: and after twelue moneths space was restored, by meanes of such summes of monie as he gaue by waie of amends.

Matt. West. Ran. Higd. Marianus.

Polydor.

The bishop of Worcester accused for making away of Alfred.

Earle Godwin excuseth himselfe.

The gift which earle Godwin gaue to the king.

Earle Godwine was also put to his purgation, by taking an oth that he was not guiltie. Which oth was the better allowed, by reason of such a present as he gaue to the king for the redéeming of his fauour and good will, that is to say, a ship with a sterne of gold, conteining therein 80 souldiers, wearing on each of their armes two bracelets of gold of 16 ounces weight, a triple habergion guilt on their bodies, with guilt burgenets on their heads, a sword with guilt hilts girded to their wastes, a battell-axe after the maner of the Danes on their left shoulder, a target with bosses and mails guilt in their left hand, a dart in their right hand: and thus to conclude, they were furnished at all points with armor and weapon accordinglie. It hath béene said, that earle Godwine minded to marie his daughter to one of these brethren, and perceiuing that the elder brother Alfred would disdaine to haue hir, thought good to dispatch him, that the other taking hir to wife, hée might be nert heire to the crowne, and so at length inioy it, as afterwards came to passe.

Polydor.

Also about that time, when the linage of the kings of England was in maner extinct, the English people were much carefull (as hath béene said) about the succession of those that should inioie the crowne. Wherevpon as one Brightwold a monke of Glastenburie, that was afterward bishop of Wincester, or (as some haue written) of Worcester, studied oftentimes thereon: it chanced that he dreamed one night as he slept in his bed, that he saw saint Peter consecrate & annoint Edward the sonne of Egelred (as then remaining in exile in Normandie) king of England. And as he thought, he did demand of saint Peter, who should succéed the said Edward: Wherevnto answer was made by the apostle; Haue thou no care for such matters, for the kingdome of England is Gods kingdome. Which suerlie in good earnest may appeare by manie great arguments to be full true vnto such as shall well consider the state of this realme from time to time, how there hath béene euer gouernours raised vp to mainteine the maiestie of the kingdome, and to reduce the same to the former dignitie, when by anie infortunate mishap it hath bœne brought in danger.

But to returne now to king Hardicnute, after he had reigned two yéers lacking 10 daies, as he sat at the table in a great feast holden at Lambeth, he fell downe suddenlie with the pot in his hand, and so died not without some suspicion of poison. This chanced on the 8 of June at Lambeth aforesaid, where, on the same day a mariage was solemnized betwéene the ladie Githa, the daughter of a noble man called Osgot Clapa, and a Danish lord also called Canute Prudan. His bodie was buried at Winchester besides his fathers. He was of nature verie curteous, gentle and liberall, speciallie in kæping good chéere in his house, so that he would haue his table couered foure times a day, & furnished with great plentie of meates and drinks, wishing that his seruants and all strangers that came to his palace, might rather leaue than want. It hath bœne commonlie told, that Englishmen learned of him their excessiue gourmandizing & immeasurable filling of their panches with meates and drinkes, whereby they forgat the vertuous vse of sobrietie, so much necessarie to all estates and degrées, so profitable for all commonwealthes, and so commendable both in the sight of God, and all good men.

The death of K. Hardicnute Sim. Dunel. Matth. West.

1042

K. Hardicnute his conditions and liberalitie in housekæping.

Hen. Hunt.

Of whom the Englishmen learned excessiue fæding.

In this Hardicnute ceased the rule of the Danes within this land, with the persecution which they had executed against the English nation, for the space of 250 yeres & more, that is to say, euer since the tenth yeere of Brithrike the king of Westsaxons, at what time they first began to inuade the English coasts. Howbeit (after others) they should séeme to haue ruled here but 207, reckoning from their bringing in by the Welshmen in despite of the Saxons, at which time they first began to inhabit here, which was 835 of Christ, 387 after the comming of the Saxons, and 35 nére complet of the reigne of Egbert.

The end of the Danish rulers.

¶ But to let this peece of curiositie passe, this land felt that they had a time of arriuall, a time of inuading, a time of ouerrunning, and a time of ouerruling the inhabitants of this maine continent. Whereof manifest proofes are at this day remaining in sundrie places, sundrie ruines I meane and wastes committed by them; vpon the which whensoeuer a man of a relenting spirit casteth his eie, he can not but enter into a dolefull consideration of former miseries, and lamenting the defacements of this Ile by the crueltie of the bloudthirstie enimie, cannot but wish (if he haue but *Minimam misericordiæ guttam quæ maior est spatioso oceano*, as one saith) and earnestlie desire in his heart that the like may neuer light vpon this land, but may be auerted and turned away from all christian kingdomes, through his mercie, whose wrath by sinne being set on fire, is like a consuming flame; and the sword of whose vengeance being sharpened with the whetstone of mens wickednesse, shall hew them in peeces as wood for the fornace.

*Thus farre the tumultuous and tyrannicall regiment of the Danes, inferring fulnesse of afflictions to the English people, wherewith likewise the seuenth booke is shut vp.*

# THE EIGHT BOOKE

## of the Historie of England.

Edward the third of that name is chosen king of England by a generall consent, ambassadours are sent to attend him homewardes to his kingdome, and to informe him of his election, William duke of Normandie accompanieth him, Edward is crowned king, the subtill ambition or ambitious subtiltie of earle Goodwine in preferring Edward to the crowne and betraieng Alfred; the Danes expelled and rid out of this land by decree; whether earle Goodwine was guiltie of Alfreds death, king Edward marieth the said earles daughter, he forbeareth to haue carnall knowledge with hir, and why? he vseth his mother queene Emma verie hardlie, accusations brought against hir, she is dispossessed of hir goods, and imprisoned for suffering bishop Alwine to haue the vse of hir bodie, she purgeth and cleareth hir selfe after a strange sort, hir couetousnesse: mothers are taught (by hir example) to loue their children with equalitie: hir liberall deuotion to Winchester church cleared hir from infamie of couetousnesse, king Edward loued hir after hir purgation, why Robert archbishop of Canturburie fled out of England into Normandie.

### *The first Chapter.*

*Edward.*
Hen. Hunt.

Polydor.

IMmediatlie vpon the deth of Hardiknought, and before his corps was committed to burial, his halfe brother Edward, sonne of king Egelred begotten of queene Emma, was chosen to be K. of England, by the generall consent of all the nobles and commons of the realme. Thereupon were ambassadours sent with all spæd into Normandie, to signifie vnto him his election, and to bring him from thense into England in deliuering pledges for more assurance, that no fraud nor deceit was ment of the Englishmen, but that vpon his comming thither, he should receiue the crowne without all contradiction. Edward then aided by his cosine William duke of Normandie, toke the sea, & with a small companie of Normans came into England, where he was receiued with great ioy as king of the realme, & immediatlie after was crowned at Winchester by Edsinus then archbishop of Canturburie, on Easter day in the yeare of our Lord 1043, which fell also about the fourth yeare of the emperour Henrie the third, surnamed Niger, in the 12 yeare of Henrie the first of that name king of France, and about the third yeare of Macbeth king of Scotland. Henr. Hunt. Wil. Malm. The third of April. 1043

This Edward the third of that name before the conquest, was of nature more meeke and simple than apt for the gouernement of the realme, & therefore did earle Goodwine not onelie seeke the destruction of his elder brother Alfred, but holpe all that he might to aduance this Edward to the crowne, in hope to beare great rule in the realme vnder him, whome he knew to be soft, gentle, and easie to be persuaded. But what soeuer writers do report hereof, sure it is, that Edward was the elder brother, and not Alfred: so that if earle Goodwine did shew his furtherance by his pretended cloake of offering his friendship vnto Alfred to betraie him, he did it by king Harolds commandement, and yet it may be that he meant to haue vsurped the crowne to him selfe, if each point had answered his expectation in the sequele of things, as he hoped they would; and therfore had not passed if both the brethren had beene in heauen. But yet when the world framed contrarie (peraduenture) to his purpose, he did his best to aduance Edward, trusting to beare no small rule vnder him, being knowen to be a man more appliable to be gouerned by other than to trust to his owne wit: and so chieflie by the assistance of earle Goodwine

K. Edward marieth the daughter of earle Goodwine.

Polydor.

K. Edward abstaineth from the companie of his wife.

K. Edward dealeth strictlie with his mother queene Emma.

Queene Emma despoiled of hir goods. She is accused of dissolute liuing.

Ran. Higd.

She purgeth hir selfe by the law Ordalium.

wine (whose authoritie, as appeareth, was not small within the realme of England in those daies) Edward came to atteine the crowne; whereunto the earle of Chester Leofrike also shewed all the furtherance that in him laie.

Ran. Higd. ex Marian. Alb. Crantz.

Some write (which seemeth also to be confirmed by the Danish chronicles) that king Hardiknought in his life time had receiued this Edward into his court, and reteined him still in the same in most honorable wise. But for that it may appeare in the abstract of the Danish chronicles, what their writers had of this matter recorded, we doo here passe ouer, referring those that be desirous to know the diuersitie of our writers and theirs, vnto the same chronicles, where they may find it more at large expressed. This in no wise is to be left vnremembred, that immediatlie after the death of Hardiknought, it was not onelie decreed & agreed vpon by the great lords & nobles of the realme, that no Dane from thenceforth should reigne ouer them, but also all men of warre and souldiers of the Danes, which laie within anie citie or castell in garrison within the realme of England, were then expelled and put out or rather slaine (as the Danish writers doo rehearse.) Amongst other that were banished, the ladie Gonild neece to king Swaine by his sister, was one, being as then a widow, and with hir two of hir sonnes, which she had then liuing; Heming and Turkill were also caused to auoid. Some write that Alfred the brother of king Edward, came not into the realme till after the death of Hardiknought, and that he did helpe to expell the Danes, which being don, he was slaine by earle Godwine and other of his complices. But how this may stand, considering the circumstances of the time, with such things as are written by diuers authors hereof, it may well be doubted. Nevertheless, whether earle Godwine was guiltie to the death of Alfred, either at this time, or before, certeine it is, that he so cleared himselfe of that crime vnto king Edward the brother of Alfred, that there was none so highlie in fauour with him as earle Godwine was, insomuch that king Edward maried the ladie Editha, the daughter of earle Godwine, begotten of his wife Thira that was sister to king Hardiknought, and not of his second wife, as some haue written. Howbeit, king Edward neuer had to doo with hir in fleshlie wise. But whether he abstained because he had happilie vowed chastitie, either of impotencie of nature, or for a priuie hate that he bare to hir kin, men doubted. For it was thought, that he estéemed not earle Godwine so greatlie in his heart, as he outwardlie made shew to doo, but rather for feare of his puissance dissembled with him, least he should otherwise put him selfe in danger both of losse of life and kingdome.

Polydor. Danes expelled.

Simon Dun.

Gonild neece to K. Swaine

Polydor.

K. Edward abstaineth from the companie of his wife.

Howsoeuer it was, he vsed his counsell in ordering of things concerning the state of the common wealth, and namelie in the hard handling of his mother queene Emma, against whome diuers accusations were brought and alledged: as first, for that she consented to marie with K. Cnute, the publike enimie of the realme: againe, for that she did nothing aid or succour hir sons while they liued in exile, but that worse was, contriued to make them away; for which cause she was despoiled of all hir goods. And because she was defamed to be naught of hir bodie with Alwine or Adwine bishop of Winchester, both she and the same bishop were committed to prison within the citie of Winchester (as some write.) Howbeit others affirme, that she was strictlie kept in the abbie of Warwell, till by way of purging hir selfe, after a maruellous manner, in passing barefooted ouer certeine hot shares or ploughirons, according to the law *Ordalium*, she cleared hir selfe (as the world tooke it) and was restored to hir first estate and dignitie.

K. Edward marieth the daughter of earle Godwine.

Polydor.

K. Edward dealeth strictlie with his mother queene Emma.

Queene Emma despoiled of hir goods. She is accused of dissolute liuing.

Ran. Higd.

She purgeth hir selfe by the law Ordalium.

Hir excessiue couetousnesse, without regard had to the poore, caused hir also to be euill reported of. Againe, for that she euer shewed hir selfe to be more naturall to the issue which she had by hir second husband Cnute, than to hir children which she had by hir first husband king Egelred (as it were declaring how she was affected toward the fathers, by the loue borne to the children) she lost a great péece of good will at the hands of hir sonnes Alfred and Edward: so that now the said Edward inioieng the realme, was easilie induced to thinke euill of hir, and thereupon vsed hir the more vncurteoustie. But hir great liberalitie imploied on the church of Winchester, which she furnished with marueilous rich iewels and ornaments, wan hir great commendation in the world, and excused hir partlie in the sight of manie, of the infamie imputed to hir for the immoderate filling of hir coffers by all waies and meanes she could deuise. Now when she had purged hir selfe, as before is mentioned, hir sonne king Edward had hir euer after in great honor and reuerence. And whereas Robert archbishop of Canturburie had béene sore against hir, he was so much abashed now at the matter, that he fled into Normandie, where he was borne. But it should séeme by that which after shal be said in the nert chapter, that he fled not the realme for this matter, but bicause he counselled the king to banish earle Godwine, and also to vse the Englishmen more strictlie than reason was he should.

Wil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

## Why Robert archbishop of Canturburie (*queene Emmas heauie friend*) *fled out* of England, the Normans first entrance into *this countrie, dearth by tempests, earle Goodwines* sonne banished out of this land, he returneth in hope *of the kings fauour, killeth his cosen earle Bearne for his good* will and forwardnes to set him in credit againe, his flight into Flanders, his returne into England, the king is pacified with him; certeine Danish rouers arriue at Sandwich, spoile the coast, inrich themselues with the spoiles, make sale of their gettings, and returne to their countrie; the Welshmen with their princes rebelling are subdued, king Edward keepeth the seas on Sandwich side in aid of Baldwine earle of Flanders, a bloudie fraie in Canturburie betwixt the earle of Bullongne and the townesmen, earle Goodwine fauoureth the Kentishmen against the Bullongners, why he refuseth to punish the Canturburie men at the kings commandement for breaking the kings peace; he setteth the king in a furie, his suborned excuse to shift off his comming to the assemblie of lords conuented about the foresaid broile; earle Goodwine bandeth himselfe against the king, he would haue the strangers deliuered into his hands, his request is denied; a battell readie to haue bene fought betweene him and the king, the tumult is pacified and put to a parlement, earle Goodwines retinue forsake him; he, his sonnes, and their wiues take their flight beyond the seas.

## *The second Chapter.*

Robert archbishop of Canturburie. Frenchmen or Normans first entered into England

YE must vnderstand, that K. Edward brought diuerse Normans ouer with him, which in time of his banishment had shewed him great friendship, wherefore he now sought to recompense them. Amongst other, the forenamed Robert of Canturburie was one, who before his comming ouer was a monke in the abbeie of Gemeticum in Normandie, and being by the king first aduanced to gouerne the see of London, was after made archbishop of Canturburie, and bare great rule vnder the king, so that he could not auoid the enuie

nie of diuerse noble men, and speciallie of earle Godwine, as shall apeere. About the third yeere of king Edwards reigne, Osgot Clappa was banished the realme. And in the yeere following, that is to say, in the yeere 1047, there fell a maruellous great snow, couering the ground from the beginning of Januarie vntill the 17 day of March. Besides this, there hapned the same yeere such tempest and lightnings, that the corne vpon the earth was burnt vp and blasted: by reason whereof, there followed a great dearth in England, and also death of men and cattell.

1047
A great derth. Ran. Higd.

About this time Swaine the sonne of earle Godwine was banished the land, and fled into Flanders. This Swaine kept Edgiua, the abbesse of the monasterie of Leosse, and forsaking his wife, ment to haue married the foresaid abbesse. Within a certeine time after his banishment, he returned into England, in hope to purchase the kings peace by his fathers meanes and other his friends. But vpon some malicious pretense, he slue his cosen earle Bearne, who was about to labour to the king for his pardon, and so then fled againe into Flanders, till at length Allered the archbishop of Yorke obteined his pardon, and found meanes to reconcile him to the kings fauour.

Swain Godwines sonne banished.
Edgiua abbesse of Leosse.
This Bearne was the sonne of Ulfus a Dane, vncle to this Swaine by his mother, the sister of K. Swaine. H. Hunt.

In the meane time, about the first yeere of king Edwards reigne, certeine pirats of the Danes arriued in Sandwich hauen, and entring the land, wasted and spoiled all about the coast. There be that write, that the Danes had at that time to their leaders two capteins, the one named Lother, and the other Irling. After they had beene at Sandwich, and brought from thence great riches of gold and siluer, they coasted about vnto the side of Esser, and there spoiling the countrie, went backe to the sea, and sailing into Flanders, made sale of their spoiles and booties there, and so returned to their countries. After this, during the reigne of king Edward, there chanced no warres, neither forren nor ciuill, but that the same was either with small slaughter luckilie ended, or else without anie notable aduenture changed into peace. The Welshmen in deed with their princes Rise and Griffin wrought some trouble, but still they were subdued, and in the end both the said Rise and Griffin were brought vnto confusion: although in the meane time they did much hurt, and namelie Griffin, who with aid of some Irishmen, with whome he was alied, about this time entred into the Seuerne sea, and toke preies about the riuer of Wie: and after returned without anie battell to him offered.

Hen. Hunt.
The Danes spoile Sandwich.
Rise & Griffin princes of Wales.

1049
About the same time, to wit, in the yeere 1049, the emperor Henrie the third made warres against Baldwine earle of Flanders, and for that he wished to haue the sea stopped, that the said earle should not escape by flight that waie forth, he sent to king Edward, willing him to keepe the sea with some number of ships. King Edward furnishing a nauie, lay with the same at Sandwich, and so kept the seas on that side, till the emperor had his will of the earle. At the same time, Swaine, sonne of earle Godwine came into the realme, and traitorouslie slue his cosen Bearne (as before is said) the which trauelled to agree him with the king. Also Gosipat Clappa, who had left his wife at Bruges in Flanders, comming amongst other of the Danish pirats, which had robbed in the coasts of Kent & Esser, as before ye haue heard, receiued his wife, and departed backe into Denmarke with six ships, leauing the residue, being 23 behind him.

Simon Dun.
Hermanus. Contractus. Ia. Meir.
Simon Dun.

About the tenth yeere of king Edwards reigne, Eustace earle of Bullongne, that was father vnto the valiant Godfrey of Bullongne, & Baldwin, both

1051
Fabian. Matth. West.

afterward kings of Hierusalem, came ouer into England in the moneth of September, to visit his brother in law king Edward, whose sister named Goda, he had maried, she then being the widow of Gualter de Maunt. He found the king at Glocester, and being there ioifullie receiued, after he had once dispatched such matters for the which he chieflie came, he toke leaue, and returned homeward. But at Canturburie one of his herbingers, dealing roughlie with one of the citizens about a lodging, which he sought to haue rather by force than by intreatance, occasioned his owne death. Whereof when the erle was aduertised, he hasted thither to reuenge the slaughter of his seruant, and slue both that citizen which had killed his man, and eighteene others.

The citizens heerewith in a great furie, got them to armor, and set vpon the earle and his retinue, of whom they slue twentie persons out of hand, & wounded a great number of the residue, so that the earle scarse might escape with one or two of his men from the fraie, & with all speed returned backe to the king, presenting greeuous information against them of Canturburie, for their cruell vsing of him, not onlie in sleaing of his seruants, but also in putting him in danger of his life. The king crediting the earle, was highlie offended against the citizens, and with all speed sending for earle Godwine, declared vnto him in greeuous wise, the rebellious act of them of Canturburie, which were vnder his iurisdiction.

The citie of Flanders commeth into England. Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm.
Goda sister to K. Edward. Wil. Malm.
Douer saith Matth. West.
A fraie in Canturburie betwixt the earle of Bullongne and the townesmen.
The earle complaineth to the king.

The earle who was a man of a bold courage and quicke wit, did perceiue that the matter was made a great deale worse at the first in the beginning, than of likelihood it would prooue in the end, thought it reason therefore that first the answere of the Kentishmen should be heard, before anie sentence were giuen against them. Hereupon, although the king commanded him forthwith to go with an armie into Kent, and to punish them of Canturburie in most rigorous maner, yet he would not be too hastie, but refused to execute the kings commandement, both for that he bare a peece of grudge in his mind, that the king should fauour strangers so highlie as he did; and againe, because hereby he should seeme to do pleasure to his countriemen, in taking vpon him to defend their cause against the rough accusations of such as had accused them. Wherefore he declared to the king that it should be conuenient to haue the supposed offendors first called afore him, and if they were able to excuse themselues, then to be suffered to depart without further veration: and if they were found faultie, then to be put to their fine, both as well in satisfieng the king, whose peace they had broken, as also the earle, whom they had indamaged.

Earle Godwine offended with the king for fauouring strangers.

Earle Godwine departed thus from the king, leauing him in a great furie: howbeit he passed little thereof, supposing it would not long continue. But the king called a great assemblie of his lords togither at Glocester, that the matter might be more deepelie considered. Siward earle of Northumberland, and Leofrike earle of Chester, with Rafe earle of Hereford, the kings nephue by his sister Goda, and all other the noble men of the realme, onlie earle Godwine and his sonnes ment not to come there, except they might bring with them a great power of armed men, and so remained at Beuerstane, with such bands as they had leauied, vnder a colour to resist the Welshmen, whome they bruted abroad to be readie to inuade the marches about Hereford. But the Welshmen preuenting that slander, signified to the king that no such matter was ment on their parties, but that earle Godwine and his sonnes with their complices went about to moue a commotion against him. Hereupon a rumor was raised in the court, that the kings power should shortlie march forth

A counsell held at Glocester.
Siward earle of Northumberland, Leofrike earle of Chester, Rafe earle of Hereford. Will. Malm.
Wil. Malm. Swaine eldest sonne to Godwine banished.
Earle Godwine fled the realme.

forth to assaile earle Godwine in that place where he was lodged. Whereupon the same earle prepared himselfe, and sent to his friends, willing to sticke to this quarrell, and if the king should go about to force them, then to withstand him, rather than to yéeld and suffer themselues to be troden vnder foot by strangers. Godwine in this meane time had got togither a great power of his countries of Kent, Southerie, and other of the west parts. Swaine likewise had assembled much people out of his countries of Barkeshire, Oxfordshire, Summersetshire, Herefordshire, and Glocestershire. And Harold was also come to them with a great multitude, which he had levied in Essex, Norffolke, Suffold, Cambridgeshire, & Huntingtonshire.

Earle Godwine meaneth to defend him selfe against the king. Swaine. Ran. Higd. Matth. West. Simon Dun. Harold.

On the other part, the earles that were with the king, Leofrike, Siward, and Rafe, raised all the power which they might make, and the same approching to Glocester, the king thought himselfe in more suertie than before, in so much that whereas earle Godwine (who lay with his armie at Langton there not farre off in Glocestershire) had sent vnto the king, requiring that the earle of Bullongne, with the other Frenchmen and also the Normans which held the castell of Douer, might be deliuered vnto him. The king, though at the first he stood in great doubt what to do, yet hearing now that an armie of his friends was comming, made answere to the messingers which Godwine had sent, that he would not deliuer a man of those whome Godwine required, and herewith the said messengers being departed, the kings armie entered into Glocester, and such readie good wils appéered in them all to fight with the aduersaries, that if the king would haue permitted, they would forthwith haue gone out and giuen battell to the enimies.

Simon Dun.

Thus the matter was at point to haue put the realme in hazard not onelie of a field, but of vtter ruine that might thereof haue insued: for what on the one part and the other, there were assembled the chiefest lords and most able personages of the land. But by the wisedome and good aduise of earle Leofrike and others, the matter was pacified for a time, and order taken, that they should come to a parlement or communication at London, vpon pledges giuen and receiued as well on the one part as the other. The king with a mightie armie of the Northumbers, and them of Mercia, came vnto London, and earle Godwine with his sonnes, and a great power of the Westsaxons, came into Southwarke, but perceiuing that manie of his companie stale awaie and slipt from him, he durst not abide anie longer to enter talke with the king, as it was couenanted, but in the night next insuing fled awaie with all spéed possible.

Wil. Malm. Swaine eldest sonne to Godwine banished.

Some write, how an order was prescribed that Swanus the eldest sonne of Godwine should depart the land as a banished man to qualifie the kings wrath, and that Godwine and one other of his sons, that is to say, Harold should come to an other assemblie to be holden at London, accompanied with 12 seruants onelie, & to resigne all his force of knights, gentlemen and souldiers vnto the kings guiding and gouernment. But when this last article pleased nothing earle Godwine, and that he perceiued how his force began to decline, so as he should not be able to match the kings power, he fled the realme, and so likewise did his sonnes. He himselfe with his sonnes Swanus, Tostie, and Girth, sailed into Flanders: and Harold with his brother Leofwine gat ships at Bristow, and passed into Ireland. Githa the wife of Godwine, and Judith the wife of Tostie, the daughter of Baldwine earle of Flanders went ouer also with their husbands.

Earle Godwine fled the realme.

Godwine and his sonnes are proclaimed *outlawes, their lands are giuen from* them, king Edward putteth awaie the queene *his wife who was earle Goodwines daughter, she* cleareth hir selfe at the houre of hir death from suspi*cion of incontinencie and lewdnesse of life, why king Edward* forbare to haue fleshlie pleasure with hir; earle Godwine and his sonnes take preies on the coasts of Kent and Sussex; Griffin king of Wales destroieth a great part of Herefordshire, and giueth his incounterers the ouerthrow; Harold and Leofwine two brethren inuade Dorset and Summersetshires, they are resisted, but yet preuaile, they coast about the point of Cornwall and ioine with their father Godwine, king Edward maketh out threescore armed ships against them, a thicke mist separateth both sides being readie to grapple and fight, a pacification betweene the king and earle Goodwine, he is restored to his lands and libertie, he was well friended, counterpledges of agreement interchangablie deliuered; Swanus the eldest sonne of Goodwine a notable rebell and pirat, his troubled conscience, his wicked life and wretched death.

## *The third Chapter.*

THE king hauing perfect knowledge, that earle Godwine had refused to come to the court in such order as he had prescribed him, and that he was departed the realme with his sonnes: he proclaimed them outlawes, and gaue the lands of Harold vnto Algar, the sonne of earle Leofrike, who guided the same verie worthilie, and resigned them againe without grudging vnto the same Harold when he was returned out of exile. Also vnto earle Odo were giuen the counties of Deuonshire and Summersetshire.

Godwine and his sonnes proclaimed outlawes.

Moreouer, about the same time the king put his wife quéene Editha from him, and appointed hir to streict keeping in the abbeie of Warwell. This Editha was a noble gentlewoman, well learned, and expert in all sciences, yet hir good name was stained somewhat, as though she had not liued so continentlie as was to be wished, both in hir husbands life time, and after his decease. But yet at the houre of hir death (which chanced in the daies of William Conqueror) she cleared hir selfe, in taking it vpon the charge of hir soule, that she had euer liued in perfect chastitie: for king Edward (as before is mentioned) neuer touched hir in anie actuall maner. By this streict dealing with the quéene that was daughter to earle Godwine, now in time of hir fathers exile, it hath séemed to manie, that king Edward forbare to deale with hir in carnall wise, more for hatred of hir kin, than for anie other respect. But to proceed.

The king put awaie his wife Editha.

In the second yéere of Godwines banishment, both he and his sonnes hauing prouided themselues of ships and men of warre conuenient for the purpose, came vpon the coasts of England, and after the maner of rouers, tooke preies where as they espied aduantage, namelie on the coasts of Kent and Sussex. In the meane time also Griffin the K. of Wales destroid a great part of Herefordshire, against whom the power of that countrie, & also manie Normans that lay in garrison within the castell of Hereford, comming to giue battell, were ouerthrowne on the same day, in the which about two and twentie yéeres before, or (as some copies haue) thirteene yéeres, the Welshmen had slaine Edwine, the brother of earle Leofrike. Shortlie after, earle Harold and his brother Leofwine returning out of Ireland, entered into the Seuerne sea, landing on the coasts of Summersetshire and Dorsetshire, where falling to spoile, they were incountred by a power assembled out of the

1052 Hen. Hunt.

Griffin king of wales destroieth Herefordshire.

Harold inuadeth the shires of Dorset and Summerset.

the counties of Deuonshire and Summersetshire: but Harold put his aduersaries to flight, and slue thirtie gentlemen of honor, or thanes (as they called them) with a great number of others. Then Harold and his brethren, returning with their preie and bootie to their ships, and coasting about the point of Cornwall, came and ioined with their father & their other brethren, then soiorning in the Ile of Wight.

King Edward to withstand their malice, had rigged and furnished forth sirtie ships of warre, with Simon Dun. the which he himselfe went to the water, not sticking to lie aboord at that season, although he had appointed for captesnes and admerals two earles that were his cosins, Odo and Rafe, who had charge of the whole armie. Rafe was his nephue, as sonne to his sister Goda by hir first husband Gualter de Maunt. But although they were knowne to be sufficient men for the ordering of such businesse, yet he thought the necessitie to be such, as his person could not be presentlie spared. Therefore he was diligent in foreseeing of things by good aduise, although age would not giue him leaue to execute the same by his owne hand and force of bodie. But as the nauies on both parts were readie to haue ioined, they were seuered by reason of a thicke mist that then rose, whereby their furious rage was restreined for that time: and immediatlie there vpon, Godwine and his complices were forced by a contrarie wind, to returne to the places from whence they came. Shortlie after by mediation of friends, a peace was made, and earle Godwine restored home, and obteined againe both the kings fauour, and all his former liuings: for he was such an eloquent & wise man, that he cleered and purged himselfe of all such crimes and accusations, as in anie sort had béene laid against him. Thus haue some written concerning this agréement betwixt king Edward and erle Godwine, where other make somewhat larger report thereof, as thus.

At the same time that the two sonnes of erle Godwine Harold and Leofwine came forth of Ireland, and inuaded the west countrie, king Edward rigged forth fortie ships, the which throughlie furnished with men, munition, and vittels, he sent vnto Sandwich, commanding the capteines there to wait for the comming of erle Godwine, whom he vnderstood to be in a readinesse to returne into England: but notwithstanding, there wanted no diligence in them to looke to their charge, erle Godwine secretlie with a few ships which he had got togither, arriued in Kent; and sending forth his letters and messengers abroad to the citizens of Canturburie, to them of Sussex, Southerie, & others, required aid of them, who with one consent promised to liue and die with him.

The capteines of the nauie at Sandwich aduertised hereof, made towards the place where they thought to haue found earle Godwine: but he being warned of their comming, escaped by flight, and got him out of their danger, whereupon they withdrew to Sandwich, and after returned to London. Earle Godwine aduertised thereof, sailed to the Ile of Wight, and wafted vp and downe those seas, till his sonnes Harold and Leofwine came and ioined their nauie with his, and ceassing from spoile, onlie sought to recouer vittels to serue their turne. And increasing their power by such aid as they might any where procure, at length they came to Sandwich, wherof king Edward hauing knowledge, being then at London, he sent abroad to raise all the power he might make. But they that were appointed to come vnto him, lingred time, in which meane while earle Godwine comming into the Thames, & so vp the riuer, arriued in Southwarke, on the day of the exaltation of the crosse in September, being monday, and their staieng for the tide, solicited the Londoners, so that he obteined of them what he could desire.

It seemeth that earle Godwine was well friended.

Afterwards, without disturbance, he passed vp the riuer with the tide through the south arch of the bridge, & at the same instant, a mightie armie which he had by land, mustered in the fields on that south side the same riuer, and herewith his nauie made towards the north side of the riuer, as if they ment to inclose the kings nauie, for the king had also a nauie & an armie by land: but yet sith there were few either on the one part or the other, that were able to do anie great feat except Englishmen, they were loth to fight one against another, whereupon the wiser sort on both sides sought meanes to make an atonement: and so at length by their diligent trauell, the matter was taken vp, and the armies being dismissed on both parts, earle Godwine was restored to his former dignitie. Herevpon were pledges deliuered on his behalfe, that is to say, Wilnotus one of his sonnes, and Hacun the sonne of Swanus the eldest sonne of Godwine. These two pledges were sent vnto William duke of Normandie, to be kept with him for more assurance of Godwines loialtie.

Some write that Swanus the eldest sonne of Godwine was not reconciled to the kings fauour at this time; but whether he was or not, this is reported of him for a truth, that after he had attempted sundrie rebellions against king Edward, he lastlie also rebelled against his father Godwine, and his brother Harold, and became a pirate, dishonouring with such manifold robberies as he made on the seas, the noble progenie whereof he was descended. Finallie vpon remorse of conscience (as hath béene thought) for murthering of his cosine (or as some say his brother) erle Bearne, he went on pilgrimage to Hierusalem, and died by the way of cold which he caught in returning homeward (as some write) in Licia: but others affirme, that he fell into the hands of Saracens that were robbers by the high waies, and so was murthered of them.

Ran. Higd. Matth. West. Simon Dun. Wil. Malm.

Ran. Higd. Will. Malm.

At what time William duke of Normandie *came ouer into England, king* Edward promiseth to make him his heire to the *kingdom and crowne, the death of queene Emma,* earle Godwine being growne in fauor againe seeketh *new reuenges of old grudges, causing archbishop Robert* and certeine noble Normans his aduersaries to be banished; Stigand intrudeth himselfe into archbishop Roberts see, his simonie and lacke of lerning; what maner of men were thought meet to be made bishops in those daies, king Edward begin-neth to prouide for the good and prosperous state of his kingdome, his consideration of lawes made in his predecessours times and abused; the lawes of S. Edward vsuallie called the common lawes, how, whereof, and wherevpon instituted; the death of earle Godwine being sudden (as some say) or naturall (as others report) his vertues and vices, his behauiour and his sonnes vpon presumption and will in the time of their authorities; his two wiues and children; the sudden and dreadfull death of his mother; hir selling of the beautifull youth male and female of this land to the Danish people.

## *The fourth Chapter.*

William duke of Normandie came ouer into England.

THe foresaide William duke of Normandie (that after conquered this land) during the time of Godwines outlawrie, came ouer into this land with a faire retinue of men, and was ioifullie receiued of the king, and had great chére. Now after he had taried a season, he returned into his countrie, not without great gifts of iewels and other things, which the king most liberallie



Polydor. K. Edwards promise to duke William.

The archbishop of Canturburie banished.

Normans banished the realme.

Stigand archbishop of Canturburie.

Ranul. Hig. Fabian.

Stigand infamed of simonie.

what maner of men meet to be bishops in those daies.

Polydor.

rallie beſtowed vpon him. And (as ſome write) the king promiſed him at that time, to make him his heire to the realme of England, if he chanced to die without iſſue. ¶ Shortlie after, or rather somewhat before, queene Emma the kings mother died, and was buried at Wincheſter.

Polydor. K. Edwards promiſe to duke William.

After that earle Godwine was reſtored to the kings fauour, becauſe he knew that Robert the archbiſhop of Canturburie had beene the cheefe procurer of the kings euill will towards him, he found meanes to weare him out of credit, and diuers other ſpecially of the Normans, bearing the world in hand, that they had ſought to trouble the ſtate of the realme, & to ſet variance betwixt the king and the lords of the Engliſh nation: whereas the Normans againe alledged, that earle Godwine and his ſonnes abuſed the kings ſoft and gentle nature, & would not ſticke to ieaſt and mocke at his curteous and mild proceedings. But howſoeuer the matter went, archbiſhop Robert was glad to depart out of the realme, and going to Rome, made complaint in the court there, of the iniuries that were offred him: but in returning through Normandie, he died in the abbeie of Gemmeticum, where he had bene monke before his comming into England.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie baniſhed.

Diuerſe others were compelled to forſake the realme at the ſame time, both ſpirituall men and temporall, as William biſhop of London, and Ulfe biſhop of Lincolne. Oſberne named Pentecoſt, and his companion Hugh, were conſtreined to ſurrender their caſtels, and by licence of earle Leofrike withdrew thorough his countrie into Scotland, where, of king Mackbeth they were honorablie receiued. Theſe were Normans: for (as partlie ye haue heard) king Edward brought with him no ſmall number of that nation, when he came from thence to receiue the crowne, and by them he was altogither ruled, to the great offending of his owne naturall ſubiects the Engliſhmen, namelie earle Godwine and his ſonnes, who in thoſe daies for their great poſſeſſions and large reuenues, were had in no ſmall reputation with the Engliſh people.

Normans baniſhed the realme.

After that Robert the archbiſhop of Canturburie was departed the realme, as before ye haue heard, Stigand was made archbiſhop of Canturburie, or rather thruſt himſelfe into that dignitie, not being lawfullie called, in like manner as he had done at Wincheſter: for whereas he was firſt biſhop of Shireborne, he left that church, and toke vpon him the biſhoprike of Wincheſter by force, and now atteining to be archbiſhop of Canturburie, he kept both Wincheſter and Canturburie in his hand at one inſtant. This Stigand was greatlie infamed for his couetous practiſes in ſale of poſſeſſions apperteining to the church. He was nothing learned: but that want was a common fault amongeſt the biſhops of that age, for it was openlie ſpoken in thoſe daies, that he was meet onelie to be a biſhop, which could vſe the pompe of the world, voluptuous pleaſures, rich raiment, and ſet himſelfe forth with a tollie retinue of gentlemen and ſeruants on horſeback, for therein ſtood the countenance of a biſhop, as the world then went; and not in ſtudie how to haue the people fed with the word of life, to the ſauing of their ſoules.

Stigand archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Ranul. Hig. Fabian.

Stigand infamed of ſimonie.

what maner of men meet to be biſhops in thoſe daies.

Polydor.

King Edward now in the twelfth yeare of his reigne, hauing brought the ſtate of the realme quite from troubles of warre both by ſea and land, began to foreſee as well for the welth of his ſubiects, as for himſelfe, being naturallie inclined to wiſh well to all men. He therefore conſidered, how by the manifold lawes which had beene made by Britaines, Engliſhmen and Danes within this land, occaſion was miniſtred to manie, which meaſured all things by reſpect of their owne priuate gaine and profit, to peruert iuſtice, and to vſe wrongfull dealing in ſtead of right, clouding the ſame vnder ſome branch of the lawe naughtilie miſconſtrued. Whereupon to auoid that miſchiefe, he picked out a ſumme of that huge and vnmeaſurable maſſe and heape of lawes, ſuch as were thought moſt indifferent and neceſſarie, & therewith ordeined a few, & thoſe moſt wholeſome, to be from thenceforth vſed; according to whoſe preſcript, men might liue in due forme and rightfull order of a ciuill life. Theſe lawes were afterwards called the common lawes, and alſo ſaint Edward his lawes; ſo much eſteemed of the Engliſhmen, that after the conqueſt, when the Normans oftentimes went about to abrogate the ſame, there chanced no ſmall mutinies and rebellions for reteining of thoſe lawes. But here is to be noted, that although they were called ſaint Edwards lawes, they were for the more part made by king Edgar; but now by king Edward reſtored, after they had bin abrogated for a time by the Danes.

The lawes of S. Edward inſtituted.

About this time, earle Godwine died ſuddenlie (as ſome haue recorded) as he ſat at table with the king: and vpon talke miniſtred of the death of Alfred the kings brother, to excuſe himſelfe, he toke a peece of bread, and did eate it, ſaieng; God let me neuer ſwallow this bread downe into my cheſt, but that I may preſentlie be choked therewith, if euer I was wetting or conſenting vnto Alfreds death! and immediatlie therewith he fell downe ſtarke dead. Other ſay, that he ended his life at Wincheſter, where being ſuddenlie ſurpriſed with ſickneſſe, as he ſat at the table with the king vpon an Eaſter monday; yet he liued till the Thurſday following, and then died. His earledome was giuen vnto his ſonne Harold; and Harolds earledome, which was Oxford, was giuen vnto Algar the ſonne of Leofrike.

1052 or 1054

Hector Boet. Polydor. Will. Malmeſ. Matth. Weſt.

Ran. Higd. ex Mariano.

Simon Dun. This is the likelieſt tale.

This Godwine, as he was a man of great power, wiſe, hardie, and politike; ſo was he ambitious, deſirous to beare rule, and loth that anie other perſon ſhould paſſe him in authoritie. But yet, whether all be true that writers report of his malicious practiſes to bring himſelfe and his ſonnes to the chiefe ſeat of gouernement in the kingdome, or that of hatred ſuch ſlanders were raiſed of him, it may of ſome perhaps be doubted; becauſe that in the daies of king Edward (which was a ſoft and gentle prince) he bare great rule and authoritie, and ſo might procure to himſelfe euill report for euerie thing that chanced amiſſe: as oftentimes it commeth to paſſe in ſuch caſes, where thoſe that haue great doings in the gouernement of the common wealth, are commonlie euill ſpoken of, and that now and then without their guilt. But truth it is, that Godwine being in authoritie both in the daies of king Edward and his predeceſſors, did manie things (as ſhould appeare by writers) more by will than by law, and ſo likewiſe did his ſonnes; vpon preſumption of the great puiſſance that they and their father were of within the realme.

Hen. Hunt.

He had to wife Editha, the ſiſter of king Cnute, of whome he begat three ſonnes (as ſome write) that is to ſay, Harold, Biorne, & Toſtie: alſo his daughter Editha, whome he found meanes to beſtow in mariage vpon K. Edward, as before ye haue heard. But other write, that he had but one ſon by Cnutes ſiſter, the which in riding of a rough horſe was throwen into the riuer of Thames, and ſo drowned. His mother alſo was ſtricken with a thunderbolt, & ſo periſhed worthilie (as is reported) for hir naughtie doings. She vſed to buy great numbers of yong perſons, and namelie maids that were of ante excellent beautie and perſonage, whome ſhe ſent ouer into Denmarke, and there ſold them to hir moſt aduantage.

Polydor.

Will. Malm.

vantage. After hir deceasse (as the same authors record) Godwine maried another woman, by whome he had issue six sonnes, Swanus or Swaine, Harrold, Tostie or Tosto, Wilnot, Girth, and Leofrike; of whom further mention is (shall be made, as places conuenient shall serue thereto.

Edward earle of Northumberland discomfiteth *Mackbeth the vsurper of the* Scotish kingdome and placeth Malcolme in *the same, a controuersie whether Siward were at* this discomfiture or no; his stout words when he *heard that one of his sonnes was slaine in the field, bishop Al*dred is sent to fetch home Edward the sonne of K. Edmund Ironside into England; earle Algar being banished ioineth with the Welshmen against the English and Normans, and getteth the victorie; Harold the son of earle Goodwine putteth earle Algar & his retinue to their shifts by pursute, pacification betweene the generals of both armies, their hosts, Siward earle of Northumberland dieth; his giantlike stature, his couragious heart at the time of his deceasse, why Tostie one of Goodwins sonnes succeeded him in the earledome.

## *The fift Chapter.*

Matth. West. 1054 Hector Boet.

ABout the thirteenth yeare of king Edward his reigne (as some write) or rather about the nineteenth or twentith yeare, as should appeare by the Scotish writers, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland with a great power of horsemen went into Scotland, and in battell put to flight Mackbeth that had vsurped the crowne of Scotland, and that done, placed Malcolme surnamed Camoir, the sonne of Duncane, sometime king of Scotland, in the gouernement of that realme, who afterward slue the said Mackbeth, and then reigned in quiet. Some of our English writers say, that this Malcolme was king of Cumberland, but other report him to be sonne to the king of Cumberland. But heere is to be noted, that if Mackbeth reigned till the yeare 1061, and was then slaine by Malcolme, earle Siward was not at that battell; for as our writers do testifie, he died in the yeare 1055, which was in the yeare next after (as the same writers affirme) that he vanquished Mackbeth in fight, and slue manie thousands of Scots, and all those Normans which (as ye haue heard) were withdrawen into Scotland, when they were driuen out of England.

Simon. Dun. M. West.

It is recorded also, that in the foresaid battell, in which earle Siward vanquished the Scots, one of Siwards sonnes chanced to be slaine, whereof although the father had good cause to be sorowfull, yet when he heard that he died of a wound which he had receiued in fighting stoutlie in the forepart of his bodie, and that with his face towards the enimie, he greatlie reioised thereat, to heare that he died so manfullie. But here is to be noted, that not now, but a little before (as Henrie Hunt. saith) that earle Siward went into Scotland himselfe in person, he sent his sonne with an armie to conquere the land, whose hap was there to be slaine; and when his father heard the newes, he demanded whether he receiued the wound whereof he died, in the forepart of of the bodie, or in the hinder part: and when it was told him that he receiued it in the forepart; I reioise (saith he) euen with all my heart, for I would not wish either to my sonne nor to my selfe any other kind of death.

Shortlie after, Aldred the bishop of Worcester was sent vnto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside into England, whome king Edward was desirous to see, meaning to ordeine him heire apparant to the crowne: but he died the same yeare after he came into England. This Edward was surnamed the outlaw: his bodie was buried at Winchester, or (as an other saith) in the church of S. Pauls in London.

Matth. West. 1057

Here Hunt. 1055

¶ About the same time K. Edward by euill counsell (I wot not vpon what occasion, but as it is thought without cause) banished Algar the sonne of earle Leofrike: whereupon he got him into Ireland, and there prouiding 18 ships of rouers, returned, & landing in Wales, ioined himselfe with Griffin the king or prince of Wales, and did much hurt on the borders about Hereford, of which place Rafe was then earle, that was sonne vnto Goda the sister of K. Edward by hir first husband Gualter de Maunt. This earle assembling an armie, came forth to giue battell to the enimies, appointing the Englishmen contrarie to their manner to fight on horsseback, but being readie (on the two & twentith of October) to giue the onset in a place not past two miles from Hereford, he with his Frenchmen and Normans fled, and so the rest were discomfited, whome the aduersaries pursued, and slue to the number of 500, beside such as were hurt and escaped with life. Griffin and Algar hauing obteined this victorie, entered into the towne of Hereford, set the minster on fire, slue seuen of the canons that stood to defend the doores or gates of the principall church, and finallie spoiled and burned the towne miserablie.

Matth. West. Simon Dun.

The welshmen obteine the victorie against Englishmen and Normans.

The king aduertised hereof, gathered an armie, ouer the which Harold the sonne of earle Godwine was made generall, who followed vpon the enimies that fled before him into Northwales, & staied not, till hauing passed through Stratcluid, he came to the mountaines of Snowdon, where he pitched his field. The enimies durst not abide him, but got them into Southwales, whereof Harold being aduertised, left the more part of his armie in Northwales to resist the enimies there, & with the residue of his people came backe vnto Hereford, recouered the towne, and caused a great and mightie trench to be cast round about it, with an high rampire, and fenced it with gates and other fortifications. After this, he did so much, that comming to a communication with Griffin and Algar at a place called Billigelhage, a peace was concluded, and so the naule of earle Algar sailed about, and came to Chester, there to remaine, till the men of warre and marriners had their wages, while he went to the king, who pardoned his offense, & restored him to his earledome.

Stratclud Snowdon.

The citie of Hereford fortified by Harold.

After this, in the verie same yeare, being the 15 of king Edwards reigne, as some writers affirme, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland died of the flix, of whom it is said, that when he perceiued the houre of death to be neere, he caused himselfe to be put in armour, & set vp in his chaire, affirming that a knight and a man of honour ought to die in that sort, rather than lieng on a couch like a feeble and fainthearted creature: and sitting so vpright in his chaire armed at all points, he ended his life, and was buried at Yorke. [O stout harted man, not vnlike to that famous Romane remembred by Tullie in his Tusculane questions, who suffered the sawing of his leg from his bodie without shrinking, loking vpon the surgeon all the while, & hauing no part of his bodie bound for shrinking] The said Siward earle of Northumberland was a man of a giantlike stature, & thereto of a verie stout and hardie courage, & because his sonne Waltef was but an infant, and as yet not out of his cradell, the earledome was giuen vnto earle Tostie one of Godwins sonnes.

The death of Siward earle of Northumberland. Ran. Higd.

Edward the outlaw departed this life. 1057 Leofrike earle of Chester departed this life. Ran. Higd. Mat. West.

Conuentrie made free of toll and custome.

Churches in Chester built.

Henr. Hunt. Algar earle of Chester exiled. 1058

Simon Dun. 1063 Simon Dun. Mat. West.

Edward the ſonne of Edmund Iron-
*ſide is ſent for to be made heire apparant to*
crowne, his death, the deceaſſe of Leofrike
*earle of Cheſter, the vertues and good deeds of*
him and his wife Gudwina, Couentrie free from cu-
*ſtome and toll, churches and religious places builded and re-*
pared, Algar ſucceedeth his father Leofrike in the earledome,
he is accuſed of treaſon and baniſhed, he recouereth his earle-
dome by force of armes; Harold is ſent with a power againſt
Griffin king of Wales; the countrie waſted, and the people
forced to yeeld, they renounce Griffin their king, kill him,
and ſend his head to Harold, Griffins brethren rule Wales af-
ter him by grant of king Edward; Harolds infortunate going
ouer into Normandie, the earle of Ponthieu taketh him pri-
ſoner, and releaſeth him at the requeſt of William duke
of Normandie, for whoſe vſe Harold ſweareth to
keepe poſſeſſion of the realme of England,
the duke promiſeth him his daughter
in mariage.

## *The ſixt Chapter.*

NOt long after, in the yeare 1057, Aldred biſhop of Worceſter, was ſent ouer vnto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the ſonne of Edmund Ironſide into England, whome king Edward was deſirous to ſée, meaning to ordeine him heire apparant to the crowne: but he died the ſame yeare, after that he was returned into England. Edward the outlaw departed this life.

This Edward was ſurnamed the outlaw: his bodie was buried at Weſtminſter, or (as others ſay) in the church of S. Paule within London. The ſame yeare, that is to ſay, in the ſeuentéenth yeare or in the ſixteenth yeare of king Edwards reigne (as ſome write) Leofrike the noble earle of Cheſter, or Mercia, that was ſonne to duke Leofwine, departed this life in his owne towne of Bromelie on the laſt day of Auguſt, and was buried at Couentrie in the abbeie there which he had builded. This earle Leofrike was a man of great honor, wiſe and diſcréet in all his dooings. His high wiſdome and policie ſtood the realme in great ſtéed whileſt he liued. 1057 Leofrike earle of Cheſter departed this life. Ran. Higd. Mat. Weſt.

He had a noble ladie to his wife named Gudwina, at whoſe earneſt ſute he made the citie of Couentrie frée of all manner of toll, except horſſes: and to haue that toll laid downe alſo, his foreſaid wife rode naked through the middeſt of the towne without other couerture, ſaue onlie hir haire. Moreouer, partlie moued by his owne deuotion, and partlie by the perſuaſion of his wife, he builded or beneficiallie augmented and repared manie abbeies & churches, as the ſaid abbeie or priorie at Couentrie, the abbeies of Wenlocke, Worceſter, Stone, Eueſham, and Leof beſides Hereford. Also he builded two churches within the citie of Cheſter, the one called S. Johns, and the other S. Werburgh. The value of the iewels & ornaments which he beſtowed on the abbeie church of Couentrie, was ineſtimable. Couentrie made frée of toll and cuſtome. Churches in Cheſter built.

After Leofriks death, his ſonne Algar was made earle, and intituled in all his lands and ſeignories. In the yeare following, to wit, 1058 the ſame Algar was accuſed againe (through malice of ſome enuious perſons) of treaſon, ſo that he was exiled the land, whereupon he repaired againe vnto his old friend Griffin prince of Northwales, of whome he was ioifullie receiued, & ſhortlie after by his aid, & alſo by the power of a nauie of ſhips that by chance arriued in thoſe parts at that ſelfe ſame ſeaſon vnlooked for out of Norwaie, the ſaid Algar recouered his earledome by force, as ſome haue written. King Edward about the twentith yeare of his reigne, as Henr. Hunt. Algar earle of Cheſter exiled. 1058 Simon Dun. 1063 Simon Dun. Mat. Weſt.

then remaining at Gloceſter, appointed earle Harold to inuade the dominions of Griffin king of Wales. Harold taking with him a power of horſſemen, made ſpéed, and came to Rutland, and there burned Griffins palace, and alſo his ſhips, and then about Midlent returned againe into England.

After this, about the Rogation wéeke, Harold eſſoines by the kings commandement went againſt the Welſhmen, and taking the ſea, ſailed by Briſtow, round about the coaſt, compaſſing in maner all Wales. His brother Toſtie that was earle of Northumberland, met him by appointment with an hoſt of horſſemen, and ſo ioining togither, they deſtroied the countrie of Wales in ſuch ſort, that the Welſhmen were compelled to ſubmit themſelues, to deliuer hoſtages, and conditioned to paie the ancient tribute which before time they had paied. And moreouer, they renounced their prince the forenamed Griffin, ſo that he remained as a baniſhed perſon: and finallie, about the fift day of Auguſt, they ſlue him, and ſent his head to earle Harold. Afterwards king Edward granted the rule of Wales vnto Blengent or Blethgent, & Riuall, Griffins two brethren, which did homagé vnto him for the ſame, and had ſerued vnder Harold againſt their brother the foreſaid Griffin. There be which write, that not onelie Griffin, but alſo another of his brethren called Rice, was brought to his death by the manfull meanes and politike order of earle Harold, & all the ſauage people of Wales reduced into the forme of good order vnder the ſubiection of king Edward. Wales deſtroied and harried by the Engliſhmen. The Welſhmen agrée to pay their accuſtomed tribute. 1064 Wil. Malm. Simon. Dun. Wil. Malm.

Shortlie after, earle Harold chanced to paſſe ouer into Normandie, whither of hap or of purpoſe it is hard to define, writers doo varie ſo much in report thereof. Some write that he made earneſt ſute to king Edward, to haue licence to go ouer to ſée his brother Wilnot, and his nephue Hacune, which (as ye haue heard) were deliuered as pledges to king Edward, & ſent into Normandie to remaine there with duke William, and at length with much adoo, got leaue: but yet he was told aforehand of the king, that he would repent his iournie, and doo the thing that ſhould be preiudiciall to the realme. Other write that Harold lieng at his manor of Boſham, went aboord one day into his fiſhers boat or craier, and cauſed the ſame to launch forth to the ſea for his pleaſure: but by miſfortune at the ſame time, a contrarie wind ſuddenlie came about, and droue the veſſell on land into France vpon the coaſt of Ponthieu, where he was taken by the countrie people, & preſented to the earle of Ponthieu named Guie or Guido, who kept him as priſoner, meaning to put him to a grieuous ranſome. But Harold remembring himſelfe of a wile, diſpatched a meſſenger forth with all ſpéed vnto William duke of Normandie, ſignifieng vnto him, that he being ſent from king Edward to confirme ſuch articles, as other meane men that had béene ſent vnto him afore had talked of, by chance he was fallen into the hands of the earle of Ponthieu, and kept as priſoner againſt all order of law, reaſon, or humanitie. Duke William thus informed by the meſſenger, ſent to the earle of Ponthieu, requiring him to ſet earle Harold at libertie, that he might repaire to him according to his commiſſion. The earle of Ponthieu at the dukes requeſt, did not onelie reſtore Harold to his libertie, but alſo brought him into Normandie, and preſented him there to the duke, of whome he was moſt ioifullie receiued. Harold goeth ouer into Normandie. Polydor. Edmerus. Mat. Weſt. Wil. Malm. Harold is preſented to William duke of Normandie. Hen. Hunt.

There be that agrée partlie with this report, and partlie varie: for they write, that earle Harold toke the ſea vpon purpoſe to haue ſailed into Flanders, and that by force of wind he was driuen to the coaſt of Ponthieu, and ſo after came into Normandie in

maner as before is mentioned. But by what means or occasion soeuer he came thither, certeine it is, that he was ioifullie receiued, and had great cheere made him by the said duke William, who at that time was readie to make a iournie against the Britains, and toke earle Harold with him to haue his companie in armes in that iournie, that he might haue the better triall of his valiancie. Earle Harold behaued himselfe so, that he shewed good proofe both of his wisedome and policie, and also of his forwardnesse to execute that with hand, which by wit he had deuised, so that duke William had him in high fauour, and (as it hath beene said) earle Harold (to procure him more friendship at the dukes hands) declared vnto him, that king Edward had ordeined him his heire if he died without issue, and that he would not faile to keepe the realme of England to the dukes vse, according to that ordinance, if K. Edward died without issue. And to performe this promise, he receiued a corporall oth, whether willinglie to win the more credit, or forced thereto by duke William, writers report it diuerslie. At the same time, duke William promised vnto him his daughter in marriage, whom Harold couenanted in like maner to take to wife.

Harold was highlie welcomed of duke William.

Matth. West. Duke William promised to Harold his daughter in marriage.

Harold at his returne into England reporteth to K. Edward what he had doone beyond the seas, and what the king said vnto him in that behalfe, who foresaw the comming of the Normans into this land to conquer it; when and why king Edward promised to make duke William his heire,

(wherein note his subtiltie) dissention betwixt Harold and Tostie two brethren the sonnes of earle Goodwine, their vnnaturall and cruell dealing one with another, speciallie of the abhominable and merciles murthers committed by Tostie, against whome the Northumbers rebell vpon diuerse occasions, and reward him with answerable reuengement; Harold is sent against them, but preuaileth not; they offer to returne home if they might haue a new gouernor; they renounce Tostie and require Marchar in his roome, Tostie displeased getteth him into Flanders; king Edward dieth, his manners and disposition note-woorthie, his charitie and deuotion, the vertue of curing the maladie called the kings euill deriued from him to the succeeding kings of this land, he was warned of his death by a ring, he is canonized for a saint, the last woords that he spake on his death-bed, wherein he vttered to the standers by a vision, propheseing that England should be inhabited with strangers, a description of the kings person, of a blasing starre fore-telling his death, the progenie of the West-saxon kings, how long they continued, the names of their predecessors and successors; whence the first kings of seuen kingdoms of Germanie had their pedegree, &c.

## The seuenth Chapter.

Polydor.

NOw when Harold should returne into England, duke William deliuered him his nephue Hacune, but kept his brother Wilnote with him still as a pledge. Then went earle Harold into England, and declared vnto king Edward what he had done, who said vnto him; Did not I tell thee that thou wouldest do the thing whereof thou shouldest repent thee, and procure a mischiefe to follow vnto thy countrie? But God of his mercie turne that euill hap from this realme, or at the least, if it be his pleasure, that it must needs come to passe, yet to staie it till after my daies! Some by Harolds purposed going ouer into Normandie, do gather, that king Edward foresaw the comming of the Normans; and that he meant nothing lesse, than to performe the promise made vnto duke William, as to adopt him his heire, which promise should seeme to be made in time of his banish-

When the promise was made by king Edward to make duke William his heire.

ment, when he stood in need of his friendship; as the maner of men in such cases is, to promise much, holy so euer they intend to fulfill. But rather it maie be thought, that king Edward had made no such promise at all, but perceiued the ambitious desire of duke William, and therefore would not that anie occasion should be ministred vnto him to take hold of. Wherefore, he was loth that Harold should go ouer vnto him, least that might happen, which happened in deed.

In the foure and twentieth and last yeere of king Edward his reigne, or therabout, there fell variance betwixt the two brethren, earle Harold and earle Tostie at Windsor, where the court then lay, in so much that earle Harold caught Tostie by the haire of the head in the kings presence, and stroke him. Herevpon, Tostie departing from the court in great anger, came to Hereford in the marches of Wales, where Harolds seruants were preparing for the kings comming to their maisters house, which seruants he toke and slue, chopping them in peeces, and threw into this hogshead of wine a leg, into that barrell of sider an arme, into this vessell of ale an head: and so into the tomes of meth and tubs of brine and other liquor he bestowed the parts of the dead carcasses of his brothers seruants, sending the king word that he had prouided at his brothers manor, against his cõming, good plentie of sowse & powdred meat, what soeuer he should find beside.

Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Fabian. Falling out betwixt the brethren.

The cruell dealing of earle Tostie.

The rumor of this cruell deed sprang ouer all the realme, whereupon the Northumbers, whome he had gouerned for the space of ten yeeres verie cruellie, toke occasion to rebell against him, and slue his seruants both Englishmen and Danes, spoiled his houses, and toke awaie his horsses, his armour, and all other his goods and houshold stuffe. The chiefest cause (as is remembred by some writers) that moued the Northumbers thus to rise and rebell against Tostie, was for the detestable murther of certeine gentlemen of their countrie, seruants vnto Gospatrike, whom the queene in behalfe of hir brother had caused to be slaine in the court by treason, in the fourth night of Christmas last past, and also in reuenge of other noblemen, which in the last yeere Tostie himselfe had commanded to be murthered in his owne chamber at Yorke, whither he had allured them to come vnder colour of concluding a peace with them. Also the greeuous paiments, wherewith he charged the people of that countrie, set them in a great rage against him.

The Northumbers rebell against Tostie their earle.

A diuell ketching gambals.

But the king aduertised hereof, lsked not their dooings, for that they had done it without commandement or commission, and therefore sent earle Harold with an armie to chastise them, but they were strong inough to withstand him, as those which were assembled in armour togither with the people of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Darbishire, and hauing with them Marcharus or Malcharus, the sonne of earle Algar, were come as farre as Northampton, doing much hurt in the parts therabouts. Howbeit to haue the kings peace, they offered to returne home, so that they might haue an other earle appointed them, for that they plainlie protested, that they being freemen, borne and bred out of bondage, might not suffer anie cruell gouernor to rule ouer them, being taught by their ancestors, either to liue in libertie, or to die in defense thereof. If therefore it might please the king to assigne Marcharus the son of earle Algar to be their ruler, he should see how obedient subiects they would proue: shew themselues to be, when they should be vsed after a reasonable and courteous manner. All things considered, their request seemed reasonable, or at least it was thought necessarie that it should be granted. And so was

Wil. Malm.

A tale of a ring.

King Edward canonized for a saint.

Wil. Malms. Matt. Westm.

Marcharus

Marcharus made earle of Northumberland.

Marcharus or Walcherus made earle of Northumberland. Tostie in great displeasure with his wife and children sailed ouer into Flanders, and there remained till after the decease of king Edward.

K. Edward departed this life. Simon Dun.

Finallie, after that this courteous prince king Edward had reigned three and twentie yeeres, seuen moneths, and od daies, he departed this life at London the fourth of Januarie, and was buried in the church of Westminster, which he had in his life time roiallie repared, after such a statelie sort as few churches in those daies were like thereunto within this realme, so that afterwards the same was a paterne for other to be built after the same forme. This Edward was a prince of such a vertuous disposition of mind, that his fame of holinesse sprang ouer all. He abhorred warres and shedding of bloud, in so much that when he liued as a banished man in Normandie, he had this saieng oftentimes in his mouth, that he had rather liue a priuate life for euer, than to obteine the kingdome by the slaughter and death of anie man. He could not abide to haue the people oppressed with tributes or exactions, in so much that he caused the paiment called Danegilt (which had continued for the space almost of fortie yeeres) to ceasse. It hath beene said, that when the collectors of this monie, or some other subsidie, had got an huge quantitie of treasure togither, they brought it vnto him, and laid it altogither vpon an heape, so to delight his eies: but he declaring that he saw a diuell plaieng and fetching gambols about that heape of monie, commanded that it should be had awaie, and restored againe to them of whome it was leauied.

K. Edward his maners and disposition of mind described.

A diuell fetching gambols.

In diet and apparell he was spare and nothing sumptuous: and although on high feasts he ware rich apparell, as became the maiestie of his roiall personage: yet he shewed no proud nor loftie countenance, rather praising God for his bountifull goodnesse towards him extended, than esteeming herein the vaine pompe of the world. The pleasure that he toke chieflie in this world for refreshing of his wits, consisted onelie in hawking and hunting, which exercises he dailie vsed, after he had first beene in the church at diuine seruice. In other things he seemed wholie giuen to a deuout trade of life, charitable to the poore, and verie liberall, namelie to hospitals and houses of religion in the parties of beyond the sea, wishing euer that the monks and religious persons of his realme would haue followed the vertue and holinesse of life vsed amongst them of forren parties. As hath beene thought he was inspired with the gift of prophesie, and also to haue had the gift of healing infirmities and diseases. He vsed to helpe those that were vexed with the disease, commonlie called the kings euill, and left that vertue as it were a portion of inheritance vnto his successors the kings of this realme.

A tale of a ring.

He was warned (as hath beene reported) of his death certeine daies before he died, by a ring that was brought him by certeine pilgrims comming from Hierusalem, which ring he had secretlie giuen to a poore man that asked his charitie in the name of God and saint John the Euangelist. But to conclude, such was the opinion conceiued of his holinesse of life, that shortlie after his decease, he was canonized amongst the number of saints, and named Edward the Confessor. Whilest he lay sicke of that sickenesse, whereof at length he died, after he had remained for two daies speechlesse, the third day after when he had laine for a time in a slumber or soft sleepe, at the time of his waking, he fetched a deepe sigh, and thus said; Oh Lord God almightie, if this be not a vaine fantasticall illusion, but a true vision which I haue seene, grant me space to vtter the same vnto these that stand heere present, or else not. And herewith hauing his speech perfect, he declared how he had seene two monks stand by him as he thought, whome in his youth he knew in Normandie to haue liued godlie, and died christianlie. These monks (said he) protesting to me that they were the messengers of God, spake these words; Because the chiefe gouernors of England, the bishops and abbats, are not the ministers of God, but the diuels, the almightie God hath deliuered this kingdome for one yeere and a day into the hands of the enimie, and wicked spirits shall walke abroad through the whole land. And when I made answer that I would declare these things to the people, and promised on their behalfe, that they should do penance in following the example of the Ninuites: they said againe, that it would not be, for neither should the people repent, nor God take anie pitie vpon them. And when is there hope to haue an end of these miseries said I? Then said they; When a grene tree is cut in sunder in the middle, and the part cut off is caried three acres bredth from the stocke, and returning againe to the stoale, shall ioine therewith, and begin to bud & beare fruit after the former maner, by reason of the sap renewing the accustomed nourishment; then (I say) may there be hope that such euils shall ceasse and diminish. ¶ With which words of the king, though some other that stood by were brought in feare, yet archbishop Stigand made but a iest thereof, saieng, that the old man raued now in his sickenesse, as men of great yeeres vse to do. Neuertheless the truth of this prophesie afterwards too plainlie appeared, when England became the habitation of new strangers, in such wise, that there was neither gouernor, bishop, nor abbat remaining therein of the English nation. But now to make an end with king Edward, he was of person comelie, & of an indifferent stature, of white haire, both head and beard, of face ruddie, and in all parts of his bodie faire skinned, with due state and proportion of limbs as was thereto conuenient. In the yeere before the death of king Edward, a blasing starre appeared, the which when a monke of Malmesburie named Eilmer beheld, he vttered these words (as it were by way of prophesieng:) Thou art come (saith he) thou art come, much to be lamented of manie a mother: it is long agone sith I saw thee, but now I do behold thee the more terrible, threatening destruction to this countrie by thy dreadfull appearance. In the person of king Edward ceased by his death the noble progenie of the Westsaxon kings, which had continued from the first yeare of the reigne of Cerdike or Cerdicius, the space of 547 yeeres complet. And from Egbert 266 yeeres.

King Edward canonized for a saint.

Wil. Malms. Matt. Westm.

Moreouer, sith the progenie of the Saxon kings seemeth wholie to take end with this Edward surnamed the Confessor, or the third of that name before the conquest, we haue thought good for the better helpe of memorie to referre the reader to a catalog of the names as well of those that reigned among the Westsaxons (who at length, as ye haue heard, obteined the whole monarchie) as also of them which ruled in the other seuen kingdomes before the same were vnited vnto the said kingdome of the Westsaxons, which catalog you shall find in the description of Britaine, pag. 17, 18, 19.

Here is to be remembred, that as partlie before is expressed, we find in some old writers, how the first kings of seuen kingdomes of the Germane nation that bare rule in this Ile, fetcht their pedegrees from one Woden, who begat of Frea his wife seuen sonnes, that is to say, 1 Uecta, of whome came the kings of Kent, 2 Fethelgeta, or Frethegeath, from whome the kings of Mercia descended, 3 Balday, of whose race the kings of the Westsaxons had their

Matt. West.

originall, 4 Beldagius, ancestor to the kings of Bernicia, and the Northumbers, 5 Wegodach or Wegdagus, from whome came the kings of Deira, 6 Caser, from whome proceeded the kings of the Eastangles, 7 Nascad alias Saruad, of whome the kings of the Eastsaxons had their beginning. And here you must note, that although the kings of the eight kingdome, that is, of the Southsaxons or Suller, were descended of the same people, yet were they not of the same line. By other it should seeme, that Woden had but fiue sonnes: as Uecta, great grandfather to Hengist; Wepedeg, ancestor to the kings of the Eastangles; Uiclac, from whome proceeded the kings of Mercia; Saruad, from whom the kings of Esser came; and Beldag, of whose generation proceeded the kings of the Southsaxons, Westsaxons, and the Northumbers. Moreouer, there be that bring the genealogie from Noe or Noah, the sonne of Lamech, which Noe was the 9 in descent from Adam, and Woden the 15 from Noe, as you shall find in the historie of England, lib. 6. pag. 141. col. 2. Noe was the father to Sem the father of Bedwi, the father of Wala, the father of Hatria or Hathra, the father of Itermod, the father of Heremod, the father of Sheaf or Seaf, the father of Seldoa or Sceldna, the father of Beatu or Beau, the father of Theathwy alias Tadwa or Teathwy, the father of Geta, reputed for a god among the gentiles, the father of Fingodulph otherwise Godulph, the father of Fritwolfe otherwise Friuin, the father of Freolaf alias Freolater, the father of Frethwold or Friderwald, the father of the aforenamed Woden or Othen.

Simon Dun. Io. Textor.

## The peeres are in doubt to whome the *rule of the land should be committed*, why they durst not that Edgar Edeling should vn*dertake it though he was interessed to the same*, how William duke of Normandie pretended a right *to the crowne*, *Harold the sonne of earle Goodwine crowned*, proclaimed, and consecrated king; his subtill and adulatorie meanes to win the peoples fauour; duke William sendeth ambassadors to Harold to put him in mind of a promise passed to the said duke for his furtherance to obteine the crowne; Harolds negatiue answer to the said ambassage, as also to the marieng of the dukes daughter which was Harolds owne voluntarie motion; he prouideth against the inuasions of the enimie as one doubting afterclaps, a blasing starre of seuen daies continuance.

# *The eight Chapter.*

*Harold.*

K. Edward departed this life An Christi 1065, after the account of the church of England. Matth. West. Polydor.

KIng Edward being thus departed this life, the peeres of the land were in great doubt & perplexitie to whome they might best commit the roiall gouernement of the realme. For there was not anie among them that had iust title thereto, or able and apt to take the charge vpon him. For although Edgar surnamed Edeling, the sonne of Edward the outlaw, that was sonne of Edmund Ironside, was at the same time latelie come into England, with his mother and sisters out of Hungarie where he was borne: yet for that he was but a child, & not of sufficient age to beare rule, they durst not as then commit the gouernement of the realme vnto him, least (as some haue thought) his tendernesse of age might first breed a contempt of his person, and therewith minister occasion to ciuill discord, whereby a shipwracke of the estate might ensue, to the great annoie and present ouerthrow of such as then liued in the same. But what consideration soeuer they had in this behalfe, they ought not to haue defrauded the yong gentleman of his lawfull right to the crowne. For as we haue heard and seene, God, whose prouidence and mightie power is shewed by ouerthrowing of high and mightie things now and then, by the weake and feeble hath gouerned states and kingdomes oftentimes in as good quiet and princelie policie by a child, as by men of age and great discretion.

Edeling, that is, a noble man, and such one as is come of the kings bloud.

But to the purpose, beside the doubt which rested among the lords, how to bestow the crowne, the manifold and strange wonders, which were seene and heard in those daies, betokening (as men thought) some change to be at hand in the state of the realme, made the lords afraid, and namelie bicause they stood in great doubt of William duke of Normandie, who pretended a right to the crowne, as lawfull heire appointed by king Edward, for that he was kin to him in the second and third degree. For Richard the first of that name duke of Normandie, begot Richard the second, and Emma; which Emma bare Edward by hir husband Ethelred. Richard the second had also issue Richard the third, and Robert, which Robert by a concubine had issue William, surnamed the bastard, that was now duke of Normandie, and after the death of his cosine king Edward, made claime (as is said) to the crowne of England.

Dukes of Normandie.

Whilest the lords were thus studieng and consulting what should be best for them to doo in these doubts, Harold, the son of Godwine earle of Kent, proclaimed himselfe king of England: the people being not much offended therewith, bicause of the great confidence and opinion which they had latelie conceiued of his valiancie. Some write (among whome Edmerus is one) how king Edward ordeined before his death, that Harold should succeed him as heire to the crowne, and that thereupon the lords immediatlie after the said Edwards decease, crowned Harold for their king, and so he was consecrated by Aldred archbishop of Yorke, according to the custom and maner of the former kings, or (as other affirme) he set the crowne on his owne head without anie the accustomed ceremonies, in the yeere after the birth of our sauiour 1066, or in the yeere of Christ 1065, after the account of the church of England (as before is noted.)

Harold proclaimed king of England.

Edmerus.

Matth. West.

But how and whensoeuer he came to the seat roiall of this kingdome, certeine it is, that this Harold in the begining of his reigne, considering with himselfe how and in what sort he had taken vpon him the rule of the kingdome, rather by intrusion than by anie lawfull right, studied by all meanes which way to win the peoples fauour, and omitted no occasion whereby he might shew anie token of bountious liberalitie, gentlenesse and courteous behauiour towards them. The grieuous customes also and tares which his predecessors had raised, he either abolished or diminished: the ordinarie wages of his seruants and men of warre he increased, and further shewed himselfe verie well bent to all vertue and goodnesse, whereby he purchased no small fauor among such as were his subiects.

Harold laboureth to win the peoples hearts. Sim. Dunel.

Whilest Harold went about thus to steale the peoples good willes, there came ouer vnlooked for sundrie ambassadours from William the bastard duke of Normandie, with commission to require him to remember his oth sometime made to the said William in the time of his extremitie, which was, that he the said Harold should aid him in the obteining of the crowne of England, if king Edward should happen to die without issue. This couenant he made (as it is supposed) in king Edwards daies, when (by licence of the same Edward, or rather (as Edmerus writeth) against his will) he went ouer into Normandie to visit his brethren, which laie there as

In ambassage from Normandie.

Rog. Houed. Simon Dun.

as pledges.

K. Harolds answer.

Holbeit at this preſent, Harolds anſwer to the ſaid ambaſſadors was, that he would be readie to gratifie the duke in all that he could demand, ſo that he would not aſke the realme, which alreadie he had in his full poſſeſſion. And further he declared vnto them (as ſome write) that as for the oth which he had Eadmerus. made in times paſt vnto duke William, the ſame was but a conſtreined & no voluntarie oth, which in Matth. West. law is nothing; ſince thereby he tooke vpon him to grant that which was not in his power to giue, he being but a ſubiect whileſt king Edward was liuing. For if a promiſed vow or oth which a maid maketh concerning the beſtowing of hir bodie in hir fathers houſe, without his conſent, is made void; much more an oth by him made that was a ſubiect, and vnder the rule of a king, without his ſouereignes conſent, ought to be void and of no value. He alledged moreouer, that as for him to take an oth to deliuer the inheritance of anie realme without the generall conſent of the eſtates of the ſame, could not be other than a great peece of preſumption, yea although he might haue iuſt title therevnto; ſo it was an vnreaſonable requeſt of the duke at this preſent to will him to renounce the kingdome, the gouernance whereof he had alreadie taken vpon him, with ſo great fauor and good liking of all men.

Duke William hauing receiued this anſwer, and nothing liking thereof, ſent once againe to Harold, requiring him then at the leaſt-wiſe, that he would take his daughter to wife, according to his former promiſe; in refuſing whereof he could make no ſound allegation, becauſe it was a thing of his owne motion, and in his abſolute power, both to grant and to performe. But Harold being of a ſtout courage, with proud countenance frowned vpon the Norman ambaſſadors, and declared to them that his mind was nothing bent as then to yeeld therevnto in any maner of wiſe. And ſo with other talke tending to the like effect he ſent them away without anie further anſwer. The daughter of duke William whome Harold ſhould haue maried, was named Adeliza, as Gemeticenſis. Gemeticenſis ſaith, and with hir (as the ſame author writeth) it was couenanted by duke William, that Harold ſhould inioy halfe the realme in name of hir Wil. Malm. dower. Holbeit ſome write that this daughter of duke William was departed this life before the comming of theſe ambaſſadors, and that Harold thereupon thought himſelfe diſcharged of the oth and couenants made to duke William, and therefore ſent them away with ſuch an vntoward anſwer.

Duke William ſendeth to king Harold.

Polydor. But howſoeuer it was, after the departure of theſe ambaſſadors, king Harold (doubting what would inſue) cauſed his ſhips to be newlie rigged, his men of warre to be muſtered, and ſpeedilie put in a readineſſe, to the end that if anie ſudden inuaſion ſhould be made and attempted by his enimie, he might be able to reſiſt them. ¶ About the ſame time alſo, and vpon the 24 of Aprill (whileſt Harold was making prouiſion to withſtand the Norman force) there appeared a blaſing ſtarre, which was ſeene not onelie here in England, but alſo in other parts of the world, and continued the ſpace of ſeuen daies. This Rog. Houed. Simon Dun. blaſing ſtarre might be a prediction of miſchéefe imminent & hanging ouer Harolds head; for they neuer appeare but as prognoſticats of afterclaps. To be reſolutelie inſtructed herein, doo but peruſe a treatiſe intituled; A doctrine generall of comets or blaſing ſtarres publiſhed by a biſhop of Mentz in Latine, and ſet forth in Engliſh by Abraham Fleming vpon the apparition of a blaſing ſtarre ſéene in the ſouthweſt, on the 10 of Nouember 1577, and dedicated to the right worſhipfull ſir William Cordell knight, then maiſter of hir maieſties rolles, &c.

Earle Toſtie afflicteth his brother Harold on ſea and land, he taketh the repulſe, and perſuadeth Harfager king of Norweie to attempt the conqueſt of England againſt Harold, Harfager & Toſtie with their powers arriue at Humber, they fight with the Northumbers vnder the conduct of Edwine and Marchar, and diſcomfit them; Harold leuieth an armie againſt them, the rare valiantnes of a Norwegian ſouldior; Harfager and Toſtie ſlaine in battell; the Norwegians are foiled and flie; Harolds vnequall and parciall diuiding of the ſpoile, he goeth to Yorke to reforme things amiſſe.

## The ninth Chapter.

WHileſt Harold deſirous to reteine, and verie loth to let go his vſurped roialtie, had cracht his credit with the duke of Normandie, and by his lewd reuolting from voluntarie promiſes ratified with ſolemne othes, had alſo kindled the fire of the dukes furie againſt him; it came to paſſe, that the proud and preſumptuous man was (to begin withall) vered in his owne fleſh, I meane his owne kinred. For Toſtie the brother of king Harold (who in the daies of king Edward for his crueltie had béene chaſed out of the realme by the Northumbers) returning out of Flanders, aſſembled a nauie of ſhips from diuers parts to the number of 60, with the which he arriued in the Ile of Wight, & there ſpoiled the countrie, and afterward ſailing about by the coaſts of Kent, he tooke ſundrie preies their alſo, and came at the laſt to Sandwich: ſo that Harold was now conſtreined to appoint the nauie which he had prepared againſt the Normans, to go againſt his brother earle Toſtie. Whereof the ſaid Toſtie being aduertiſed, drew towards Lindſey in Lincolnſhire, and there taking land did much hurt in the countrie, both with ſword and fire, till at length Edwine earle of Mercia, and Marchar earle of Northumberland, aided with the kings nauie, chaſed him from thence, and cauſed him to flie into Scotland, not without ſome loſſe both of his men and ſhips.

Toſtie ſéekes to diſquiet his brother. Matt. VVeſt. ſaith but 40.

Polydor. Ran. Higd. Sim. Dun.

Wil. Malm.

Toſtie repelled. Polydor. Ran. Higd.

This trouble was ſcarſe quieted, but ſtreightwaies another came in the necke thereof, farre more dangerous than the firſt. For Toſtie, perceiuing that he could get no aid in Scotland to make anie account of, ſailed forth into Norweie, and there perſuaded Harold Harfager king of that realme, to ſaile with an armie into England, perſuading him that by meanes of ciuill diſſention latelie kindled betwixt the king and his lords (which was not ſo) it ſhould be an eaſie matter for him to make a conqueſt of the whole realme, and reigne ouer them as his predeceſſors had done before. Some authors affirme, that Harold king of Norwey tooke this enterpriſe in hand of his owne mind, and not by procurement of Toſtie, ſaieng, that Toſtie méeting with him in Scotland, did perſuade him to go forward in his purpoſed buſines, and that the ſaid Harold Harfager with all conuenient ſpéed paſſed forth, & with a nauie of 300 ſaile entered into the riuer of Tine, where after he had reſted a few daies to refreſh his people, earle Toſtie came alſo with his power (according to an appointment which ſhould be made betweene them.) They adde furthermore, that they ſailed forth alongſt the coaſt, till they arriued in the mouth of Humber, & then drawing vp againſt the ſtreame of the riuer Owſe, they landed at length at a place called Richhall, from whence they ſet forward to inuade

Harold Harfager king of Norweie.

Matt. Weſt. Simon Dun.

Simon Dun. ſaith 500.

The Norwegians arriue in Humber.

Richhall. Hen. Hunt.

uade the countrie, & neere vnto Yorke on the northside of the citie, they fought with the power of the Northumbers, which was led by the earls Edwine and Marchar (two brethren) and there discomfited and chased them into the citie, with great slaughter and bloudshed.

The Englishmen discomfited.

This battell was fought on the euen of S. Matthew the apostle, as saith Si. Dun.

Harold king of England being aduertised of this chance, made the more hast forward (for he was alreadie in the field with his armie, intending also to come towards his enimies) so that vpon the fift day after he came to Stamford bridge, finding there the said king Harfager and Tostie readie imbattelled, he first assailed those that kept the bridge, where (as some writers affirme) a Norwegian souldier with his axe defended the passage, mauger the whole host of the Englishmen, and slue fortie of them or more with his axe, & might not be ouercome, till an Englishman went with a boat vnder the said bridge, and through an hole thereof thrust him vp into the bodie with his speare: yet Matt. West. saith that he was slaine with a dart which one of king Harold his seruants threw at him, & so ended his life. Which bridge being woone, the whole host of the Englishmen passed ouer, and ioined with their enimies, and after a verie great and sore battell put them all to flight.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matt. West.

The Norwegians discomfited.

In this conflict Harold Harfager king of the Norwegians was slaine, & so was Tostie the king of England his brother, besides a great number of other, as well in the battell as in the chase: neither did the Englishmen escape all free, for the Norwegians fought it out a long time verie stoutlie, beating downe and killing great numbers of such as assailed them with great courage and assurance. The residue of the Norwegians that were left to keepe their ships vnder the guiding of Olaue sonne to the king of Norwaie, and Paule earle of Orkneie, after they vnderstood by their fellowes that escaped from the field, how the mater went with Harfager and Tostie, they hoised vp their sailes and directed their course homewards, bearing sorowfull newes with them into their countrie, of the losse of their king and ouerthrow of all his people. Some write, that the king of England permitted them frankelie to depart with 20 ships, hauing first caused them to deliuer such hostages as they had receiued of the citizens of Yorke. Harold reioising in that he had atteined so glorious a victorie, and being now surprised with pride and couetousnesse togither, he diuided the spoile of the field nothing equallie, but to such as he fauored he distributed liberallie, and to other (though they had much better deserued) he gaue nothing at all, reteining still the best part of all to himselfe, by reason whereof he lost the fauor of manie of his men, who for this his discourtesie, did not a little alienate their good willes from him. This done, he repaired to Yorke, and there staied for a time to reforme the disordered state of the countrie, which by reason of these warres was greatlie out of frame.

The king of Norwaie and Tostie slaine.

This battell was fought on the 25 of September as saith Si. Dun.

Matth. West.

Simon Dun.

M. West. Vnequall diuiding of the spoile.

Wil. Malm.

¶ But Harold being more presumptuous and foolehardie, than prouident and wise in his enterprise; bending all his force to redresse enormities in those quarters of Yorkeshire (much like vnto him, whom the Comediographer marketh for a fole, *Ea tantùm quæ ad pedes iacent contemplans, non autem ventura præuidens*) neglected the kinglie care which he should haue had of other parts of his realme, from the which he had withdrawen himselfe, and (as it is likelie) had not left sufficientlie prouided of a conuenient vicegerent to gouerne the same by his warranted authoritie, and such fortifications as might expell and withstand the enimie. Which want of foresight gaue occasion to the enimie to attempt an inuasion of the English coasts, as in the next chapt. shall be shewed.

William duke of Normandie prepareth *to inuade England and to conquere it*, the earle of Flanders and the French king assist *him, the number of his ships, his arriuall at Peuensey* in Sussex, vpon what occasions he entred this *realme; the pope liked well duke Williams attempt, why king* Harold was hated of the whole court of Rome; why duke William would not suffer his souldiers to wast the countries where they came; Harold goeth towards his enimies, why his vnskilfull espials tooke the Normans (being old beaten souldiers) for priests; Girth dissuadeth his brother Harold from present incountering with the duke; where note the conscience that is to be had of an oth, and that periurie can not scape vnpunished.

## *The tenth Chapter.*

WIlliam duke of Normandie hauing knowledge after what maner K. Harold was busied in the north parts of his realme, and vnderstanding that the south parts thereof remained destitute of due prouision for necessarie defense, hasted with all diligence to make his puruiance of men and ships, that he might vpon such a conuenient occasion set forward to inuade his enimie. And amongest other of his friends, vnto whome he laboured for aid, his father in law Baldwine earle of Flanders was one of the chiefest, who vpon promise of great summes of monie and other large offers made, did aid him with men, munition, ships, and victuals, verie freelie. The French king also did as much for his part as laie in him to helpe forwards this so high an enterprise. Wherefore when all things were now in a readinesse, he came to the towne of S. Ualerie, where he had assembled togither an huge naute of ships (to the number (as some authors affirme) of three hundred saile; and when he had taried there a long time for a conuenient wind, at length it came about euen as he himselfe desired. Then shipping his armie which consisted of Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and Britains, with all expedition he toke the sea, and directing his course towards England, he finallie landed at a place in Sussex, ancientlie called Peuensey, on the 28 day of September, where he did set his men on land, & prouided all things necessarie to incourage and refresh them.

Ia. Meir. Baldwine earle of Flanders aided duke William to conquer England.

Wil. Gem. The chronicles of Normandie haue 896 ships.

Duke William landed at Pemsey, now Pemsey.

At his going out of his ship vnto the shore, one of his feet slipped as he stepped forward, but the other stacke fast in the sand: the which so soone as one of his knights had espied, and seeing his hand wherevpon he staied full of earth, when he rose, he spake alowd and said: Now sir duke, thou hast the soile of England fast in thy hand, & shalt of a duke per long become a king. The duke hearing this tale, laughed merilie thereat, and comming on land, by and by he made his proclamation, declaring vpon what occasions he had thus entered the realme.

Matth. West. Normans herds shauen. Wil. Malm. Hen. Marle. Girth would not haue his brother king Harold fight himselfe. Gemeticensis.

The first and principall cause which he alleged, was for to chalenge his right, meaning the dominion of the land that to him was giuen and assigned (as he said) by his nephue king Edward late ruler of the same land. 1

Hen. Hunt.

The second was, to reuenge the death of his nephue Alured or Alfred the brother of the same king Edward, whome Godwine earle of Kent and his adherents had most cruellie murthered. 2

The third was to be reuenged of the wrong done vnto Robert archbishop of Canturburie, who (as he was informed) was exiled by the meanes and labor of 3

Tibul. lib. 1.

of Harold in the daies of king Edward.

Wherein we haue to note, that whether it were for displeasure that the pope had sometime conceiued for the wrong done to the archbishop, or at the onlie sute of duke William, certeine it is that the pope, as then named Alexander the second, fauored this enterprise of the duke, and in token thereof sent him a white banner, which he willed him to set vp in the decke of the ship, wherein he himselfe should saile. In deed (as writers report) the pope with his cardinals, and all the whole court of Rome had king Harold euer in great hatred and disdaine, because he had taken vpon him the crowne without their consent, or anie ecclesiasticall solemnitie or agreement of the bishops. And although the pope and his brethren the said cardinals dissembled the matter for the time, yet now beholding to what end his bold presumption was like to come, with frowning fortune they shewed themselues open aduersaries, inclining streightwaies to the stronger part, after the manner of couetous persons, or rather of the reed shaken with a sudden puffe of wind.

Will. Lamb. The pope fauored duke Williams enterprise.

Duke William at his first landing at Peuensey or Pemsey (whether you will) fortified a peece of ground with strong trenches, and leauing therein a competent number of men of warre to keepe the same, he sped him toward Hastings, and comming thither, he built an other fortresse there with all speed possible, without suffering his souldiers to rob or harrie the countrie adioining, saieng that it should be great follie for him to spoile that people, which yer manie daies to come were like to be his subiects. K. Harold being as yet in the north parts, and hearing that duke William was thus landed in England, sped him southward, and gathering his people together out of the countries as he went forwards, at length came nere his enimies: and sending espials into their campe to vnderstand of what strength they were; the vnskilfull messengers regarding smallie their charge, brought word againe of nothing else, but that all duke Williams souldiers were priests. For the Normans had at that time their vpper lips and cheekes shauen, whereas the Englishmen vsed to suffer the haire of their vpper lips to grow at length. But Harold answered, that they were not priests, but wether-beaten and hardie souldiers, and such as were like to abide well by their capteine.

Ex Gemeticensis.

Matth. West.

Normans beards shauen. Wil. Malm. Hen. Marle.

In the meane season, Girth one of Harolds yonger brethren (considering that periurie is neuer left vnpunished) aduised his brother not to aduenture himselfe at this present in the battell, for so much as he had beene sometime sworne to duke William, but rather to suffer him and other of the nobilitie to incounter with the said duke, that were not bound to him by former oth, or otherwise: but Harold answered that he was free from anie such oth, and that in defense of his countrie he would fight boldly with him as with his greatest enimie. ¶ Where (by the waie) would be noted the conscience which Girth a yonger brother made of an oth, not concerning himselfe directlie, but his elder brother Harold, who had sworne the same; meaning nothing lesse than the performance therof, as the sequele of his dooings to his discredit and vndoing euidentlie declared, which euents might seeme countable to him as due punishments and deserued plagues inflicted vpon him and others, for his sake; sith he made no reckoning of violating a vow ratified with an oth to a prince of no small puissance, who afterwards became a whip vnto him for his periurie; a sinne detested of the heathen, and whereof the poet notablie speaketh, saieng:

Girth would not haue his brother king Harold fight himselfe. Gemeticensis.

*Ah miser, & si quis primò periuria celat,*
*Sera tamen tacitis pœna venit pedibus.*

Tibul. lib. 1.

After peace offered & refused on each side, both armies meete in the field, the order of the Englishmens attire & araie, the manner how the Normans were placed to fight in battell; the dissolute and drounken behauior of the Englishmen the night before the incounter farre differing from the Normans deuout demenour; duke Williams speech vpon occasion of wrong putting on his armour, the battell betwixt him and king Harold is valiantlie tried, the English by duke Williams politike stratagem are deceiued, king Harold slaine, his armie put to flight and manie of them slaine after a long and bloudie incounter, manie of the Normans pursuing the English ouerhastilie procure their owne death, they take the spoile of the English, the dead bodies of both armies are licenced to be buried; the differing reports of writers touching the manner of Harolds death, a description of his person, his ambition did him much hurt and hinderance, the number that were slaine on both sides, his bodie buried at Waltham, nothing dispraise-woorthie in him but his ambitious mind; a view of his valiantnesse in a conflict against the VVelshmen, his rigorous or rather pitilesse handling of them, his seuere law or decree touching their bounds, they are vtterlie subdued, and (by the kings leaue) the VVelshwomen marrie with the Englishmen, the Saxon line ceasseth, how long it lasted, and how long it was discontinued by the inuasion of the Danes.

## The eleuenth Chapter.

NOw it fortuned that both armies, as well the kings as the earles, being prepared to battell, diuerse offers were made on each side (before they fell to the conflict) for an vnitie to haue beene had betwixt the two princes: but when no conditions of agreement could take place, they forthwith prepared themselues to trie the matter by dint of sword. And so on the 14 day of October, being saturday, both hosts met in the field, at a place in Sussex not farre from Hastings, whereas the abbeie of Battell was afterward builded. The Englishmen were all brought into one entire maine batell on foot, with huge axes in their hands, and paled a front with paueises, in such wise that it was thought vnpossible for the enimie to breake their arraie. On the other side, the Normans were diuided into seuerall batels, as first the footmen that were archers, and also those that bare gleiues and axes were placed in the forefront, and the horsemen diuided into wings stood on the sides in verie good order.

Will. Malmes.

The order of the Englishmen.

Matth. West.

The arraie of the Normans.

All the night before the battell, the Englishmen made great noise and slept not, but sang and fell to drinking and making of reuell & passime, as though there had beene no account to be made of the next daies trauell. But the Normans behaued themselues warilie and soberlie, spending all that night in praier and confessing their sinnes vnto God; and in the morning earelie they receiued the communion before they went forth to the battell. Some write, that when duke William should put on his armour to go to the field, the backe halfe of his curasses by chance was set on before by such as holpe to arme him: at which chance he toke occasion of laughter, saieng merrilie to them that stood by; No force, this is good lucke, for the estate of my dukedome shall be yer night changed into a kingdome. Beside this, he spake manie comfortable words vnto his men, to incourage them to the battell. Neither was Harold forgetfull in that point on his part. And so at conuenient time when both armies were readie, they made forward each to incounter with other, on the foresaid fourteenth day of October, with great force and assurance.

Hen. Hunt. Will. Malmes.

In the beginning of the battell, the arrowes flue abroad

Polydor.

The battell betwixt king Harold and duke William is begun.

abroad freshlie on both sides, till they came to ioine at hand strokes, and then prealled each side vpon his counterpart with swords, arms, and other hand weapons verie egerlie. Duke William commanded his horsemen to giue the charge on the breasts of his enimies battels: but the Englishmen keeping themselues close togither without scattering, receiued their enimies vpon the points of their weapons with such fiercenesse and in such stiffe order, that manie of the Normans horsemen were ouerthrowne without recouerie, and slaine at the first brunt. When duke William perceiued this inconuenience (as he that well and throughlie vnderstood the skilfull points of warre as well as the best) he gaue a signe to his men (according to an order appointed before hand vpon anie such occasion) that they should giue backe, and make a countenance as though they did flee, which was quicklie done by the Normans, and withall they imbattelled their footmen in a new order, so that their horsemen shifted themselues on the wings, readie to rescue the footmen if their arraie should happen to be disturbed.

The policie of duke William to disorder his enimies. H. Hunt. Will. Malm.

By this wilie stratagem and policie of warre, the Englishmen were deceiued: for they beholding the Normans somwhat shrinking backe to bring themselues into the aboue said order, thought verelie that they had fled, and therevpon meaning to pursue them before they should recouer their ground, they brake their arraie, and began to follow the chase: whereupon the Normans (perceiuing now that all things came to passe as they desired) spedilie returned, and calling themselues togither quicklie into arraie, began to charge them againe afresh, and so hauing them at that aduantage, they slue them downe on euerie side. The Englishmen on the other part fought sore, and though their king was beaten downe among them and slaine, yet were they loth to flee or giue ouer; so sharpe was the battell, that duke William himselfe had three horsses slaine vnder him that day, and not without great danger of his person.

A sore foughten battell. King Harold slaine.

Wil. Malm. Matth. West.

Some of the Englishmen got them to the height of an hill, and beate backe the Normans that forced themselues to win the hill of them, so that it was long yer the Normans could prevaile, being oftentimes driuen downe into the botome of the vallie beneath. At length the Englishmen, perceiuing themselues to be ouermatched and beaten downe on euerie side, and thereunto greatlie discouraged with slaughter of their king, began first to giue ground, and after to scatter and to run away, so that well was he that might then escape by flight. When they had fought the most part of all that saturday, the Normans followed the chase with such eger rashnesse, that a great number of them falling with their horses and armour into a blind ditch (shadowed with reed and sedges which grew therein) were smouldered and pressed to death, yer they could be succoured or get anie reliefe. The next day the Normans fell to gathering in the spoile of the field, burieng also the dead bodies of their people that were slaine at the battell, giuing licence in semblable manner to the Englishmen to do the like. Of the death of Harold diuerse report diuerslie, in so much that Girald Cambrensis saith, that after king Harold had receiued manie wounds, and lost his left eie, he fled from the field vnto the citie of Westchester, and liued there long after, an holie life, as an anchoret in the cell of S. James, fast by S. Johns church, and there made a godlie end. But the saieng of Girald Cambren. in that point is not to be credited, because of the vnlikelihood of the thing it selfe, and also generall consent of other writers, who affirme vniuersallie that he was killed in the battell, first being striken thorough the left eie by the scull into the braine with an arrow, whereupon falling from his horse to the ground, he was slaine in that place, after he had reigned nine moneths and nine daies, as Floriacensis doth report. He was a man of a comelie stature, and of a hawtie courage, albeit that for his valiancie he was highlie renowned and honored of all men, yet through his pride and ambition he lost the harts of manie. There were slaine in this battell, besides king Harold and his two brethren, Girth and Leofrike, what on the one side and on the other, aboue twentie thousand men.

The policie of duke William to disorder his enimies. H. Hunt. Will. Malm.

Giral. Camb.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matth. West.

Florisc. Simon Dun. Henr. Hunt. Polydor. The chronicles of Normandie haue of English men slaine 67974, and of Normans 6013.

The body of king Harold being found among other slaine in the field, was buried at Waltham, within the monasterie of the holie croslle which he before had founded, and indowed to the behoofe of such canons as he had placed there, with faire possessions. Verelie (as some old writers haue reported) there was nothing in this man to be in anie wise disprased, if his ambitious mind could haue bene staied from coueting the kingdome, and that he could haue bene contented to haue liued as a subiect. Among other manifest prowes of his high valiancie, this is remembred of him, that being sent against the Welshmen (as before is partlie mentioned) knowing their readie nimblenesse in seruice, and how with their light armed men they were accustomed to annoie and distresse those that should assaile them, he likewise (to match them) prepared light armed men for the purpose, & so being furnished with such bands of nimble men and light souldiers, entered vpon the mounteins of Snowdon, and there remained amongst the enimies for the space of two yeeres. He sore afflicted the Welsh nation, take their kings, and sent their heads vnto the king that sent him about his businesse, and proceeding in such rigorous maner as might moue the hearers to lament and pitie the case, he caused all the male kind that might be met with, to be miserablie slaine: and so with the edge of his sword he brought the countrie to quiet, and withall made this lawe; that if anie Welshman from thencefoorth should presume to passe the limits ouer Offas ditch with anie weapon about him, he should lose his right hand. To conclude, by the valiant conduct of this chieftaine, the Welshmen were then so sore brought vnder, that in maner the whole nation might seeme to faile, and to be almost vtterlie destroied. And therefore by permission of the king of England, the women of Wales ioined themselues in marriage with Englishmen. Finallie, hereby the bloud of the Saxons ceassed to reigne in England after they had continued possession of the same, from the first comming of Hengist, which was about the yeere of our Sauiour 450, or 449, vntill that present yeere of king Harolds death, which chanced in the yeere 1069. So that from the beginning of Hengist his reigne, vnto Harolds death, are reckoned 916 yeeres, or (after some) 617, as by the supputation of the time will easilie appeare. By all the which time there reigned kings of the Saxons bloud within this land, except that for the space of twentie yeeres and somewhat more, the Danes had the dominion of the realme in their possession: for there are reckoned from the beginning of K. Swaines reigne (which was the first Dane that gouerned England) vnto the last yeere of K. Hardicnute (the last Dane that ruled heere) 28 yeeres, in which meane space Egelred recouering the kingdome reigned 2 yeeres, then after him his sonne Edmund Ironside continued in the rule one yeere; so that the Danes had the whole possession of the land but 25 yeeres in all. Touching this alteration, and others incident to this Iland, read a short aduertisement annered (by waie of conclusion) to this historie, comprising a short summarie of the most notable conquests of this countrie

Ex 6. libro Polycratico, sue de nugis curialium, Iohn Sarisb.

1069

We must note that there was one Richard duke of Normandie before Rollo.

trie one after an other, by distances of times succeslluelie.

The rule of this realme by Gods pro-
*uidence allotted to duke William, his des-*
cent from Rollo the first duke of Normandie *downewards to his particular linage, he was base* begotten vpon the bodie of Arlete duke Roberts *concubine, a pleasant speech of hirs to duke Robert on a time* when he was to haue the vse of hir person, a conclusion introductorie for the sequele of the chronicle from the said duke of Normandies coronation, &c: with a summarie of the notable conquests of this Iland.

## The twelfe Chapter.

NOw, forsomuch as it pleased God by his hid and secret iudgement so to dispose the realme of England, and in such wise, as that the gouernance therof should fall after this maner into the hands of William duke of Normandie, I haue thought good before I enter further into this historie (being now come to the conquest of the realme, made by the foresaid duke of Normandie) to set downe his pedegree, thereby to shew how he descended from the first duke of that countrie, who was named Rollo, and after by receiuing baptisme called Robert.

The said Rollo or Rou, was sonne to a great lord in Denmarke called Guion, who hauing two sons, the said Rou and Gourin, and being appointed to depart the countrie, as the lots fell to him and other (according to the maner there vsed, in time when their people were increased to a greater number than the countrie was able to susteine) refused to obeie that order, and made warre there against the king, who yet in the end by practise found meanes to slea the foresaid Guion, and his sonne Gourin; so that Rou or Rollo, hauing thus lost his father and brother, was compelled to forsake the countrie, with all those that had holpe his father to make warre against the king. Thus driuen to seeke aduentures, at length he became a christian, and was created duke of Normandie, by gift of Charles king of France, surnamed le Simple, whose daughter the ladie Gilla he also maried: but she departing this life without issue, he maried Popé daughter to the earle of Bessin and Baieulx, whome he had kept as his wife before he was baptised, and had by hir a sonne named William Longespé, and a daughter named Gerlota.

William Longespé or Longaspata, had to wife the ladie Sporta, daughter to Hubert earle of Senlis, by whome he had issue Richard the second of that name duke of Normandie, who maried the ladie Agnes, the daughter of Hugh le grand, earle of Paris, of whome no issue proceeded: but after hir decease, he maried to his second wife a gentlewoman named Gonnor, daughter to a knight of the Danish line, by whom he had three sonnes, Richard that was after duke of Normandie, the third of that name, Robert and Mauger. He had also by hir three daughters, Agnes otherwise called Emma, maried first to Egelred king of England, and after to K. Cnute: Helloie, otherwise Alir, bestowed vpon Geffrey earle of Britaine: and Mawd coupled in marriage with Eudes earle of Charters and Blais. Richard the third of that name maried Judith, sister to Geffrey earle of Britaine, by whome he had issue three sonnes, Richard, Robert, and William, and as manie daughters: Alir, married to Reignold earle of Burgogne, Elenor married to Baldwine earle of Flanders; and the third died yong, being affianced to Alfonse king of Nauarre. Their mother deceased after she had bene married ten yeres, and then duke Richard married secondlie the ladie Estric, sister to Cnute king of England and Denmarke, from whome he purchased to be diuorsed, and then married a gentlewoman called Paule, by whome he had issue two sonnes, William earle of Arques, and Mauger archbishop of Rouen.

Richard the fourth of that name, duke of Normandie, eldest sonne to Richard the third, died without issue, and then his brother Robert succeeded in the estate, which Robert begat vpon Arlete or Harlewina daughter to a burgesse of Felais, William surnamed the bastard, afterward duke of Normandie, and by conquest king of England. Of whose father duke Robert, & his paramour Arlete, take this pleasant remembrance for a refection after the perusing of the former sad and sober discourses.

In the yeere of Christ 1030, Robert, the second sonne of Richard the second duke of Normandie, and brother to Richard the third duke of that name there hauing with great honour and wisedome gouerned his dukedome seuen yeeres, for performance of a penance that he had set to himselfe, appointed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; leauing behind him this William a yong prince, whome seuen yeeres before he had begotten vpon his paramour Arlete (whom after he held as his wife) with whose beautifull fauour, louelie grace and presence, at hir dansing on a time then as he was tenderlie touched, for familiar vtterance of his mind what he had further to say, would needs that night she should be his bedfellow, who else as wiuelesse should haue lien alone: where when she was bestowed, thinking that if she should haue laid hir selfe naked, it might haue seemed not so maidenlie a part: so when the duke was about (as the maner is) to haue lift vp hir linnen, she in an humble modestie staid hir lords hand, and rent downe hir smocke asunder, from the collar to the verie skirt. Heere at the duke all smiling did aske hir what thereby she ment: In great lowlines, with a feate question she answerd againe; My lord, were it meet that any part of my garments dependant about me downeward, should presume to be mountant to my souereignes mouth vpward: Let your grace pardon me. He liked hir answer: and so and so forth for that time.

This duke before his voiage, calling at Fiscam all his nobilitie vnto him, caused them to sweare fealtie vnto his yong sonne William, whome he then at his iournie betooke vnto the gouernance of earle Gilbert, and the defense of the gouernour vnto Henrie the French king. So Robert passing forth in his pilgrimage, shewed in euerie place and in all points a magnanimitie and honour of a right noble prince, and pleasant withall; who once in Iurie not well at ease, in a litter was borne toward Jerusalem vpon Saracens shoulders, & meeting with a subiect of his that was going home toward Normandie: Friend (quoth he) if my people at thy returne aske after me, tell them that thou sawest their lord carried to heauen by diuels. The Norman nobilitie during duke Roberts life, did their dutie to the yong prince faithfullie, but after they heard of his fathers death, they slackened apace, euerie one shifting for himselfe as he list, without anie regard either of oth or obedience toward the pupill their souereigne. Whereby not manie yeeres after, as Gilbert the gouernour, by Rafe the childes cosine germane, was slaine; the dukedome anon, by murther and fighting among themselues was sore troubled in all parts. Thus much a little of duke Robert the father, and of prince

Wil.Malm. lib.3.cap.1. Ranulph.lib.6. cap.19.

Wil.Malm. lib.3.cap.1. Ranulph.lib. 6.cap.19.

Ran.lib.6.ca.19.

Wil.Malm.lib. 3.cap.1. Ran.ibib.

Ran.ibid.

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Wil.Mal.idem. Ran.idem.

I must note that there was one Richard duke of Normandie before Rollo.

trie one after an other, by diſtances of times ſucceſſiuelie.

The rule of this realme by Gods prouidence allotted to duke William, his deſcent from Rollo the firſt duke of Normandie downewards to his particular linage, he was baſe begotten vpon the bodie of Arlete duke Roberts concubine, a pleaſant ſpeech of hirs to duke Robert on a time when he was to haue the vſe of hir perſon, a concluſion introductorie for the ſequele of the chronicle from the ſaid duke of Normandies coronation, &c: with a ſummarie of the notable conqueſts of this Iland.

## The twelfe Chapter.

NOw, forſomuch as it pleaſed God by his hid and ſecret iudgement ſo to diſpoſe the realme of England, and in ſuch wiſe, as that the gouernance therof ſhould fall after this maner into the hands of William duke of Normandie, I haue thought good before I enter further into this hiſtorie (being now come to the conqueſt of the realme, made by the foreſaid duke of Normandie) to ſet downe his pedegree, thereby to ſhow how he deſcended from the firſt duke of that countrie, who was named Rollo, and after by receiuing baptiſme called Robert.

The ſaid Rollo or Rou, was ſonne to a great lord in Denmarke called Guion, who hauing two ſons, the ſaid Rou and Gourin, and being appointed to departe the countrie, as the lots fell to him and other (according to the maner there vſed, in time when their people were increaſed to a greater number than the countrie was able to ſuſteine) refuſed to obeie that order, and made warre there againſt the king, who yet in the end by practiſe found meanes to ſlea the foreſaid Guion, and his ſonne Gourin; ſo that Rou or Rollo, hauing thus loſt his father and brother, was compelled to forſake the countrie, with all thoſe that had holpe his father to make warre againſt the king. Thus driuen to ſeeke aduentures, at length he became a chriſtian, and was created duke of Normandie, by gift of Charles king of France, ſurnamed le Simple, whoſe daughter the ladie Gilla he alſo maried: but ſhe departing this life without iſſue, he maried Popée daughter to the earle of Beſſin and Baieulx, whome he had kept as his wife before he was baptiſed, and had by hir a ſonne named William Longeſpée, and a daughter named Gerlota.

William Longeſpée or Longaſpata, had to wife the ladie Sporta, daughter to Hubert earle of Senlis, by whome he had iſſue Richard the ſecond of that name duke of Normandie, who married the ladie Agnes, the daughter of Hugh le grand, earle of Paris, of whome no iſſue proceeded: but after hir deceaſſe, he maried to his ſecond wife a gentlewoman named Gonnor, daughter to a knight of the Daniſh line, by whom he had three ſonnes, Richard that was after duke of Normandie, the third of that name, Robert and Mauger. He had alſo by hir three daughters, Agnes otherwiſe called Emma, married firſt to Egelred king of England, and after to K. Cnute: Helloie, otherwiſe Alix, beſtowed vpon Geffrey earle of Britaine: and Mawd coupled in marriage with Eudes earle of Charters and Blais. Richard the third of that name maried Judith, ſiſter to Geffrey earle of Britaine, by whome he had iſſue three ſonnes, Richard, Robert, and William, and as manie daughters: Alix, married to Reignold earle of Burgogne, Elenor married to Baldwine earle of Flanders; and the third died yong, being affianced to Alfonſe king of Nauarre. Their mother deceaſſed after ſhe had beene married ten yeares, and then duke Richard married ſecondlie the ladie Eſtric, ſiſter to Cnute king of England and Denmarke, from whome he purchaſed to be diuorſed, and then married a gentlewoman called Paule, by whome he had iſſue two ſonnes, William earle of Arques, and Mauger archbiſhop of Rouen.

Richard the fourth of that name, duke of Normandie, eldeſt ſonne to Richard the third, died without iſſue, and then his brother Robert ſucceeded in the eſtate, which Robert begat vpon Arlete or Harleuina daughter to a burgeſſe of Felais, William ſurnamed the baſtard, afterward duke of Normandie, and by conqueſt king of England. Of whoſe father duke Robert, & his paramour Arlete, take this pleaſant remembrance for a refection after the peruſing of the former ſad and ſober diſcourſes.

In the yeare of Chriſt 1030, Robert, the ſecond ſonne of Richard the ſecond duke of Normandie, and brother to Richard the third duke of that name there hauing with great honour and wiſedome gouerned his dukedome ſeuen yeares, for performance of a penance that he had ſet to himſelfe, appointed a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem; leauing behind him this William a yong prince, whome ſeuen yeares before he had begotten vpon his paramour Arlete (whom after he held as his wife) with whoſe beautifull fauour, louelie grace and preſence, at hir danſing on a time then as he was tenderlie touched, for familiar vtterance of his mind what he had further to ſay, would needs that night ſhe ſhould be his bedfellow, who elſe as widuelleſſe ſhould haue lien alone: where when ſhe was beſtowed, thinking that if ſhe ſhould haue laid hir ſelfe naked, it might haue ſeemed not ſo maidenlie a part: ſo when the duke was about (as the maner is) to haue lift vp hir linnen, ſhe in an humble modeſtie ſtaid hir lords hand, and rent downe hir ſmocke aſunder, from the collar to the verie ſkirt. Heare at the duke all ſmiling did aſke hir what thereby ſhe ment: In great lowlines, with a feate queſtion ſhe anſwerd againe; My lord, were it meet that any part of my garments dependant about me downeward, ſhould preſume to be mountant to my ſouereignes mouth vpward: Let your grace pardon me. He liked hir anſwer: and ſo and ſo forth for that time.

This duke before his voiage, calling at Fiſcam all his nobilitie vnto him, cauſed them to ſweare fealtie vnto his yong ſonne William, whome he then at his iournie betooke vnto the gouernance of earle Gilbert, and the defenſe of the gouernour vnto Henrie the French king. So Robert paſſing forth in his pilgrimage, ſhewed in euerie place and in all points a magnanimitie and honour of a right noble prince, and pleaſant withall; who once in Iurie not well at eaſe, in a litter was borne toward Jeruſalem vpon Saracens ſhoulders, & meeting with a ſubiect of his that was going home toward Normandie: Friend (quoth he) if my people at thy returne aſke after me, tell them that thou ſaweſt their lord carried to heauen by diuels. The Norman nobilitie during duke Roberts life, did their dutie to the yong prince faithfullie, but after they heard of his fathers death, they ſlackened apace, euerie one ſhifting for himſelfe as he liſt, without anie regard either of oth or obedience toward the pupill their ſouereigne. Whereby not manie yeares after, as Gilbert the gouernour, by Rafe the childes couſine germane, was ſlaine; the dukedome anon, by murther and fighting among themſelues was ſore troubled in all parts. Thus much a little of duke Robert the father, and of prince

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Wil.Malm.lib. 3.cap.1. Ran.ibid.

Ran.ibid.

Ran.ibid.

Wil.Mal.idem. Ran.idem.

Ye muſt note that there was one Richard duke of Normandie before Rollo.

prince William his sonne for part of his tender yéeres.

## A notable aduertisement touching the *summe of all the foresaid historie, wherin* the foure great and notable conquests *of this land are briefly touched, being a conclusion introductorie, as is said in the argument.*

Britaine inhabited by Brute.

IN the former part of this historie it is manifest to the heedfull reader, that (after the opinion of most writers) Brute did first inhabit this land, and called it then after his owne name, Britaine, in the yéere after the creation of the world 2855, and in the yéere before the incarnation of Christ 1108. ¶ Furthermore, the said land of Britaine was conquered by C. Julius Cesar, and made tributarie to the Romans in the 50 yéere before the natiuitie of Christ, and so continued 483 yéeres. So that the Britains reigned without tribute and vnder tribute, from Brute, vntill the fourth yéere of the reigne of king Cadwallador, which was in the yéere of our Lord 686. And so the Britains had continuance of the gouernement of this land the space of 1794 yéeres. Then was the realme of Britaine an heptarchie, that is, diuided into seuen kingdoms. And Britaine receiued the faith of Christ in the 7 yéere of the reigne of king Lucius, which was in the 187 yéere after the birth of Christ. ¶ Next after the Britains entered the Saxons, in the third yéere of king Vortiger; and in the yéere of our Lord 450, and they gouerned vntill the last yéere of king Athelstane, which was in the yéere of Christ 938. So that the time of the Saxons first entrance into this realme, and the time of their regiment was the space of 487 yéeres. ¶ Howbeit, in the time of their gouernement, that is to say, in the 9 yéere of king Britricus, which was in the yéere of our Lord 787, the Danes entred into this land, spoiling and persecuting the people therin most grieuously. At the last, Sweno or Swaine the Dane obteined possession rotall, in the yéere of Grace 1012, whose time of regiment lasted about three yéeres. After whom his sonne Canutus succéeded, and reigned 19 yéeres. After him Harold his sonne, who ruled three yéeres: and after him Hardicnute the sonne of Canutus, whose gouernement continued but three yéeres. This Hardicnute was the last king of the Danes, at which time the Danes were expelled and hunted out of the realme, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1042. So that it may appeare by this collection, that the Danes ruled as kings in this land by the space of 28 yéeres. Hereby also it is euident, that from the time of the first entrance of the Danes into this realme, vntill their last expulsion & riddance, was 255 yéeres. ¶ Finallie the Normans entred this land likewise, and conquered the same as before is expressed, in the yéere of our Lord 1067, which is since, vntill this present yéere of our Lord 1585, drawing néere to the number of 600 and od yéeres.

3 Britaine conquered and ouercome by the Danes.

4 Britaine conquered and possessed by the Normans.

Now let these alterations of regiments be remembred [touching the which read a notable animaduersion in the description of Britaine, pag. 28,29] and teach vs that therein the iudgements of God reuealed themselues to speciall purposes. And what soeuer hath béene mentioned before, either concerning the subuersion of people, the desolation of prouinces, the ouerthrow of nobles, the ruine of princes, and other lamentable accidents diuerslie happening vpon sundrie occasions: let vs (I say) as manie as will reape fruit by the reading of chronicles, imagine the matters which were so manie yéeres past to be present, and applie the profit and commoditie of the same vnto our selues; knowing (as one wisely said) *Post sacram paginam chronica vnum veritatis typum gerere*, that next vnto the holie scripture, chronicles do carit credit. But now to the sequele, and first to duke William of Normandie.

1 Britaine conquered by the Romans.

2 Britaine conquered and ouercome by the Saxons.

*Thus farre the historie of England from Noah and his sonnes, &c: to William duke of Normandie. Hereafter followeth a chronologicall continuation beginning at the first yeere of the said dukes reigne ouer this land, vntill the 25 yeere of the Queenes most excellent maiestie Elizabeth, &c: whose daies God in mercie prolong (like the daies of heauen) in peace and prosperitie, &c.*